April 6, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

Because I am a board member of the Georgia ACLU, I get an awful lot of mail from you. I find it valuable, and it is interesting for me to follow the process by which you reach positions and decisions.

All this raw material, however, sometimes arouses in me nagging concerns. I have to give this fall some lectures out at the University of Michigan, and they will be generally on the topic that liberals in the United States, precisely because of their successes over the past couple of decades, have thrust upon themselves responsibilities for rule, and that these will predominate over the traditional responsibility of social criticism. My concern is that some liberals' positions may harden, or have already hardened, into doctrine.

I get goose pimples at the tone, for example, of the American Jewish Congress's position on the federal aid to education bill, and I admire the ACLU for the way you have gone about thinking and re-thinking a position, and for your own personal reflectiveness. To me the whole meaning of liberalism is aversion to doctrine, and when I hear people sloganeering about the church and state, I weep, even though I often

may agree with the general drift of their thought.

Frankly, I have sometimes felt the same way about ACLU on the censorship question. It's no great thing to be against censorship; let's agree that all of us are. For my own part, I agree with Justice Black's absolutist view of the First Amendment, as applied to Congress and as applied to speech that has alleged relationship to public policy. But this is not really what censorship is all about in most people's minds, and it is "most people" who the liberal should, at least occasionally, think about.

There is no more primitive social instinct than to protect the minds of the young; primitive and enduring. I think liberals are in good position when they say to a community that you can't protect the minds of the young in gross and tyrannical ways; but we'll get licked every time if we say to a community that its improper for you to do this at all. And that is the kind of attitude I find in the memorandum of February 19 (with attachments) regarding the Mundt Bill. Grant that it's a silly bill. I think, nevertheless, that Senator Gruening is right that ACLU should stand ready to be a part of the discussion, and not just a self-righteous critic. Jack, it's plain prissy to say that only a "scientific study" can determine whether there is an issue here. As a matter of fact, that seems to me to be a most illiberal position to take; do we as liberals honestly want to take the position that lay representatives of the people cannot determine questions of morality better than can scientists? Horrors!

Maybe all us confused liberals ought to have a big talk.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Charles Morgan

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

April 8, 1965

To: Due Process Committee

From: The Office

Re: April 14th meeting and Agenda

MJ-file

There will be a meeting of the Due Process Committee on April 14, 1965, at 4:45 P.M., at the ACLU office. Please indicate on the enclosed postcard whether you plan to attend.

A G E N D A

1. Fair trial versus free press.
   (Dorsen and Winograd memorandum enclosed.)

2. Federal prosecutions and probable cause with special emphasis upon Meridian, Mississippi. (Sidney Zion/Village Voice article enclosed.)

3. Delayed sentencing. (Mel Wulf's letter to Acting Attorney General Katzenbach and the reply from Assistant Attorney General Miller.)

Working Paper, Not For Public Distribution

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
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New York 10, N.Y.

C
O
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Y

November 27, 1964

Hon. Nicholas de B. Katzenbach
Acting Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The American Civil Liberties Union would like to inquire whether the Department of Justice has any policy with respect to delaying the sentencing of previously convicted defendants pending their appearance to testify at trials involving related criminal charges or co-defendants.

If the Department lays down no policy guide lines in this area, can you tell us what general practice, if any, prevails among United States Attorneys.

Any information you can furnish us will be greatly appreciated and will aid us in the formulation of ACLU policy on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

Working Paper, Not For Public Distribution

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Washington 20530

December 23, 1964

Mr. Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Wulf:

The Acting Attorney General has asked me to reply to your letter to him dated November 27, 1964, in which you request to be advised whether the Department of Justice has any policy with respect to delaying the sentencing of previously convicted defendants pending their appearance to testify at trials involving related criminal charges or co-defendants.

The Department has adopted no general policy and I doubt there is any general practice among the United States Attorneys with respect to this matter. I can assure you, however, that neither the Department nor United States Attorneys condone the use of a deferred sentence as a means of coercing convicted defendants to testify against co-defendants.

There are, however, a number of circumstances which may effect delays in sentencing. As you are aware, Rule 32(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure requires that a sentence be imposed without unreasonable delay. Thus, the ultimate responsibility in this area rests with the judiciary. But a defendant who has cooperated with the Government may wish a delay in his sentence in order that the full extent of his cooperation may be taken into consideration by the court in imposing sentence. Or the court itself, in order to determine the extent of the involvement of a defendant who has entered a plea and to evaluate that plea within the framework of the facts, may defer the sentencing of a cooperative defendant until completion of the trial of the co-defendants.

The Department does not view the use of an unsentenced defendant as a witness against his co-defendants as being violative of his civil liberties or those of the co-defendants against whom he testifies because of the safeguards provided by the rights of co-defendants to cross-examine the cooperative defendant and to bring his status to the attention of the jury. Indeed in some cases the only possible witnesses are cooperating co-defendants.

Because of our mutual interests in the administration of criminal justice, I shall, of course, be interested in the policy formulated by your organization on this vital subject.

Sincerely,

Herbert J. Miller
Assistant Attorney General

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

DUE PROCESS COMMITTEE MEETING

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1965 4:45 P.M.

ACLU OFFICE

Present: Mr. Ennis, presiding; Judge Kenyon; Messrs. Dorsen, Frank, Lusky, McKay

Guest: Mr. Peter Winograd

Staff: Messrs. Wulf, Bucholz

1. Probable Cause at Federal Preliminary Hearing: Mr. Wulf reviewed the refusal of a United States Commissioner in Mississippi to find probable cause to hold 20 persons accused of the murder of three civil rights workers last summer, on the grounds that the evidence presented to her by government attorneys consisted of hearsay which could not be subjected to cross-examination by the attorneys for the persons arrested. The ACLU in the past has opposed the use of hearsay evidence to secure indictments, arrest warrants and search warrants.

Mr. Ennis stated that it was his impression that attorneys for the government frequently used hearsay evidence at preliminary hearings before federal Commissioners. Mr. Lusky thought there might be a distinction between the kind of evidence the government can present before a grand jury and the kind it may use before a federal Commissioner; part of the price the government should pay to obtain the immediate arrest and incarceration of a person pending grand jury action is to present evidence which will permit cross-examination of the accusing witnesses.

Professor Dorsen moved that the office staff write a letter of inquiry to the Justice Department asking whether the Department had any regular practice with respect to the use of hearsay testimony at hearings before federal Commissioners. Other members of the Committee thought that an inquiry based on the circumstances of this particular case would be moot, since a grand jury indictment against the 20 per-

sons released by the federal Commissioner had subsequently been obtained. The motion was lost, 4 - 2.

2. Delayed Sentencing of Co-Defendants: The Committee previously discussed the problem of delaying the sentencing of a defendant, who pleads guilty in a federal prosecution, pending his testimony at the trial of his co-defendants, first brought to the Committee's attention by the Roy Cohn case. (See Committee minutes of May 20, 1964.) Mr. Wulf reported that he had received a reply from the Department of Justice stating that the Department had no general policy in this area and that it did not condone the use of a deferred sentence as a means of influencing the testimony given by a convicted person against his co-defendants. Mr. Ennis and other members of the Committee stated that there is such a practice and that it is known to attorneys who practice in the federal courts, whether or not the Attorney General acknowledges it.

Professor Lusky suggested ACLU explore the possibility of proposing a rule which would permit a defendant to demand that a co-defendant be sentenced before he is allowed to testify in his case.

Professor Dorsen suggested that the office first solicit data from affiliates to determine what the practice is with respect to delayed sentencing of co-defendants in state and federal courts, and that the office determine whether any states have statutes or court rules which attempt to deal with the practice of delayed sentences.

The consensus of the Committee was that the office should undertake such a survey.

3. Fair Trial and Free Press: Mr. Wulf stated that previous ACLU policy has been to try to persuade police officials and prosecuting attorneys to use self-restraint in releasing information which might prejudice a jury or impede a fair trial. While we have supported codes of ethics and bar association statements deploring the release of prejudicial publicity, we have not sought to do more. However, at the present time there is a great deal of discussion about the problem among the media, the American Bar Association, Congress, and Judge Lumbard's Committee on Criminal Procedure, and there is a need to reconsider our position.

Professor Dorsen reviewed the memorandum prepared by him and Peter Winograd (previously distributed) and stated that in writing it he had assumed there was no dispute about the need to curb pretrial release of information which interferes with the prospect of a fair trial. The focus of the memorandum therefore, is on how this might be accomplished without unduly limiting free speech. To this end, the memorandum suggests seven or eight approaches, and weighs

the advantages and defects of each. While no one approach appeared to be wholly satisfactory, Mr. Dorsen and Mr. Winograd concluded that it would be desirable to try some combination of the methods suggested and they urged the Committee not to continue ACLU's voluntary self-restraint approach which, they concluded, would leave the matter in its present unsatisfactory state. Several Committee members expressed doubts about using the contempt power of the courts to punish the release of pre-trial information, as is the practice in England. Because of the history of the use of contempt citations to muzzle the press, and because of the absence of a jury in contempt trials, ACLU would have a great deal of difficulty supporting such an approach.

The possibility of using a criminal statute to make the release of information a misdemeanor was weighed by the Committee. Although not rejected, the statutory approach was criticized as being unrealistic, since it was doubtful that state legislatures would pass such statutes and it was also doubtful that state officials would prosecute a policeman or district attorney for release of information.

Professor Lusky proposed expanding the present scope of the challenge of jurors for cause. At the present time, if it is discovered during voir dire examination that jurors heard or read information about the case they are to try, they are still able to serve on the jury if they state that they would be able to render an unbiased verdict. If a defendant wants to prevent such jurors from serving, he can do so only by means of a peremptory challenge. If it were recognized that any substantial degree of knowledge about a case, without a showing of its effect on the particular juror, would be grounds for a challenge for cause, the tendency of such a rule might be to make police and prosecuting officials reluctant to disclose any detailed information about a case. If, by exhausting prospective jurors through challenges for cause, the defendant cannot find an unbiased jury, he could get a change of venue. Dean McKay commented that the approach suggested by Professor Lusky might accomplish on a broader scale what the Supreme Court has done by its decisions in particular cases involving prejudicial publicity and biased juries. The Chair thought the approach suggested by Professor Lusky should be included in Committee proposals for ACLU action. Dean McKay added that the Lusky suggestion was not inconsistent with a statutory approach.

The Committee discussed briefly the question of where the impact o of restrictive rules on pre-trial publicity ought to fall. It was generally agreed that restrictive rules would be more effective and present fewer civil liberties problems if they were directed at police and prosecution and defense counsel rather than at newspaper reporters and publishers. Professor Lusky stated that newspapers

would tend to resist more strongly any restrictions on printing information they possess, rather than restrictions aimed at limiting their access to material they would like to obtain.

Mr. Frank suggested that the most effective solution in the long run would be to convince trial and appellate judges that prejudicial pre-trial publicity is undesirable, and that they have a duty to minimize it. Judges would then see to it that prosecution officials did not foster such publicity.

Professor Lusky raised the question of whether we could suggest a practice whereby a judge might summon before him a prosecutor who releases information before trial in order to publicly criticize the prosecutor's action as unethical. The judge could at the same time permit defense counsel to make a public statement aimed at off-setting the effect of the publicity generated by the prosecution.

Professor Dorsen suggested that all members of the Committee be invited to prepare specific proposals in writing for ways to deal with the pre-trial publicity problem and that at its next meeting the Committee take up each proposal.

Professor Lusky thought it might be better to ask Messrs. Dorsen and Winograd, as the authors of the major paper on the subject, to summarize all proposals made at the meeting. The Committee agreed that after a set of specific proposals had been voted on, it would seek a joint meeting with the Free Speech and Association Committee to consider them.

Next Committee meeting: Wednesday, May 12, 1965, 4:45 p.m., ACLU offices.

File

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file

A G E N D A

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1965 - 12:30 p.m.

ACLU OFFICE

1. Radio/TV Committee answer on rejection of non-commercial advertising by broadcast media. (The Committee agreed that the problem posed came within the ACLU statement in support of the FCC's Fairness Doctrine -- see statement enclosed.)

2. Proposed statement on peacetime conscription. (See Mass. CLU working paper enclosed.)

3. Fair Trial v. Free Press. (See Dorsen-Winograd memorandum previously circulated to Committee.)

4. Continuation of Committee discussion on labeling of political material and Foreign Registration Act. (See Committee's prior discussion in minutes of March 12 meeting. Also enclosed are minutes of March 24 meeting.)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
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New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1965 12:30 P.M.

ACLU OFFICE

Present: Mr. Soll, presiding; Miss Fingerhood; Messrs. Channick, Crowell, Galantiere, Millis

Office: Messrs. Reitman, Bucholz

Guest: Mr. Robert Rabin

1. Rejection of Non-Commercial Advertising by Radio and TV Stations:

In response to the Committee's March 12, 1965 request for the advice of the Radio/TV Committee on rejection of advertising by radio and TV stations, Mr. Reitman reported that the Radio/TV Committee's view is that ACLU's policy should be based on the Board's Fairness Doctrine statement of November 23, 1964.

The members of the Free Speech Committee interpreted the ACLU's statement on the Fairness Doctrine to mean that a station must, not in each specific instance, but generally over the licensing period, permit the use of its facilities for the presentation of opposing viewpoints on public issues or candidates for public office.

With respect to rejection of advertising by radio and TV stations, three members of the Committee had previously taken the position that, when one side of an issue is argued on radio or TV, a station has a special obligation to accept advertising containing other points of view. Another position, advanced by Miss Fingerhood, received the support of two members of the Committee, and would have required stations to permit access to their facilities by groups wanting to advertise a particular point of view, whether or not a contrary point of view had previously been presented over the station's facilities. Miss Fingerhood, in restating her position, suggested that using a rebuttal approach for radio and TV was inconsistent with

the standard applied by our position paper to newspapers and magazines as to the latter, we had urged a special obligation to accept all ads containing a point of view on a social, economic, or political issue, while as to radio and TV we were urging a special obligation to accept such ads only when a contrary point of view had previously been presented on the station.

Mr. Soll interpreted both positions to assume that in deciding whether to accept or reject advertisements, any station owner had the right to require that advertisements conform with reasonable rules as to length, good taste, artistic and technical standards, and legal requirements relating to fraud, obscenity, etc.

After discussion, the Committee agreed that radio and TV stations which take non-commercial advertising have a special obligation to accept advertising dealing with political, social, or economic matters, whether or not contrary viewpoints have first been aired. This would necessarily include an obligation to accept advertising rebutting a political, social or economic view previously presented on the station. However, stations which make a practice of accepting no advertising, or which take only advertising for commercial products and services, would not be obligated under the proposed policy statement to take ads expressing political, social, or economic opinion. The Committee felt that although other principles applicable to federally regulated stations -- such as the FCC's Fairness Doctrine -- may compel a station to air diverse points of view on important issues, its statement should concern only advertising practices.

2. <u>ACLU Position on Peacetime Conscription</u>: Mr. Millis reviewed for the Committee a one-page position paper on conscription recently submitted by the Massachusetts CLU (previously distributed).

Mr. Soll inquired whether the Committee felt the ACLU role in connection with peacetime conscription was the same as that of an individual Congressman deciding whether world conditions and military necessities required a conscription statute. Mr. Millis thought that whether or not a draft law is needed this year or next year is a question beyond the competence of ACLU to decide. He suggested instead that the problem was analogous to ACLU's function in passing on due process questions; ACLU did not deny that government has power to draft individuals for military service, but ACLU might have some reservations on the way the draft law is structured or applied, particularly if it unjustly discriminates against a particular class of citizens.

Mr. Soll suggested that the Committee discuss the problem in terms of four distinct propositions:

> (a) The existence of conscription in and of itself does not raise a civil liberties issue, although a civil liberties problem might arise if at some time in the unforseeable future a conscription program were undertaken in the total absence of any need or justification for drafting persons into military service.

(b) In any system of conscription, there must be no form of unjust discrimination perpetrated either through the structure or the administration of the program, including discrimination on account of race, creed, and less clearly, economic status.

(c) Whatever else the conscription system enacted by Congress may contain, it should provide the broadest possible latitude for exempting from military service those persons who conscientiously object to participation in war.

(d) In applying such an exemption there should be no distinction between obviously theistic beliefs and broadly based ethical creeds.

The Committee agreed on propositions (a), (c), and (d). On proposition (b) the Committee felt there was need for further discussion to determine whether discrimination in selecting persons for the draft caused by economic or family status raises a civil liberties issue.

Mr. Soll inquired whether the Committee was prepared to treat conscientious objector status as a right or a privilege. One member stated that although it is interpreted by the courts as a privilege rather than a right, conscientious objector status had been part of the fabric of our conscription system for so long that it should be viewed, at least by the ACLU, as a right. The Committee did not express any opinion on this point.

Mr. Millis agreed to prepare a short position statement embodying the Committee's views for discussion at the next meeting.

3. Fair Trial and Free Press: Mr. Bucholz summarized the Dorsen-Winograd memorandum previously distributed and the Due Process Committee's initial discussion of the problem at its April 14, 1965 meeting.

Several members of the Committee expressed their opinion that a permissive policy with respect to newspaper reporting of crimes and trials may provide protection for citizens against police brutality, extorted confessions, and other official misconduct which might otherwise be concealed by law enforcement authorities.

Mr. Soll suggested the Committee could serve a useful function by deciding first, what kind of information it is undesirable to re-

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C O P Y

C O P Y

"FREE PRESS AND FAIR TRIAL"

AN ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH TO THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

Friday, April 16, 1965
Washington-Hilton Hotel

* *

I thank you for your welcome today, even though I come to talk about a topic on which lawyers and editors have done more talking, for a longer time, with less result, than perhaps any other: free press vs. fair trial. I hope, however, that recently, we have begun to approach the problem reasonably.

The American Bar Association already has established a distinguished special advisory committee on this subject, chaired by Justice Paul C. Reardon of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Associated Press Managing Editors, and your organization, have also devoted considerable attention to it.

All these undertakings are motivated by the same recognition once stated by Benjamin McKelway, the distinguished editorial chairman of the Washington Evening Star, that, "without a free press fair trials would be impossible and without fair trials a free press would be impossible."

It is in that spirit that I come here today -- in the spirit that as rational, civilized men, our interests may sometimes be competing, but they do not need to be incompatible.

This is a need for which we have particular understanding in the Department of Justice. The same differences which separate you and the bar are the same arguments which we must reconcile within a single agency. As prosecutors, we have a duty to help insure a fair trial for

every defendant. As public officials, we are, in my opinion, at all times publicly accountable as to the wisdom and effectiveness of our law enforcement efforts.

As a practical matter, I believe the Department of Justice has reconciled these responsibilities in the past. The increasing attention given to this topic, however, following the Warren Commission Report and other developments, has prompted requests from a number of Department officials for more explicit guidance as to how to strike the balance.

After six months of the most painstaking study and discussion, we have now drawn up a statement of policy to provide such guidance to be issued this morning.

The policies in this statement represent the same policies, generally, now observed by the Department. We articulate them now because I believe it is our responsibility to see that the balance is struck according to standards that are fair, consistent, and uniform in every office of the Department throughout the country.

We do not believe these policies are conclusive; they do not attempt to deal with local problems. Further, the policies are directed to personnel of the Department of Justice, not to the press. Inescapably, however, they have a bearing on the press and you are, thus, entitled to know both what we believe our responsibilities to be and to what extent we have taken into account the needs of the press. Let me thus describe our statement of policy and the considerations which underlie it.

I.

I believe our first responsibility, as officials of government, is to recognize that we represent the people as a Department of Justice, and not merely as a department of investigation and prosecution. Vigorous investigation and prosecution are not enough. The affected individual, the judiciary, and the public all must be assured that each case is handled with a due sense of justice.

Second, we must insure that none of our actions as individuals will unduly affect a defendant's opportunity to secure a fair and impartial jury. A federal charge demonstrates our conclusion of probable cause that the accused has committed the crime charged. This belief receives the confirmation of a commissioner or at least a majority of a grand jury. But under our system, the defendant is still presumed innocent until a jury determines his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Our third responsibility in this field is to place the possible dangers of prejudice in proper perspective. A very high percentage of federal defendants plead guilty. In fiscal 1964, only 12 1/2 percent of defendants in federal courts were eventually tried, and only 3 percent were tried by a jury.

We have legal safeguards to reject potential jurors who may be influenced. There are other safeguards against influences on the jury once it is selected. Even so, there is no empirical basis for knowing if these safeguards are sufficient. We do not know how many jurors will remember, even subconsciously, what they may have read or heard about the defendant. But it is our duty, in any event, to avoid compounding such influences.

These are rarely federal problems. But Supreme Court decisions illustrate what pretrial publicity can do to defeat the jury system in state cases. One conviction, for example, was over-turned because pretrial publicity was so inflammatory that 370 of 430 jury panel members believed the defendant to be guilty. Even of the twelve jurors eventually chosen, eight thought the man to be guilty before the trial began.

In another case in which the conviction was reversed, a television film of a defendant confessing to the sheriff was broadcast to fully two-thirds of the county's population.

These are obviously extreme examples. But it is the extreme examples which provide such fertile soil for appellate court eloquence. The cases in which prejudice is less blatant can turn out every bit as unjustly -- without the prejudice ever being discovered.

Because courts rectify extreme cases does not mean justice should not be sought in cases involving less dramatic prejudice. Because the number of cases which reach trial is small does not mean justice should be measured by statistics. We can hardly condone injustices on the grounds that they are infrequent.

Finally, we believe it is our responsibility as a public agency to be publicly accountable. Public interest requires public information, and I believe, within the limits of our other obligations as servants of justice, we have a duty to make it available.

These are considerations to which the Department owes a duty. We believe, likewise, that it is necessary for us to take into account the needs and considerations of the press.

II.

The first consideration, I believe, is that it is not for us to regulate the conduct or the content of the press. We, whether in the Department or in the bar, are hardly the exclusive keepers of the keys to the kingdom of justice.

The proper administration of justice is a responsibility in which we all share -- public officials, editors, and citizens. For us to try to impose our judgment on yours denies your share in that responsibility. While we may, out of valid concern, seek to inform your judgment, it is not for us to override it.

Second, I believe there is too little emphasis on the constructive role played by the press in the administration of justice. Too often, the press argument is stated in platitudes -- "the right to know" or "freedom of the press." These phrases are hardly meaningless. Yet in the gloss generality, they fail to match the urgency of tangible instances of injustice through publicity.

There is no way to produce statistics reflecting the public interest -- to show for example, how many citizens woke up to the crime problem or the need for vigilant law enforcement because they read a story in column 2, page 6, on April 16. But just because it is impossible to calibrate the impact of information, that impact must be neither minimized nor ignored.

Third, I know of no editor who opposes fair trials; I know of no lawyer who opposes public disclosure. Many of our differences of opinion exist not because of principle, but because of timing.

If the orientation of the press were to the time of conviction rather than the time of arrest, our difficulties would disappear. But that orientation is not within our control. It is a fact of life that news is when news happens; it is not something held in suspension.

What we must accept, therefore, is that if there are valid law enforcement aims to be served by making disclosures in a case, it is at arrest that they are news, it is then that they receive maximum attention, and it is then that the necessary questions can most effectively be raised in the public mind.

It is with these considerations in mind, both with respect to our responsibilities and yours, that we reviewed and evaluated the specific types of pretrial information about criminal defendants. It is my belief that it is in a discussion of specifics and not a weary rehearsal of general arguments that we can now begin to approach our problems rationally.

III.

Pretrial information can be broken down into three categories -- information which we should unquestionably make available, information so deeply prejudicial that it should not be provided by the Government, and third -- information which some think to be prejudicial, but which may also significantly serve the public interest.

It is relatively uncomplicated to isolate the first two categories-- the yes and the no. In the first category, we believe the following types of information ought, without question, to be made available:

1. We should identify a defendant not only as to name, but wherever possible give his age, address, occupation, marital status, and other general background information.

2. The substance or text of a charge -- such as a complaint or indictment, should be freely available. It is, after all, a public record, and it is, normally, a source of at least a skeletal description of the offense charged.

3. We should identify the arresting agency and, if relevant, disclose the length of the investigation preceding the arrest.

4. Limitations should not apply to the release of information necessary to enlist public assistance in apprehending fugitives from justice.

5. We may make available photographs of a defendant -- but only if a valid law enforcement function is thereby served. And we should not prevent the photographing of defendants when they are in public places -- but neither should we encourage such pictures, or pose prisoners.

The second category includes information so plainly prejudicial that not even the needs of a free press should override it:

1. The single most damaging aspect of pretrial publicity is the publication of defendants' confessions or admissions. This prejudice is so great and so well understood among editors that I know many flatly refuse to publish confessions, even if volunteered by law enforcement authorities. We believe that no such confessions -- or even the fact that a confession has been made -- should be provided by the Department of Justice.

2. It is undesirable to have a prosecutor editorialize in any release of information. There is substantial risk of prejudice, with

no counterbalancing reason of public interest, when a law enforcement official characterizes a defendant as, for example, a "mad dog sex killer"; or characterizes evidence as "an open and shut case"; or publicly appraises the credibility of a witness. Such conduct has no proper place in the fair administration of justice.

3. Finally, we do not believe Department personnel should refer to investigative procedures such as fingerprint, polygraph, ballistics, or laboratory tests. Such demonstrative facts constitute evidence which should be presented publicly for the first time to the trial jury in a court of law. Disclosure of such matters to the public before trial can be deeply prejudicial without any significant addition to the public's need to be informed.

IV.

I have talked so far about two categories of pretrial publicity -- the yes and the no. To achieve a balance in the third category is a task of extreme difficulty.

For example, one type of such information concerns the circumstances of arrest -- what was seized, for example; or was the suspect armed; or did he try to flee?

This information might be decidedly relevant to the offense charged -- such as a packet of number slips found in the office of an interstate gambling suspect. But if the search and seizure were declared improper by the court, this evidence would not be admissible at trial and a potential juror could learn of it only through publication.

There are those who therefore believe, with sincerity and logic, that such information should under no circumstances be disclosed to the press. Since the seized material may not be admissible, the argument goes, no chance should be taken that a potential juror will become aware of the information before trial.

Further, it is said, even if the information is admissible, a juror's only exposure to these facts should be through court procedures established to insure fairness. Publication should come only after trial, this argument concludes, when any possibility of prejudice has passed.

This argument clearly has some force. However, it does not recognize many considerations with which we in the Department of Justice must deal. The public must be informed as to the extent of the crime problem as quickly as possible. The public must be informed whether or not law enforcement is proceding justly and efficiently. And the public must be protected from further criminal acts.

An announcement that a man has been arrested on a forged securities charge tells little. But considerable public interest is served by disclosing, as well that millions of dollars of the securities were seized at the time of arrest; that others were sold to unknown victims; and that still others are loose somewhere in the marketplace.

True, the release of such information might raise dangers of prejudice, but we have legal safeguards to protect against this possibility. Meanwhile, the public interest is overriding and must be served.

Under the present press system, we can serve that function only at the time of arrest. If this is one of the ninety-two percent of cases that do not go to jury trial, the possibility of prejudice disappears. If the trial is a year or more after arrest, memories -- and the problems of prejudice -- will have faded. If any jury panel member happens to recall the news item and cannot serve impartially, the system provides for his rejection.

We therefore feel that, generally, our duty justifies the release of information pertaining to the circumstances surrounding an arrest.

There is a second specific type of information for which we found the balance even harder to strike: the disclosure of a defendant's criminal record.

Virtually all existing proposals designed to cope with the problems of pretrial publicity list, as one of their chief requirements, a flat prohibition against any such disclosure. The potential impact of such a disclosure cannot be doubted. Unless a defendant takes the stand, his criminal record generally is not admissible and jurors could not know it, unless they read it in the newspapers.

I do not believe any of us would argue that there is no prejudice in publishing, as a major paper did recently, a three-column sidebar story on a murder arrest, featuring a numbered police mug shot of the suspect, together with a list of 20 prior arrests, most of which had resulted in no prosecution. It is such stories which make understandable the view of many lawyers that prior records should not be released.

But I believe we must acknowledge that there is another side to the argument. The Department of Justice administers much of the federal correctional system. If an arrested suspect has been convicted of the same crime four times previously, that fact may be vivid indication that something went wrong in the law enforcement or correctional process after the prior convictions.

Public scrutiny requires information as to what kinds of people are becoming involved in the criminal process. Is the problem one of the first offenders or repeaters? Does the arrest of a repeated offender result in speedy trial -- or in one continuance after another? Was there undue leniency in prior treatment? Is the arrest mere harassment of a prior offender? These are social questions to which the public has a right, and even a duty, to consider.

In any event, the underlying issue of disclosure is hardly one of principle. Convictions are a matter of public record to any reporter with the time to consult the offices of a number of court clerks. For the Department of Justice to provide them, from our records, is a matter of accuracy and convenience, not principle.

It is a matter of principle, however, whether the prosecutor flaunts a criminal record by volunteering it in a press release or other statement. Indeed, it seems to me that the Government's responsibility is to be as circumspect as possible in the disclosure of criminal record.

Consequently, after the most searching debate, we have concluded that -- within certain limitations -- prior criminal conviction records should continue to be made available.

The limitations are simple and, I believe, reasonable. We will not volunteer such information in a press release or public statement, but will respond to specific, legitimate inquiries. We do not believe it is fair for us to disclose elements of the record unless we can also show disposition, and, therefore, we will disclose only convictions. And finally, we believe we should be called on to supply only the prior records of the federal offenses for which we keep formal records, except in unusual circumstances. Again, let me make it clear, these limitations do not apply to information about fugitives.

Nevertheless, there remains substantial feeling within the Department that even this solution to the question of disclosing prior records is too permissive. We will draw upon the ABA and other pending studies in our continued analysis of this problem and we hope that you, as leading representatives of the press, will cooperate to the fullest extent in requesting and publishing such information only when you believe a significant public purpose is served thereby.

V.

No matter how carefully we may frame policies, and no matter how scrupulously representatives of the Department of Justice may behave, the impact of the balance we have tried to strike depends on how the press conceives its responsibility in this field.

For us to say we will not disclose confessions does not bar you from obtaining them from other sources. The question for your judgment is whether you will publish them, automatically, as a matter of course -- whether you will seek to strike a balance in deciding between possibly prejudicial information and the public interest.

Similarly, for us to say we will disclose prior conviction records at the time of arrest does not bar you from republishing them during the critical period just before and during the trial, or from reporting matters in trial from which the jury is specifically excluded. The obvious question to consider is, will the public interest be served? It is in that interest, after all that each of us serves.

"The First Amendment and Sixth Amendment," one press commentator has observed, "are on collision course all over the country." For my part, I hope we can demonstrate that there is room in our Constitution for both the First Amendment and the Sixth. Certainly there must be room in our thinking for a balance.

Or, to put it another way, in the words of the Florida Supreme Court:

> "There is little justification for a running fight between the courts and the press on this question of a fair trial and a free press. Both are basic and sacred concepts in our system of government. Both are in one constitution and govern one nation of millions of individuals.
>
> "All that is required to preserve both is for the press and the courts to place the emphasis on the Constitution instead of themselves."

BLANK

File

Make holder card
Done 5/27

April 21, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

Much as I appreciate your response of April 15, I think I cannot agree to the circulation of my letter of April 6 in its present form. The wording of my comment about the American Jewish Congress and what might appear to be the self-advertising of my lectures both inhibit me. More importantly, although the letter is a fair statement of my concerns, it is not as carefully drawn as I would want it to be for wide circulation.

Incidentally, in your reply is there not a typo on the last line? I take it you mean "acceptance."

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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April 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am writing to ask if I may share your April 6th letter with the Board (as an affiliate Board member you are aware of the wide distribution that implies) and with the members of the relevant subject matter committees.

Obviously, I feel your letter is extraordinarily pertinent. You are by now aware of the fact that our most recent Board meeting took action on the major feature of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act — Shared Time — which brings us much closer to the position of the American Jewish Congress.

I emphasize my appreciation of the pertinence of your remarks in part because I don't reach all of the same conclusions you do. But I think their importance lies in your premise that past successes have thrust new responsibilities upon the authors of our brand of social criticism. To this might be added that enlarged opportunities have come our way in the course of this development — opportunities that can be realized only with the exceptions of such responsibility.

acceptance?

Very sincerely,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
les

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:GM

Washington Office — 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, *Director*; Julie N. Barrows, *Executive Assistant*
Southern Regional Office — 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., *Director*; Jean Levine, *Executive Assistant*.
With organized affiliates in thirty states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 300 cities of 50 states

150

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

APRIL, 1965

WORKING PAPER NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

A STATEMENT ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

The clash between the right of free speech and the right of privacy is another of the conflicts between competing considerations that occasionally arise in the civil liberties field.*

The basic issue is to determine whether the right of free speech and a free press, that is, to express one's ideas fully without inhibition or fear of punishment, should supercede whatever right people may have to keep their personal lives from public view or to prevent their fame or notoriety from being commercially exploited by others without their consent.

It seems clear that in the discussion of many ideas or the dissemination of facts in which the public may be interested, it may be necessary to remark about one or more aspects of the public or private lives of particular people. It is difficult, for example, in the discussion of a political campaign not to discuss certain aspects of the character of the respective candidates and occasionally details about their private lives. Indeed, knowledge of a person's private life may very often reveal some of the motivations for his public actions or views. If one could not discuss many aspects of another's life one may indeed be limited in the discussion of ideas or the dissemination of important factual material. Obviously, the discussion of one's personal affairs may result in embarrassment, pain, anger and even financial injury. False statements about the average persons's private life and maliciously false statements about those in public life which would cause financial injury are usually subject to the laws of libel

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* In discussing the right of privacy in this paper, what is meant is the right of a person to prevent the use of his name, picture, etc., or that of a member of his family, without his consent, for publication in, or exhibition on, any media, whether or not the use is for trade or advertising purposes. We do not include in the concept of the right of privacy, for the purposes of this paper, such matters as wiretapping, eavesdropping by electronic or other devices, illegal searches and seizures, the problem of the captive audience, the right to birth control information, the surveillance of one's mail and related problems. "Right of privacy" is sometimes used to identify these issues, but we believe they may involve other considerations than those discussed here.

and slander. To that extent, an individual is protected from false statements about himself.

However, leaving false statements aside, it has been argued that even truthful comments about certain aspects of one's private life are not relevant to any discussion of ideas nor do they serve any purpose except to satisfy morbid curiosity. For example, what purpose, it is asked, is served by public exposure of the fact that one's wife or husband is an alcholic or that one's child is retarded. However, there are those who affirm that even an analysis of such private facts do bear upon the psychological and emotional make-up of the individual involved and hence is pertinent information to which the public, in some situations, is entitled. Therefore, to draw a precise line between those matters (presumably not false) which are private and hence unpublishable, and those to which the public is entitled, and therefore printable, may be impossible. To attempt to draw a vague and unclear dividing line would, we believe, inhibit discussion in a much broader area than is desired. In our view, the need for unhampered discussion of ideas and facts and of people who espouse the ideas is more important than the right of individuals to keep certain aspects of their private lives to themselves.**

The argument is also made that regardless of what the rules may be for people in the public limelight, such rules should not be applicable to persons not in the public eye, that is, those who have not sought the light of publicity. However, in view of the fact that the problem posed arises only when publicity has been given to an individual, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a distinction between those who never were public figures to whom one rule would apply and those, until now, not public figures to whom another rule would apply. Moreover, the difficulty would be compounded by a rule which would permit certain people to shift back and forth between being public figures at one time and then non-public ones at other times.

We have thus far discussed those cases where publication of accurate details of a person's private life is intended to shed light about him for the purpose of engendering discussion of matters of interest to the public. When, however, a person's name, picture or personality is used for other purposes, such as to sell commercial products, we believe another rule applies. Thus, where a baseball player's testimonial to the excellence of a specific cigarette or

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** This consideration does not apply, however, when such private information is obtained by illegal methods such as wiretapping, etc. In such cases, other factors are present, involving rights perhaps more fundamental than a person's right to be free from embarrassment, namely, to be secure in his home, etc.

brand of beer is involved, there would seem to be little harm, if any at all, to the discussion of ideas or matters of public interest which would result from prohibiting his name or photo to be used if his consent is not obtained. Fortunately, there is comparatively little difficulty in recognizing what is or is not a commercial or trade purpose in the use of another's name or picture and to prohibit such use is not likely to prevent the discussion of matters of public interest by people because of uncertainty of what is or is not permitted.

A problem does arise in this area, however, when an author, for example, writes a biography or tale which appears more or less fictionalized and uses a person's name, picture or material about his life, without his consent. The question presented is whether such use is meant for commercial exploitation or to further public discussion or information. In these cases, in our opinion, one must look at the material as a whole to decide whether fact or fiction is involved. If it is factual, then it should be permitted lest no biography be possible unless authorized by the person involved. If fiction, then his consent should be required as in other cases of commercial exploitation except that brief background use of the name of a public figure should be permitted where such use is appropriate. The fact that a book contains numerous factual errors does not by itself, of course, make it fiction.

If continued use is made of a person's name or picture for commercial purposes without his consent, we see no civil liberties issue in the use of the injunctive powers of the court to prevent such continued misuse.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 5, 1965

WORKING PAPER NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

Proposed Statement on Legislative Investigations

The ACLU yields to no one in its recognition of the importance of Congressional investigations. Congressional investigations provide the information which Congress needs if it is to legislate intelligently and evaluate the operation of government agencies. Nevertheless, while the historic right of Congress to investigate matters within its competence and jurisdiction must be preserved, the ACLU is concerned, along with many other organizations and individuals, about the need for fair rules of procedure to guide Congressional investigating committees and subcommittees in the performance of their duties. Past and recent history have shown the dangers posed to American freedoms by legislative investigating bodies which fail to honor constitutional requirements of fair play in legislative inquiries. The ACLU urges that a set of principles of procedural fairness should be recognized by Congressional investigating committees and suggest that these include as a minimum those set forth below.

I. Properly Defined Legislative Purpose:

The purpose of each Congressional investigation should be specifically defined, whether by the Congressional resolution creating a committee or by the resolution authorizing a particular investigation. The specification of a legislative purpose is necessary not only to guide a Congressional committee in carrying out its function. As the Supreme Court of the United States said in Watkins v. United States, 354 U.S. 178, 187 (1957), "No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress." A specific statement of the subject matter and purposes of investigation is therefore necessary to enable individuals who may be subpoenaed to testify under the compulsion of contempt power, as well as the public at large and the federal courts, to judge whether or not a particular investigating body of the Congress is keeping its inquiry within proper limits or indulging in forbidden excesses. We need look no further than the vague mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee to "investigate the extent, character, and objectives of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States," and the utilization of that broad mandate by the Committee to inquire into opinion and political belief, for ample support for the conclusion that Congressional committees should have specific mandates for conducting investigations. Of course, it is beyond argument that no mandate may authorize a Congressional committee to investigate merely for the sake of exposing unorthodox views or criminal activity. Congress has no power to expose individuals, but only to consider and pass on legislation. Investigations into im-

proper conduct by individuals should be undertaken by appropriate law enforcement agencies.

II. Congressional Investigation Into Belief and Association Protected by the First Amendment:

An individual's private beliefs and political associations are protected from Congressional or other governmental inquiry by the First Amendment. Although American history is replete with instances of legislative committees ignoring this principle, the ACLU has continually urged that no Congressional committee undertake to interrogate witnesses or pursue investigations which solely concern political beliefs and associations. ACLU believes that the enforcement of this constitutional limitation on Congressional investigations need not limit Congressional effectiveness. In the 1963 investigation into the concentration of news media ownership by the Anti-trust Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, Congressman Celler stated:

> "Throughout the course of this inquiry, the Subcommittee has been mindful of the First Amendment's command that 'Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom*** of the press ***.' Every member of this Subcommittee is deeply devoted to this fundamental guarantee of our freedom. I have said before, and I repeat here and now, we shall shun any form of censorship like the very plague, nor will we in any way undertake to judge the content of any newspaper."

While it may be within the power of Congress to investigate news media or other organizations for certain narrowly defined legislative purposes, it is not within its power to inquire into political beliefs or affiliations. It should be emphasized that any governmental investigation, and especially one by a Congressional committee, into political ideas and associations has a chilling and far-reaching effect on the free public debate which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to encourage.

III. Compositions of Committees:

Because of frequent abuses stemming from the use of one-man investigating subcommittees, it is imperative that Congress adopt rules forbidding the holding of hearings and the examination of witnesses by one member of a subcommittee acting alone. As an example of a recent step in the right direction, the United States Commission on Civil Rights is required by law to have at least two members present at any hearing, representing each major political party. 42 USC 1975 d (f).

IV. Adequate Notice for Witnesses:

Adequate notice to an individual that a hearing is to be held at which he will be compelled to testify is essential not only as a matter of constitutionally required due process, but as a means of insuring orderly and productive committee sessions. Notice to prospective

witnesses must be given sufficiently far ahead of the committee hearing to enable them to secure the advice and assistance of counsel if they so desire. To make consultation with counsel meaningful, to enable a witness to prepare adequate testimony, and to prevent unfair surprise, notice should not merely state when and where a hearing is to be held, but should specify what the subject of the hearing is to be and, as precisely as possible, what specific subject matter the witness will be questioned on. The notice to prospective witnesses should be accompanied by a copy of the appropriate Congressional rules governing investigatory hearings.

V. The Right to Counsel:

The right to counsel should encompass more than the right merely to be accompanied by counsel, the construction which most Congressional committees have placed upon it. Counsel for a witness should have the right to make objections to the relevancy or propriety of committee questions or to other committee procedures which violate his client's legal rights, and to argue in support of his objections. In addition, counsel should be permitted to subject his client to reasonable direct examination in order to explain or justify answers given to the committee by his client. (For cross-examination see infra.)

VI. Defamatory Testimony Should Be Screened:

There are today individuals who still bear the scars inflicted on them by untrue or unsubstantiated charges of wrong-doing by Congressional investigating committees. In the nature of things, it is virtually impossible for an effective rebuttal to catch up with sensational accusations made at a public committee hearing. At the very least, therefore, before defamatory charges are aired, they should be screened in executive session to determine whether the information offered is reliable or not. The individual whom the information tends to defame should be properly notified and given an opportunity to appear before the committee in executive session with other witnesses if he so requests, or with other evidence rebutting the information. The same requirement of fair notice pertaining to witnesses at public hearings should apply here. Further, in order to safeguard the privacy of the executive session, there should be an absolute prohibition on the publication of information discussed at the session, prior to a determination of whether to hold a public session at which the defamatory information will be presented. Sensational leaks to the press or ex-parte statements by individual committee or staff members which do not reflect the official conclusions of the committee must be prevented, not by hortatory admonitions but by a Congressional statute making premature or unauthorized disclosure a criminal offense or subject to the contempt power.

VII. Rebuttal of Defamatory Testimony:

Committee investigations should not be in fact or appearance one-sided attacks on individuals, organizations, or ideas. Particularly where individual reputations are concerned, there should be adequate opportunity to rebut

damaging information in an effective manner. If defamatory testimony is given in public session after the committee has determined in executive session that it is appropriate to the investigation, any persons about whom such testimony is offered should be afforded an opportunity to: (a) testify or offer sworn statements in his behalf; (b) subject the witness offering defamatory testimony to cross-examination; (c) obtain the assistance of the investigating committee in compelling the production of witnesses and documents reasonably necessary to rebut the charges against him. Though cross-examination has not generally been recognized as a right or even a privilege by Congressional investigating committees (with the notable exception of the Army-McCarthy hearings), it is absolutely necessary to prevent or expose unfounded charges which may ruin an individual's reputation forever. Reasonable cross-examination may take a little time in cases where it is necessary, but it is a fair price to pay for the assurance that the lives and reputations of American citizens are not unjustly blemished.

VIII. Broadcasting of Public Hearings:

(The Committee's position is contained in its statement of February 5, 1965, previously distributed. Compare the recent rule of the Civil Rights Commission, 45 CFR 702.16, which states:

> "Subject to the physical limitations of the hearing room and consideration of the physical comfort of Commission members, staff, and witnesses, reasonable access for coverage of public sessions shall be provided to the various means of communication, including newspapers, magazines, radio, newsreels, and television. However, no witness shall be televised, filmed or photographed during the hearing nor shall his testimony be broadcast or recorded for broadcasting, if he objects.")

IX. Compelling Witnesses to Answer Questions:

In order to avoid the sometimes deliberate distortions of truth which can result from compelling a witness to respond to a complex question by a yes or no answer, witnesses should be allowed concise explanations of their answers when appropriate. Also, any witness should be permitted a short opening and closing statement or explanation of his answer. Those communications generally recognized to be privileged in the law should be respected by Congressional investigatory bodies.

A witness who believes that a committee has asked him a question which he has a legal right not to answer is faced with an impossible dilemma under current Congressional procedure. If he answers it under the mistaken assumption that the committee has the power to compel him to do so, he may be needlessly damaging his reputation forever and exposing matters which he has a constitutional right to keep private. If he does not answer the question he runs the risk of a contempt citation and

criminal conviction if it turns out in a subsequent court proceeding that his or his attorney's judgment is mistaken. To mitigate this dilemma, the ACLU favors replacing the present Congressional contempt procedure with one allowing an application to a federal court immediately after the propriety of a particular inquiry is called into question. The court may then decide whether the question is a proper one or whether the witness is constitutionally privileged not to answer it. As a less desirable alternative, the ACLU would suggest that a supervisory committee of Congress be established to screen each application for a contempt citation from any investigating committee to determine which are and which are not justified. This procedure would at least have the advantage of placing the determination of whether a witness has been contemptuous of Congress in the more objective hands of a committee other than the one before which the alleged contempt took place. Naturally, under either suggestion, once the determination is made that the question is proper, the witness should be afforded a reasonable opportunity to purge himself of contempt before being subjected to a criminal prosecution.

X. Transcripts:

Verbatim transcripts should be made of all committee hearings in order to provide a record for substantiating or refuting charges and findings. Before a committee makes public a transcript of testimony taken in executive session, that portion containing matter defaming an individual should be forwarded immediately to the person affected in order to appraise him of the charges against him and to permit him to determine whether and how best to refute them. A similar service should be provided for persons defamed at public hearings. Fees for such a service should not be charged, since the individual affected, who may need to reply to the defamatory charges immediately, may not be able to raise the necessary funds to secure a copy of such a transcript.

XI. Committee Files:

Unevaluated, unreliable, or supposedly confidential information in committee files is too often distributed without proper safeguards to prevent its use to damage reputations. There are many cases in point stemming from the making available of HUAC files containing stale or misleading information. The aura of government authority lent by identifying the source as a Congressional committee, when in fact the information may have had a completely unreliable origin, compounds the problem caused by careless use of Congressional committee files. ACLU suggests that the answer lies in maintaining the confidential nature of defamatory material in committee files. If information in committee files suggests that an individual or a group has committed a crime, it should, of course, be turned over to appropriate law enforcement authorities.

XII. Enforcement and Sanctions:

An individual injured by an improper action of a Congressional investigating committee has no resort except the court of public opinion. There he is at a de-

cided disadvantage since, as a private citizen, he cannot effectively criticize Senators or Representatives who not only have easy access to the press but Congressional immunity for their statements.

Without some kind of enforcement machinery, any code of fair procedure for Congressional investigating committees can be only an exhortation to fair play. Without presuming to specify what kind of supervisory framework Congress should enact, it is appropriate to note that past proposals have called for the creation of a special bi-partisan Senate-House Committee presided over by the Vice-President of the United States. Other suggestions have specified the Rules Committees of both House and Senate as the appropriate supervisory agency. What is clear is that some kind of enforcement framework is needed and that it must be given appropriate powers, such as the power to censure offending Congressmen or Senators, the power to recommend an official apology to an individual wrongly accused or mistreated by an investigating committee, or the power to award money damages to victims of investigatory committee abuse.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The purpose of Congressional investigating committees is to gather information needed in order to make intelligent judgments about legislation. There would be no necessity for a code of fair procedure were it not for the unfortunate view of some legislators that the purpose of investigating committees is to harass or intimidate witnesses or to expose evil-doers merely for exposure's sake. If our legislative process is to maintain the importance and respect due it under our constitutional system, it must continue to be basically legislative, not accusatory. Above all, it must remain responsive to the first principles of fairness embodied in the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights.

Seymour Bucholz

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

WORKING PAPER, NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

May 4, 1965

To: Due Process Committee

From: The office

Re: Summary of Proposals for Restricting Pre-Trial Publicity

At its last meeting, the Committee agreed to consider specific remedies for problems raised by pre-trial publicity. This is a summary of the proposals discussed by members of the Committee thus far.

DORSEN-WINOGRAD RECOMMENDATIONS ON POSSIBLE REMEDIES:

1. Adoption of the British approach. The constitutional problems inherent in adopting the British rules, together with the dangers posed by arming courts with broad contempt power in such a sensitive area, prevent us from recommending this as a solution.

2. Trial behind closed doors. Since most inflammatory material is ordinarily circulated before trial, the benefits to be gained from this step would not justify circumscription of a defendant's right to a public trial, even assuming this would be constitutional under the Sixth Amendment.

3. Trial by judge only. This proposal cannot be recommended in view of the Seventh Amendment's guarantee of trial by jury.

4. Administrative choking off of press information sources. This would involve preventing access by newsman to court and police records and forbidding discussion by police or prosecutors of prejudicial information. Because considerable criticism would almost certainly accompany imposition of measures to prevent the media from obtaining such material, the legislative approach seems preferable.

5. Regulation by court rule. While appropriate court rules appear desirable, this solution will have to be complemented by other measures, since adequate rule-making power is not available to some courts.

6. Statutory solutions. While a statute penalizing disclosures by newsmen, broadcasters, lawyers, police and others involved in criminal proceedings would be an effective remedy, legislative approval of a proposal which restricts the press in this manner is unlikely. A more realistic proposal would be an act similar to the bill proposed by Senator Morse, S. 1802, which would prevent by the threat of contempt citation the leaking of specified information by law enforcement officials and officers of the court. In most instances, this would keep prejudicial material from reaching media representatives.

7. Voluntary promulgation by the press, bar, and police of a code of professional conduct. Although these codes have not provided much of a deterrent in the past, they might be useful particularly if supported by appropriate sanctions for violations. It is therefore suggested that the Union continue to press for a strengthening of such voluntary guides.

SUGGESTIONS BY PROFESSOR LUSKY:

8. Expansion of challenge for cause. The concept of challenge for cause should be expanded by statute or court rulings to allow challenge for cause of any prospective juror who has gained a substantial degree of knowledge about a case as a result of pre-trial publicity. By preventing prosecutors from gaining a trial advantage through the use of jurors exposed to prejudicial publicity, a major incentive to the use of such publicity would be removed.

9. Admonition by court. A statute or a court rule could empower a judge to summon a public official or an attorney who released information prior to trial and to rebuke him publicly. At the same time, the judge could permit opposing counsel to publicize an answering statement (but only if counsel requests permission to do so).

SUGGESTION BY MR. FRANK: Either alone or together with appropriate bar association representatives, ACLU leaders could meet with the chief judge of an appellate court to urge either the adoption of a specific rule calculated to lessen pre-trial publicity or the stiffening of judicial altitude toward current publicity practices by prosecutors.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

C O P Y

WORKING PAPER

C O P Y

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT OF POLICY CONCERNING THE RELEASE OF INFORMATION BY PERSONNEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE RELATING TO CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS [28 CFR § 50.2]

The availability to news media of information in criminal cases is a matter which has become increasingly a subject of concern in the administration of criminal justice. The purpose of this statement is to formulate specific guidelines for the release of such information by personnel of the Department of Justice.

While the release of information for the purpose of influencing a trial is, of course, always improper, there are valid reasons for making available to the public information about the administration of the criminal laws. The task of striking a fair balance between the protection of individuals accused of crime and public understanding of the problems of controlling crime depends largely on the exercise of sound judgment by those responsible for administering the criminal laws and by representatives of the press and other media.

Inasmuch as the Department of Justice has generally fulfilled its responsibilities with awareness and understanding of the competing needs in this area, this statement, to a considerable extent, reflects and formalizes the standards to which representatives of the Department have adhered in the past. Nonetheless, it will be helpful in ensuring uniformity of practice to set forth the following guidelines for all personnel of the Department of Justice.

Because of the difficulty and importance of the questions they raise, it is felt that some portions of the matters covered by this statement, such as the authorization to make available federal conviction records and a description of items seized at the time of arrest, should be the subject of continuing review and consideration by the Department on the basis of experience and suggestions from those within and outside the Department.

1. These guidelines shall apply to the release of information to news media from the time a person is arrested or is charged with a criminal offense until the proceeding has been terminated by trial or otherwise.

2. At no time shall personnel of the Department of Justice furnish any statement or information for the purpose of influencing the outcome of a defendant's trial.

3. Personnel of the Department of Justice, subject to specific limitations imposed by law or court rule or order, may make public the following information:

(a) The defendant's name, age, residence, employment, marital status, and similar background information.

(b) The substance or text of the charge, such as a complaint, indictment, or information.

(c) The identity of the investigating and arresting agency and the length of the investigation.

(d) The circumstances immediately surrounding an arrest, including the time and place of arrest, resistance, pursuit, possession and use of weapons, and a description of items seized at the time of arrest.

Disclosures should include only incontrovertible, factual matters, and should not include subjective observations. In addition, where background information or information relating to the circumstances of an arrest would be highly prejudicial and where the release thereof would serve no law enforcement function, such information should not be made public.

4. Personnel of the Department shall not volunteer for publication any information concerning a defendant's prior criminal record. However, this is not intended to alter the Department's present policy that, since federal criminal conviction records are matters of public record permanently maintained in the Department, this information may be made available upon specific inquiry.

5. Because of the particular danger of prejudice resulting from statements in the period approaching and during trial, they ought strenuously to be avoided during that period. Any such statement or release shall be made only on the infrequent occasion when circumstances absolutely demand a disclosure of information and shall include only information which is clearly not prejudicial.

6. The release of certain types of information generally tends to create dangers of prejudice without serving a significant law enforcement function. Therefore, personnel of the Department should refrain from making available the following:

(a) Observations about a defendant's character.

(b) Statements, admissions, confessions, or alibis attributable to a defendant.

(c) References to investigative procedures, such as fingerprints, polygraph examinations, ballistic tests, or laboratory tests.

(d) Statements concerning the identity, credibility, or testimony of prospective witnesses.

(e) Statements concerning evidence or argument in the case, whether or not it is anticipated that such evidence or agrument will be used at trial.

7. Personnel of the Department of Justice should take no action to encourage or assist news media in photographing or televising a defendant or accused person being held or transported in federal custody. Departmental representatives should not make available photographs of a defendant unless a law enforcement function is served thereby.

8. This statement of policy is not intended to restrict the release of information concerning a defendant who is a fugitive from justice.

9. Since the purpose of this statement is to set forth generally applicable guidelines, there will, of course, be situations in which it will limit release of information which would not be prejudicial under the particular circumstances. If a representative of the Department believes that in the interest of the fair administration of justice and the law enforcement process information beyond these guidelines should be released in a particular case, he shall request the permission of the Attorney General or the Deputy Attorney General to do so.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
ATTORNEY GENERAL

Date: April 16, 1965

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 5, 1965

WORKING PAPER NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

Proposed Statement on Legislative Investigations

The ACLU yields to no one in its recognition of the importance of Congressional investigations. Congressional investigations provide the information which Congress needs if it is to legislate intelligently and evaluate the operation of government agencies. Nevertheless, while the historic right of Congress to investigate matters within its competence and jurisdiction must be preserved, the ACLU is concerned, along with many other organizations and individuals, about the need for fair rules of procedure to guide Congressional investigating committees and subcommittees in the performance of their duties. Past and recent history have shown the dangers posed to American freedoms by legislative investigating bodies which fail to honor constitutional requirements of fair play in legislative inquiries. The ACLU urges that a set of principles of procedural fairness should be recognized by Congressional investigating committees and suggest that these include as a minimum those set forth below.

I. Properly Defined Legislative Purpose:

The purpose of each Congressional investigation should be specifically defined, whether by the Congressional resolution creating a committee or by the resolution authorizing a particular investigation. The specification of a legislative purpose is necessary not only to guide a Congressional committee in carrying out its function. As the Supreme Court of the United States said in Watkins v. United States, 354 U.S. 178, 187 (1957), "No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress." A specific statement of the subject matter and purposes of investigation is therefore necessary to enable individuals who may be subpoenaed to testify under the compulsion of contempt power, as well as the public at large and the federal courts, to judge whether or not a particular investigating body of the Congress is keeping its inquiry within proper limits or indulging in forbidden excesses. We need look no further than the vague mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee to "investigate the extent, character, and objectives of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States," and the utilization of that broad mandate by the Committee to inquire into opinion and political belief, for ample support for the conclusion that Congressional committees should have specific mandates for conducting investigations. Of course, it is beyond argument that no mandate may authorize a Congressional committee to investigate merely for the sake of exposing unorthodox views or criminal activity. Congress has no power to expose individuals, but only to consider and pass on legislation. Investigations into im-

proper conduct by individuals should be undertaken by appropriate law enforcement agencies.

II. Congressional Investigation Into Belief and Association Protected by the First Amendment:

An individual's private beliefs and political associations are protected from Congressional or other governmental inquiry by the First Amendment. Although American history is replete with instances of legislative committees ignoring this principle, the ACLU has continually urged that no Congressional committee undertake to interrogate witnesses or pursue investigations which solely concern political beliefs and associations. ACLU believes that the enforcement of this constitutional limitation on Congressional investigations need not limit Congressional effectiveness. In the 1963 investigation into the concentration of news media ownership by the Anti-trust Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, Congressman Celler stated:

> "Throughout the course of this inquiry, the Subcommittee has been mindful of the First Amendment's command that 'Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom*** of the press ***.' Every member of this Subcommittee is deeply devoted to this fundamental guarantee of our freedom. I have said before, and I repeat here and now, we shall shun any form of censorship like the very plague, nor will we in any way undertake to judge the content of any newspaper."

While it may be within the power of Congress to investigate news media or other organizations for certain narrowly defined legislative purposes, it is not within its power to inquire into political beliefs or affiliations. It should be emphasized that any governmental investigation, and especially one by a Congressional committee, into political ideas and associations has a chilling and far-reaching effect on the free public debate which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to encourage.

III. Compositions of Committees:

Because of frequent abuses stemming from the use of one-man investigating subcommittees, it is imperative that Congress adopt rules forbidding the holding of hearings and the examination of witnesses by one member of a subcommittee acting alone. As an example of a recent step in the right direction, the United States Commission on Civil Rights is required by law to have at least two members present at any hearing, representing each major political party. 42 USC 1975 d (f).

IV. Adequate Notice for Witnesses:

Adequate notice to an individual that a hearing is to be held at which he will be compelled to testify is essential not only as a matter of constitutionally required due process, but as a means of insuring orderly and productive committee sessions. Notice to prospective

witnesses must be given sufficiently far ahead of the committee hearing to enable them to secure the advice and assistance of counsel if they so desire. To make consultation with counsel meaningful, to enable a witness to prepare adequate testimony, and to prevent unfair surprise, notice should not merely state when and where a hearing is to be held, but should specify what the subject of the hearing is to be and, as precisely as possible, what specific subject matter the witness will be questioned on. The notice to prospective witnesses should be accompanied by a copy of the appropriate Congressional rules governing investigatory hearings.

V. The Right to Counsel:

The right to counsel should encompass more than the right merely to be accompanied by counsel, the construction which most Congressional committees have placed upon it. Counsel for a witness should have the right to make objections to the relevancy or propriety of committee questions or to other committee procedures which violate his client's legal rights, and to argue in support of his objections. In addition, counsel should be permitted to subject his client to reasonable direct examination in order to explain or justify answers given to the committee by his client. (For cross-examination see infra.)

VI. Defamatory Testimony Should Be Screened:

There are today individuals who still bear the scars inflicted on them by untrue or unsubstantiated charges of wrong-doing by Congressional investigating committees. In the nature of things, it is virtually impossible for an effective rebuttal to catch up with sensational accusations made at a public committee hearing. At the very least, therefore, before defamatory charges are aired, they should be screened in executive session to determine whether the information offered is reliable or not. The individual whom the information tends to defame should be properly notified and given an opportunity to appear before the committee in executive session with other witnesses if he so requests, or with other evidence rebutting the information. The same requirement of fair notice pertaining to witnesses at public hearings should apply here. Further, in order to safeguard the privacy of the executive session, there should be an absolute prohibition on the publication of information discussed at the session, prior to a determination of whether to hold a public session at which the defamatory information will be presented. Sensational leaks to the press or ex-parte statements by individual committee or staff members which do not reflect the official conclusions of the committee must be prevented, not by hortatory admonitions but by a Congressional statute making premature or unauthorized disclosure a criminal offense or subject to the contempt power.

VII. Rebuttal of Defamatory Testimony:

Committee investigations should not be in fact or appearance one-sided attacks on individuals, organizations, or ideas. Particularly where individual reputations are concerned, there should be adequate opportunity to rebut

damaging information in an effective manner. If defamatory testimony is given in public session after the committee has determined in executive session that it is appropriate to the investigation, any persons about whom such testimony is offered should be afforded an opportunity to: (a) testify or offer sworn statements in his behalf; (b) subject the witness offering defamatory testimony to cross-examination; (c) obtain the assistance of the investigating committee in compelling the production of witnesses and documents reasonably necessary to rebut the charges against him. Though cross-examination has not generally been recognized as a right or even a privilege by Congressional investigating committees (with the notable exception of the Army-McCarthy hearings), it is absolutely necessary to prevent or expose unfounded charges which may ruin an individual's reputation forever. Reasonable cross-examination may take a little time in cases where it is necessary, but it is a fair price to pay for the assurance that the lives and reputations of American citizens are not unjustly blemished.

VIII. Broadcasting of Public Hearings:

(The Committee's position is contained in its statement of February 5, 1965, previously distributed. Compare the recent rule of the Civil Rights Commission, 45 CFR 702.16, which states:

> "Subject to the physical limitations of the hearing room and consideration of the physical comfort of Commission members, staff, and witnesses, reasonable access for coverage of public sessions shall be provided to the various means of communication, including newspapers, magazines, radio, newsreels, and television. However, no witness shall be televised, filmed or photographed during the hearing nor shall his testimony be broadcast or recorded for broadcasting, if he objects.")

IX. Compelling Witnesses to Answer Questions:

In order to avoid the sometimes deliberate distortions of truth which can result from compelling a witness to respond to a complex question by a yes or no answer, witnesses should be allowed concise explanations of their answers when appropriate. Also, any witness should be permitted a short opening and closing statement or explanation of his answer. Those communications generally recognized to be privileged in the law should be respected by Congressional investigatory bodies.

A witness who believes that a committee has asked him a question which he has a legal right not to answer is faced with an impossible dilemma under current Congressional procedure. If he answers it under the mistaken assumption that the committee has the power to compel him to do so, he may be needlessly damaging his reputation forever and exposing matters which he has a constitutional right to keep private. If he does not answer the question he runs the risk of a contempt citation and

criminal conviction if it turns out in a subsequent court proceeding that his or his attorney's judgment is mistaken. To mitigate this dilemma, the ACLU favors replacing the present Congressional contempt procedure with one allowing an application to a federal court immediately after the propriety of a particular inquiry is called into question. The court may then decide whether the question is a proper one or whether the witness is constitutionally privileged not to answer it. As a less desirable alternative, the ACLU would suggest that a supervisory committee of Congress be established to screen each application for a contempt citation from any investigating committee to determine which are and which are not justified. This procedure would at least have the advantage of placing the determination of whether a witness has been contemptuous of Congress in the more objective hands of a committee other than the one before which the alleged contempt took place. Naturally, under either suggestion, once the determination is made that the question is proper, the witness should be afforded a reasonable opportunity to purge himself of contempt before being subjected to a criminal prosecution.

X. Transcripts:

Verbatim transcripts should be made of all committee hearings in order to provide a record for substantiating or refuting charges and findings. Before a committee makes public a transcript of testimony taken in executive session, that portion containing matter defaming an individual should be forwarded immediately to the person affected in order to appraise him of the charges against him and to permit him to determine whether and how best to refute them. A similar service should be provided for persons defamed at public hearings. Fees for such a service should not be charged, since the individual affected, who may need to reply to the defamatory charges immediately, may not be able to raise the necessary funds to secure a copy of such a transcript.

XI. Committee Files:

Unevaluated, unreliable, or supposedly confidential information in committee files is too often distributed without proper safeguards to prevent its use to damage reputations. There are many cases in point stemming from the making available of HUAC files containing stale or misleading information. The aura of government authority lent by identifying the source as a Congressional committee, when in fact the information may have had a completely unreliable origin, compounds the problem caused by careless use of Congressional committee files. ACLU suggests that the answer lies in maintaining the confidential nature of defamatory material in committee files. If information in committee files suggests that an individual or a group has committed a crime, it should, of course, be turned over to appropriate law enforcement authorities.

XII. Enforcement and Sanctions:

An individual injured by an improper action of a Congressional investigating committee has no resort except the court of public opinion. There he is at a de-

cided disadvantage since, as a private citizen, he cannot effectively criticize Senators or Representatives who not only have easy access to the press but Congressional immunity for their statements.

Without some kind of enforcement machinery, any code of fair procedure for Congressional investigating committees can be only an exhortation to fair play. Without presuming to specify what kind of supervisory framework Congress should enact, it is appropriate to note that past proposals have called for the creation of a special bi-partisan Senate-House Committee presided over by the Vice-President of the United States. Other suggestions have specified the Rules Committees of both House and Senate as the appropriate supervisory agency. What is clear is that some kind of enforcement framework is needed and that it must be given appropriate powers, such as the power to censure offending Congressmen or Senators, the power to recommend an official apology to an individual wrongly accused or mistreated by an investigating committee, or the power to award money damages to victims of investigatory committee abuse.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The purpose of Congressional investigating committees is to gather information needed in order to make intelligent judgments about legislation. There would be no necessity for a code of fair procedure were it not for the unfortunate view of some legislators that the purpose of investigating committees is to harass or intimidate witnesses or to expose evil-doers merely for exposure's sake. If our legislative process is to maintain the importance and respect due it under our constitutional system, it must continue to be basically legislative, not accusatory. Above all, it must remain responsive to the first principles of fairness embodied in the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights.

Seymour Bucholz

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

AGENDA

DUE PROCESS COMMITTEE MEETING

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1965 - 4:45 P. M.

ACLU OFFICE

1. Free Press and Fair Trial.

   (a) The enclosed summary of remedial proposals is intended to help the Committee focus its discussion.

   (b) The enclosed speech and directive by Attorney General Katzenbach raises some additional issues.

2. Fair Congressional Investigating Procedures.

   (a) Enclosed is a proposed statement of principles of fairness to be observed in Congressional investigations. In addition to substantive points and wording changes, Committee members may want to give some thought to whether the statement is too long, whether it includes all of the principles we want to stress, and whether the principles stated should be ranked in importance.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

DUE PROCESS COMMITTEE MEETING

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1965 4:45 p.m.

ACLU OFFICE

Present: Mr. Ennis, presiding; Messrs. Frank, Lusky, McKay

Office: Messrs. Reitman, Bucholz

Guest: Mr. Peter Winograd

1. Federal Bail Bill -- S.1357. Mr. Ennis reported that 3 bills originally introduced in the Senate in 1964, S.2838, S.2839, and S.2840 had been combined into a single proposal to amend federal bail provisions - S.1357 and introduced last March by Senator Ervin. Larry Speiser testified for ACLU at the hearings on the original bail revision bills in 1964. Senator Ervin has invited Larry Speiser to testify at the forthcoming hearings on the new bail bill and has solicited ACLU views on a number of questions pertaining to pre-conviction detention of an accused. Because of the need to present testimony in late May or early June, Mr. Ennis asked the Committee to take up the bill and Senator Ervin's questions, even though no working papers had been previously sent out to the Committee, so that the Board could consider the matter at its next meeting.

Mr. Ennis summarized briefly the contents of the bill, and stated that its purpose was to liberalize bail procedures in the federal courts by allowing a wide variety of alternative methods of releasing persons charged with criminal offenses pending their trial or appeal. Included in the bill are such release methods as personal recognizance, unsecured appearance bonds, and 10% bail deposits returnable on the defendant's appearance in court. In addition, the bill provides for part-time or full-time release under supervision of probation or law officers or a third person. Any person complaining of the conditions of his release may appeal to the appropriate federal court. The bill also allows persons incarcerated prior to a

final judgment of conviction to be given credit in serving their sentences for the time spent in jail before the commencement of the sentence.

In view of the greatly liberalized bail procedures contemplated by the Bill, Senator Ervin is concerned about the need to create some mechanism for detaining in custody persons whose release prior to conviction might constitute a menace to society, or persons who are prone to flee the jurisdiction; the Senator voiced these concerns in his letter to Mr. Speiser of March 12, 1965.

After hearing Mr. Ennis' report and reviewing Senator Ervin's letter of March 12, 1965, the Committee concluded that preventive detention before a person had been convicted of any offense was an extremely dangerous proposal and was irrelevant to the purpose of bail. Bail procedures should be designed solely to assure the defendant's appearance at his trial. The Committee felt that the problem of dealing with persons who may be a menace to public safety if they are released prior to trial is one that should and could be dealt with by the substantive criminal law or by laws relating to mental commitment and treatment.

As to the question of whether a detention could be authorized by a bail statute for persons likely to flee the court's jurisdiction prior to trial, the Committee questioned whether this problem could not be met by current surety bond procedures. That is, although a court should not consider whether a particular individual can or cannot meet a high bail bond, it could set an amount sufficient to insure a person's appearance at court. Professor Lusky stated that if a millionaire will appear at his trial without any bail bond, then it is wrong to place $100 bond on him; if an indigent looks like an extremely bad risk, then it is proper to place a $1,000 bond on him.

The Committee agreed that it could not do justice to the request for advice without further consideration. In view of the time factor, it was agreed that Mr. Ennis and Mr. Bucholz should prepare appropriate materials, including a copy of the bill and a short proposed Committee position, which will be circulated to Committee members as soon as possible. Committee members will be polled by phone and the results submitted to the Board at its May 24 meeting.

2. Fair Trial and Free Press. Mr. Ennis reviewed prior Committee discussion and suggested that the Committee begin discussion of specific proposals to be made to the Board.

As a preliminary matter, the Committee agreed that the statement an policy directive on pre-trial release of information issued

by Attorney General Katzenbach were steps in the right direction and should be endorsed by ACLU, although more would be needed to deal with the problem effectively.

The first specific proposal discussed was Professor Lusky's suggestion of expanding the scope of the challenge for cause. (No. 8 in the office memo of May 4, 1965.) Mr. Frank asked whether there would not be cases in which an impartial jury could not be found if Professor Lusky's suggestion were adopted. Professor Lusky responded that although there might be situations in which a defendant would have to wait some time to find 12 jurors who had not gained substantial knowledge about the case as a result of newspaper publicity, this price was a reasonable one to pay for an impartial jury. Dean McKay added that the suggestion was one of the most helpful he had seen in the long discussion over this problem.

Mr. Frank wondered whether it wouldn't be possible for a defense attorney who wanted to delay the trial of his client to feed information surreptiously to the press, even if such information was harmful to his client. His client would then be placed in the position of not being able to secure an impartial jury. Professor Lusky replied that even if this occurs in rare cases, it could be punished as an obstruction of justice. Dean McKay pointed out that such a tactic would be extremely dangerous for defense counsel to pursue since even a theoretically impartial jury might retain some residue of bias toward a defendant on the basis of the unfavorable material previously published.

Professor Lusky acknowledged that the suggestion might make it difficult to find jurors in certain areas, particularly in small court districts comprised of rural counties. However, he felt that federal court districts, which comprise larger areas and populations, would not pose much of a problem particularly if they are located in urban centers.

The Committee agreed that this proposal could be endorsed by ACLU for the federal judiciary without any qualms, and endorsed for state courts with the reservation that its effect on the ability to impanel juries in rural state court districts would have to be examined.

The Committee agreed that Mr. Ennis and the staff should contact appropriate committees and officials of the Bar Association of the City of New York to get their reaction to the suggestion.

The Committee next turned to the proposal to enact a criminal statute penalizing the pre-trial release of information by both the defense and prosecution. Mr. Ennis recalled that the Committee had

previously recognized the unlikelihood of charges being brought by prosecution authorities against other law enforcement officers who violate such a statute. He pointed out that dead-letter laws are undesirable and undermine respect for the legal system. Professor Lusky suggested as an alternative to a criminal prosecution the use of a civil penalty and private action in the nature of quia timet. Mr. Ennis added that a statute imposing some kind of punishment for releasing information in advance of trial, whether criminal or civil, would at least give the public the impression that the practice is wrong and contrary to public policy. On the issue of whether ACLU would support a criminal statute, one Committee member voted in favor of endorsing such a measure, while three voted in favor of ACLU's neither opposing nor endorsing such a statute.

The Committee agreed unanimously with Mr. Frank's suggestion that informal meetings and discussions with judges should be used as a means of putting forward ACLU's concern and proposals in connection with limiting free trial publicity. The Committee also agreed that ACLU could propose any suitable means for realizing the plans it adopts, including legislation, the enactment of court rules, administrative directives by public officials, and meetings with judges and with bar association leaders.

The Committee voted to endorse Professor Lusky's proposal for court admonishment of prosecution or defense attorneys who release prejudicial information in advance of trial. Dean McKay thought that the advantage of this suggestion was that its curative effect could be applied immediately to counter-act wrong-doing, whereas a prosecution under a criminal statute might not occur until after a trial had ended. Mr. Winograd suggested, and the Committee concurred, that the Lusky proposal be coupled with a provision allowing the judge delivering the rebuke or admonition to refer the matter to an appropriate disciplinary committee of a local bar association.

Mr. Frank and Mr. Reitman felt that although the Committee had given a great deal of attention to pre-trial publicity, it had not dealt with the question of the reporting of testimony during an actual trial. Often jurors are allowed to return home after a day of hearing testimony, and may be influenced as much by what they read and hear about the trial as by the testimony presented to them in court.

The Committee agreed this was a difficult problem in some cases and emphasized that it could not propose the exclusion of reporters from the courtroom. However, on the basis of a suggestion by Professor Lusky, the Committee thought it would be possible to exclude all parties not directly involved in a case from sessions held out

of the hearing of the jury, particularly when such sessions involve the admissibility of evidence and the voluntariness of a confession.

The Committee discussed the appropriate form for a statement of position. Mr. Reitman felt that the Committee statement should include background and introductory language recognizing the conflict between the requirements of due process and the commands of the First Amendment. Professor Lusky argued that a statement expressly choosing one constitutional guarantee over another would place ACLU in an awkard posture. Dean McKay urged that background material be included in any Committee statement but that the statement not be worded in the form of choosing one civil liberties principle over another. It was agreed that a statement should be written containing the result of Committee decisions and discussions, to be presented at the next meeting.

Next meeting: June 9, 1965 at the ACLU offices.

BLANK

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD

FROM: Jack Pemberton

Re: U.S. Committee for Refugees Request for List Exchange

The following is Mr. Evans' letter requesting Board reconsideration of the staff's decision not to continue the U.S. Committee exchange which was tested last year, together with an enclosure supplied by Mr. Evans and a memorandum by Mr. Haskell.

* * * * * * * *

May 12, 1965

Mr. John Pemberton
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Jack,

You will recall our conversation last Fall concerning the use of the ACLU mailing list by the U.S. Committee for Refugees. At that time I accepted your position that under the Board's resolution on the matter you were not free to act affirmatively.

The Executive Vice President of the U.S. Committee for Refugees has asked me to try again to get permission from ACLU for use this year in its Gift Wrap program. I wish, therefore, to ask the Board to discuss making an exception at its next meeting. Can you put this item on the agenda?

I am sending herewith and under separate cover certain materials which may prove useful.

Sincerely yours,

Luther H. Evans
Director of International and
Legal Collections

LHE/jp

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES
20 West 40th Street New York 10018
Telephone: 212 Longacre 4-3247

March 30, 1965

Dr. Luther Evans
The Law School Library
Columbia University
West 114th Street and Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Luther:

Pursuant to our conversation about the exchange of mailing lists between ourselves and the American Civil Liberties Union, the following are considerations which may bear on the decision:

1 - We are not proposing to use the list for fund raising purposes. We will offer our gift wrap package to the persons named on the list.

2 - We have discovered, through testing them, that commercial lists are not helpful to us. Apparently, we have our success with persons accustomed to supporting enterprises like our own (UNICEF, CORE, SANE, et cetera).

3 - Our own list, which we offer in exchange, has 30,000 names and other agencies have had good experience with it for fund raising purposes. For example, in November 1963, a CORE appeal from the USCR list showed a yield of 4.5%, with an average contribution of $7.70. In December 1964, the rate of return from a USCR list on a CORE mailing was 3.8% and the average contribution was $8.58. We believe that the ACLU would profit from the use of our list, as we would from theirs.

4 - We expect to do our mailing in the period including the last week in September and the first two weeks in October 1965.

I hope these items will prove helpful in your proposal to the ACLU Board. I am sending with this a couple of sets of the gift wrap which you may want to exhibit.

Kind regards,

R. Norris Wilson
Executive Vice President

RNW/ebj

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

May 13, 1965

TO: Members of the Board

FROM: Jack Pemberton

RE: Policy-Making Procedure on Long-Range Issues

At the April 3-4 Board meeting discussion between Ernest Angell and several Board members suggested that a need was felt for some improvement in our procedures for submitting long-range policy issues to affiliates for advice prior to final Board action. As a result Mr. Angell has proposed, and the staff warmly endorses, consideration of an experimental modification of the present procedure.

The proposal would require the Board, at any regular meeting, to adopt a tentative policy position on an issue about to be submitted for affiliate advice. The tentative position would then be submitted, along with the recommendation of the appropriate subject-matter committee (or the recommendation of an affiliate to which the subject had been assigned for special study) and all usual working papers emanating from the recommending body's study. The usual procedure for obtaining and assembling affiliate advice would then follow, before final Board action was taken.

Favorable results from the experiment may be hoped for to the extent that it focuses the attention of affiliates offering advice upon a concrete position known to be entertained by the Board. Such a position may well differ from both the majority and minority views of the members of a subject matter committee. And the advantage of such concrete focus may in many instances permit sufficient acceleration of affiliate action to offset the possible delay involved in adding another step to the procedure.

Mention is warranted of the staff's hope that the 1964 revision of the "distribution system" will facilitate affiliate comment <u>during the formulation</u> of a subject-matter committee's recommendation. Under it, each committee's minutes and materials are mailed directly to affiliate personnel who have elected to receive it, so that affiliate subject-matter committees may deliberate upon issues of a special interest to them more nearly contemporaneously with the deliberations of the national committee. Thus, under the proposed experiment, comments from some affiliates having a special interest in the issue may be hoped for prior to the taking of the Board's tentative policy position.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

May 13, 1965

TO: Members of the Board

FROM: Jack Pemberton

RE: Affiliate and National Staff Employees' Pension Plan

The 1964 budget provided for a modest allowance for the fractional year premium to be paid to initiate a pension plan, and salary adjustments for executive employees of the national staff were deferred that year on the representation that the Union's investment in funding pension would stand in lieu of additional salary. No plan was actually commenced, but during the course of the year several pension consultants were interviewed and several alternative plans were considered. Ultimately the Martin E. Segal Company was retained and it has now drafted a plan which I feel most economically and yet most thoroughly meets the needs of the Union to do equity to members of its staff who will retire in the future after having given substantial service to its work.

1. The proposed plan will be open to participation by any affiliate upon determination of its board, and at its expense -- including our recently acquired "affiliate" (in other than the constitutional sense), the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of ACLU. Service on one ACLU staff followed by service on another (e.g., an employee's moving from an affiliate to the national staff or from one affiliate to another) will be treated as service for a single employer so that all of it will be as fully credited as continuous service on the same staff.

2. The plan will require the Union to fund a deferred annuity for each employee who has served at least three years, for each year of his service after he has attained age 30. The standard annuity will commence at age 65 and each year of current service will earn an annuity in the amount of 1% of the first $4800 of that year's salary, plus 2% of the excess. Thus an employee who earned $9600 each year for 20 years would have earned an annual pension of $2880. (1% of the first $4800 equals $48; 2% of the second $4800 equals $96; $48 plus $96 times 20 years equals $2880.) As additional retirement income, of course, the employee will receive a social security benefit funded in part by an employer tax on the first $4800 of his salary; for this reason the pension plan benefit is computed with a "step up" at the $4800 level of salary.

3. In addition to the foregoing "current service" credits, a present employee with service preceeding the initiation of the plan will be entitled to a "past service credit" for each year of his earlier service after age 30, if total past and current service amounts to more than three years. The "past service credit" will be in the amount of 3/4% of his current salary (actual salary for the 12 months preceeding commencement of the plan) and 1 1/2% of the excess, each year.

4. This standard annuity (payable commencable at age 65 and continuing for the life of the employee only) will be subject to options by the employee to receive instead its actuarial equivalent (a reduced amount) in the form of:

(a) a "joint and survivor" annuity continuing in the same amount throughout the life of the survivor of himself and his spouse;

(b) a "joint and survivor" annuity reducing in amount during the survivorship of his spouse; or

(c) an annuity for the life time of the employee only, but guaranteed to continue for a period certain (five or ten years) without regard to his survivorship.

In addition, the employee may elect an early retirement, with the consent of his employer, at any time after age 55, or deferred retirement (but without guarantee of ACLU employment) commencing at an age later than 65, but not later than 70, in either event in the amount of the actuarial equivalent (reduced, if early; increased, if deferred) of the standard annuity accrued to his credit. No contributions will be made to his annuity after age 55.

5. An employee with four or fewer years of service will have no vested interest in the annuity accrued to his credit, in the event of termination of service. However, a five-year employee will have a vested interest in 25% of such accrual, a six-year employee 50%, a seven year employee 75%, and an employee with 8 or more years of service will have a fully vested interest in all of the annuity entitlements accrued to his credit up to the time of the termination of his service (for any cause). Thus, our $9600 employee, if he leaves the Union after 8 years, will be entitled upon reaching age 65 to an annuity of $1152. ($48 plus $96 times 8 years equals $1152.)

6. The plan will provide no death benefit except, as to death after retirement, for the provision he may have made for his survivor in the election of one of the options described in paragraph 4, above. However, the Union has recently put an employees' group term insurance plan into effect, paying an amount which approximates one year's salary to each employee's named beneficiary in the event of death accruing while an employee (but only up to age 70), and the terms of this plan permit its similar extension to any affiliate electing to participate.

7. It is proposed that the pension plan would commence on July 1, 1965. The approximate cost for coverage of national staff employees will be a level amount of $16,000 per year for the several, immediately foreseeable years. That is, foreseeable increases in the average age level and average years of service of the members of the national staff will not increase the premium because an adjustable formula is employed to retire the obligation to fund "past service credits." Provision has been made in the 1965 budget for the half-year's premium required to initiate the plan.

8. Our pension advisors proposed that the Board at this time approve, or alter, the basic outline, only, of the plan. Following such Board action, the plan will be submitted to several insurance companies for bids. These, when returned will be submitted with a formal plan for selection of the underwriter and final approval.

C O P Y

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

535 NORTH DEARBORN STREET . CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60610

AREA CODE 312
527-1500

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

Robert B. Throckmorton
general counsel

May 13, 1965

Executive Director
American Liberties Union
156 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

A matter of the utmost urgency has been called to my attention by the President of the Puerto Rico Medical Association, Egidio S. Colon Rivera, M.D., Apartado 9111, Santurce, Puerto Rico 00908. A bill, No. 238, has been introduced in the Puerto Rico Legislature which would require one year of compulsory public service as a medical doctor as a prerequisite to obtaining a license as a physician in Puerto Rico.

It appears to me that this is a serious violation of the civil rights of United States citizens who choose to practice medicine in Puerto Rico and a flagrant violation of the American tradition of freedom. I have found no other instance in which compulsory governmental service has been made a prerequisite for licensure in any profession, occupation or trade.

It is my understanding that the traditional basis of licensure is to make certain, in the public interest, that only those persons who are qualified and competent to perform services for the public are licensed to do so. On this basis, requirements of education, training amd moral character have been properly established for the medical profession. Conditions for licensure which bear no reasonable relationship to the qualification and competence of the applicant are certainly improper.

C O P Y

This bill appears to me to be most vicious, since it is likely to have a harmful effect on the medical profession in Puerto Rico and on the health services available to the people of Puerto Rico. Physicians who might otherwise be interested in establishing their practice in Puerto Rico will undoubtedly be discouraged from doing so. Medical students from Puerto Rico, as citizens of the United States eligible for licensure anywhere in the United States, are likely to seek licensure elsewhere where they will not be faced with this unjust burden of compulsory governmental service. The result may be that Puerto Rico may face a growing shortage of physicians.

This bill has already been passed by the House of Representatives in the Legislature of Puerto Rico. It is pending in the Senate. If your organization agrees with me that this legislation is inimical to civil rights, I strongly urge that you take prompt action to oppose it. The prestige of your organization in the area of civil rights might be sufficient to prevent this bill from becoming law. If you can take such action, I suggest that you contact Doctor Colon Rivera directly.

Very truly yours,

/s/Richard P. Bergen

Richard P. Bergen

RPB:rm

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEETING

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1965 12:30 P.M.

ACLU OFFICE

Present: Mr. Soll, presiding; Messrs. Crowell, Galantiere, Lowenstein, Millis

Office: Messrs. Reitman, Bucholz

1. ACLU Libel Position. Mr. Soll reviewed the actions taken at the Plenary Board Session of April 3 and April 4, 1965 with respect to libel. The Board deleted the statements relating to punitive damages, and, by limiting the application of the statement to public and political officials, reserved decision on the question of whether attack on public figures who are not public officials should be actionable if not made with malice.

The Committee first considered a request for ACLU participation in a libel case now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court on certiorari, Rosenblatt v. Baer, which poses the question of who is a public official within the meaning of the New York Times rule. The case attempts to reverse a jury verdict for the plaintiff of $31,000, entered against a newspaper columnist who intimated in several of his columns that the director of a county ski area in New Hampshire had misappropriated funds received through the operation of the ski facilities. The director of the ski area was employed by county authorities to run the ski area and was paid out of public funds.

Mr. Soll questioned whether ACLU meant to extend the reference to public officials made in its libel statement to all public employees, from high elective officials such as governors, to postal workers or garbage collectors. He noted the reference in the Board's statement to "political office."

Mr. Crowell recalled that one of the considerations that had motivated the libel position recommended to the Board by the Commit-

tee was that any person handling public funds should be criticizable without being able to recover a libel judgment merely because the criticism was erroneous. Unless a public official who handles public monies can be challenged in public criticism or debate, an extremely valuable check on the operation of local and federal governmental agencies would be lost. Mr. Crowell suggested that the term "public officials" be interpreted by ACLU to include any employee of a governmental body.

Several members of the Committee asked whether this rule might not be too broad, particularly as applied to very low-level governmental employees, such as janitors. Mr. Soll responded that even the broad definition proposed would be limited to criticism of the governmental employee's conduct in relation to his public function. That is, a mail carrier could be charged in the press with embezzling letters entrusted to him for delivery, and the newspaper could not be sued unless there was actual malice present; however, the mail carrier would have a libel action even in the absence of malice if the charge related to conduct not connected with his employment.

After further discussion the Committee agreed that ACLU should participate amicus curiae on behalf of the defendant in the Rosenblatt case in the United States Supreme Court. The ACLU position to be advanced is that the New York Times rule requiring actual malice in cases of criticism of public officials applies whether the official is elective, appointive, or employed by a governmental authority, so long as the criticism relates to matters connected with his government employment.

The Committee agreed to take up at a subsequent meeting the questions left open by the Plenary Board's action on libel: whether a "public figure" should be treated as a public official for purposes of the New York Times rule (and if so how to define the term); and, what action the Committee should recommend on punitive damages.

2. Right to Privacy. The Committee reviewed the amended statement prepared by Mr. Soll after the special meeting on the right of privacy held March 26, 1965. Mr. Reitman distributed copies of letters received by the office on the proposed right of privacy statement, which the Committee read and discussed.

Mr. Soll took up first the question of the definition of a public official and public figure within the meaning of the proposed statement. After some discussion, the Committee concluded that it was unnecessary to define public official or public figure in the statement, since the position reflected in it is that neither public officials, public figures, or private individuals should be given a

right of privacy action against authors of factual works which discuss them. If a fictional treatment of an individual is published, then a right of privacy action should be permitted unless consent is obtained from the person affected, whether or not the person is a public official.

The Committee also agreed that using a person's name or picture for the endorsement of commercial products could be enjoined without raising a civil liberties issue. It was observed that the Committee's final statement had defined the right of privacy along the lines of section 51 of New York State's Civil Rights Law.

In connection with the question of whether or not institutions have a right of privacy, the Committee wondered whether it was necessary to include a statement about institutions in its recommendation on the right of privacy. Mr. Lowenstein and Mr. Soll stated that there were many legal doctrines protecting the use of a corporation's name developed through the commercial law, and wondered whether a privacy notion in connection with corporations, businesses or other institutions was necessary. In particular, the Committee was concerned about adopting a privacy notion protecting the right of an institution not to be discussed when such a concept might prevent or hinder the publication of works satirizing Harvard, General Motors, or the Ford Foundation. The Committee concluded that since the purpose of its right of privacy statement was to explore the right of individuals not to be discussed publicly and the right of communications media to criticize and debate their actions, it would not take a position on institutions at this time. The position paper was adopted unanimously.

3. Peacetime Conscription. Mr. Millis presented his draft to the Committee. Several members questioned whether the sentence in the draft reflecting ACLU's previous opposition to U.M.T. showed inconsistency with the proposed Committee position.

In response, Mr. Millis stated that there was a great difference between the post-war universal military training proposal and the present draft system. The U.M.T. proposal would have imposed a continuing obligation for periodic military training on the entire male population of the country, regardless of what the particular military needs were at any given time. At the time the proposal was made it was criticized by experts as an inefficient way of meeting the country's defense needs and as institutionalizing arbitrary and discriminatory action by the Government. By contrast, the Selective Service System takes only those men needed to fill the ranks of military units at a particular time for a limited

period of service. Mr. Millis agreed to amend the statement to clear up the apparent inconsistency.

Mr. Soll asked whether the statement reflected the views of the Committee, particularly the view stated at its last meeting, that the role of ACLU in considering the military draft was more limited than that of the private citizen or legislator who must choose among alternative proposals and policies for the national defense. The Committee thought that the statement reflected this view but suggested that it be emphasized, particularly at the conclusion of the statement. Mr. Millis agreed to make the several amendments in the statement suggested by the Committee before submitting it to the Board. The statement was adopted with the proposed amendments.

Next meeting: June 11, 1965.

NOTE: In addition to the June 11 meeting, the office, with the concurrence of the chairman, is scheduling a special meeting for June 25, 1965 to discuss program planning in the loyalty-security field. A special working paper for this session will be distributed.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

C
O
P
Y

TO Jack Pemberton

May 14, 1965

FROM Gordon Haskell

Re: Committee for Refugees request for list exchange

The principle on which we exchange is that the exchange must be productive for ACLU. This excludes exchanges with many organizations representing worthy causes.

Last fall we tested 3,500 U.S. Committee for Refugees names on an exchange basis. Here are the results, compared to some other lists on which the same letter, at the same time of year was used.

List	# returns	$ returns	% returns	new members #	new members $	new members %
U.S. comm (3.5m)	24	198	.6	16	135	.5
SANE (14m)	407	3,969	2.9	170	1,363	1.2
FACT (10m)	185	1.801	1.8	142	1.356	1.4
American Scholar (2m)	26	180	1.3	20	138	1.0

We do not consider American Scholar good enough to test further.

The figures given by R. Norris Wilson, on the success CORE has had in using the U.S. Committee, may reflect the fact that the U.S. Committee raises funds by selling Christmas wrappings, and CORE does by selling cards. Perhaps people who like to buy the one item also like the other.

On these considerations I must advise against continuing this exchange.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE
STATEMENT OF MAY 14, 1965
ON CONSCRIPTION

Compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, does not in itself raise a civil liberties issue. The principle of universal and compulsory military service (in the militia) has been accepted since the earliest colonial times. The Constitution imposed no bar to conscription, instead recognizing that there could be no limit on the power of the government to provide for the defense of the state since, as Madison said, "It is in vain to impose constitutional barriers to the impulse of self-preservation." The Supreme Court has sustained that view. The Union has never sought to challenge it in the courts.

Any system of compulsory military service can be challenged on civil liberties grounds only if such service is clearly not required in the interest of national defense, or if it is unjustly discriminatory in structure or operation in respect to race, creed, economic status or other factors irrelevant to the national security. We are not prepared to say that in the present world situation there are no grounds which may justify some form of compulsory military service. The ACLU function is not to debate the alternative form of such service -- whether through the draft, Universal Military Training, the present universal military obligation. Our specialized function is more limited, unlike the member of Congress or individual citizen who must judge such questions on broad grounds of public policy.

Whatever system of military service may obtain, it should, the ACLU believes, provide the broadest possible latitude for exempting from compulsory service those who conscientiously object to participation in war. While there is no constitutional basis for exemption on grounds of conscience, it has been recognized for so long as to acquire the character of a right. So long as it is so regarded, there can be no legitimate distinction between conscientious scruples dictated by avowedly theistic beliefs and those based on broad ethical convictions.

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Walter Millis

RE: Addendum to May 14 Free Speech-Association Committee Prepared Statement on Conscription

The foregoing has been drafted in the light of previous ACLU policy statements on the subject. The Union was born from the effort to preserve the rights of conscience (and of protest) in face of the World War I draft act; and since that time has traditionally taken the position that "universal military service inevitably is an infringement upon the liberties of the individual" (statement of January 22, 1945). At the same time it has consistently recognized that the principle may be subject to modification in practice by overriding demands of the national defense. It did not oppose the first peace-time draft act (August, 1940) because it recognized "the superior claims of national security in war or the imminence of it."

After the war, it did oppose proposals for setting up a system of Universal Military Training (a somewhat different concept from that of the war-time draft, or Selective Service) as a permanent feature of the national life, on the ground that the objections to conscription in principle were "not over-ridden by the prospects of post-war threats to national security." This stand was reaffirmed in 1947 with the observation that "no clear and immediate danger so threatens the country as to justify resort to such an extreme measure as the President's proposal for peace-time universal military training." (Statement of September 8, 1947.)

The Union did not, however, oppose the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951. In effect, this combined a revival of the war-time draft (to meet the exigencies of the Korean War) with some features of the old UMT plan --- in itself never adopted by Congress. The Union then felt that, in view of the perilous international situation it clearly lay "beyond the competence of the ACLU in the name of freedom now to oppose measures for selective service which in earlier emergencies it has accepted." It qualified this endorsement by asking for "more generous protection to the rights of conscience," elimination of "the remaining racial discrimination in the armed forces," and that "everything possible should be done to make it clear that conscription is an emergency measure." It declared that "man's ability to abandon conscription will be a measure of his capacity to maintain both peace and freedom." The ACLU position was that it would support a revival of selective service as a temporary emergency measure; it would oppose any system for permanent, peace-time universal training as "likely to create a spirit of militarism hostile to democratic liberties, to prepare the way psychologically for totalitarian practices, and to become accepted as a regular feature of education even in times of peace." (Statement of February 1, 1951).

How far the 1951 act fulfilled the ACLU qualifications might be arguable. On the one hand it was limited to a term of years and continued selective service; on the other, it introduced a universal eight-year "military obligation" which might be considered a thinly disguised form of the peace-time conscription to which the ACLU had so strongly objected. By acquiescing in this feature during the next few years the ACLU may seem tacitly to have accepted what it formally and forcefully had rejected.

The manpower system established by the 1951 act was unsatisfactory in many ways; and when the draft came up for renewal in 1955 there was an ernest effort to revise it. This entailed both continuation of the draft and various proposals

for military and reserve training. The ACLU (statement of March 18, 1955) repeated its non-opposition to continuation of Selected Service, but the Union appeared before the House Armed Services Committee to declare once more its opposition to UMT. I do not recall, and the record before me does not show, that it made any more detailed critique of the new military manpower system as it was finally embodied in a renewal of the draft and the Reserve Act of 1955. In the absence of such a critique the position taken before the Armed Services Committee seems somewhat doctrinaire. It was certainly not effective in the shaping of the present manpower system which, though it may be considered to embody many of the features to which the ACLU has expressed its objection, has gone unchallenged by the Union through the past ten years.

The foregoing record appears to reveal a certain unresolved tension between the ACLU's feeling that compulsory military service is a basic invasion of individual freedom, and its realization that the claims of the national security are bound to be overriding. The Free Speech Committee's draft policy paper is an attempt to face up to this issue. It frankly accepts and states the principle that conscription, if clearly necessary to the national defense and non-discrimatory in its operation, is not a violation of civil liberty. This principle is plainly implicit in the consistent refusal by the ACLU to oppose the several selective service acts. If it is unnecessary in the interests of the national defense --- if, in the words of the 1947 statement, "no clear and immediate danger so threatens the country as to justify resort to such an extreme measure" --- it represents an unwarranted invasion of civil liberty. This is the principle underlying the opposition to various forms of peace-time UMT.

Unfortunately, acceptance of both principles (and they do not seem mutually inconsistent) leaves a difficult corollary. Policy as to any given conscription act or manpower system must involve a judgment as to its military necessity and its freedom from discrimination. This judgment is one which the ACLU is not well qualified to make. It lacks the knowledge, the experience in the field and the staff resources which would be required. The point is, I think, demonstrated by the way in which the universal military obligation and the Reserve Act of 1955 slipped through the ACLU's fingers as it were, leaving it at least tacitly acquiescent through the past ten years in a manpower system which is violative in some respects of its deeply-felt objection to compulsory, peace-time military training and service.

It is for this reason that the Free Speech Committee included the latter part of paragraph 2 in its draft. The Committee has seen no indication that the ACLU is prepared to take a firm stand against any or all forms of peace-time compulsory military training and service, given the present state of world affairs. Short of such a stand, it can oppose specific compulsory plans, or features of such plans, in general only by weighing largely technical issues of a kind in which it is not particularly competent and which lie outside its specialized function. It is not its primary business to debate alternative forms of military manpower usage, once it has admitted that some forms of compulsion may be necessary.

It does not follow that the ACLU need always remain wholly silent in this area. It is not difficult to imagine extreme or discriminatory proposals, patently lying beyond the bounds of justice or of genuine military necessity, which it would feel called upon to oppose on broadly civil liberties grounds. But no such proposals, going beyond those in which the ACLU has acquiesced for the past decade, have as yet been advanced.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 17, 1965

89th CONGRESS 1ST SESSION - S. 1357 - A BILL

To revise existing bail practices in courts of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Bail Reform Act of 1965."

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress finds--

(1) Federal bail practices are repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution and dilute the basic tenets that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty by a court of law, and that justice should be equal and accessible to all;

(2) Persons reasonably expected to appear at future proceedings should not be deprived of their liberty solely because of their financial inability to post bail;

(3) Respect for law and order is diminshed when the attainment of liberty depends solely upon the financial status of an accused;

(4) Federal bail practices, which rely primarily on financial considerations, inevitably disadvantage persons and families of limited means;

(5) Family and community ties, a job, residence in the community, and the absence of a criminal record, are considerations more likely to assure the appearance of a person than the posting of bail;

(6) The high costs of unnecessary detention impose a severe financial burden on the taxpayers, and deplete public funds which could be better used for other public purposes; and

(7) Accused persons should not be unnecessarily detained and subjected to the influence of persons convicted of crimes and effects of jail life; nor should

his family suffer needless public derision and loss of support.

(b) The purpose of this Act is to revise the practices relating to bail to assure that all persons, regardless of their financial status, shall not be needlessly detained pending their appearance to answer charges, to testify, or pending appeal, when detention serves neither the ends of justice nor the public interest.

AMENDMENTS TO CHAPTER 207 OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE

Sec. 3. (a) Chapter 207 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out section 3146 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new sections:

§3146. Release

"(a) Any person (1) charged with an offense against the United States or with a violation of the District of Columbia Code, (2) convicted and awaiting sentencing for such offense or violation, (3) who has petitioned for a writ of certiorari or filed an appeal, which is not frivolous or dilatory, in connection with such offense or violation, or (4) required as a material witness in connection with a trial for such offense or violation and it is impracticable to secure his appearance by subpena, shall be released on one or more of the following conditions:

"(1) The execution of a written promise to appear as required.

"(2) The execution of an unsecured appearance bail bond in an amount specified by the judge.

"(3) The execution of an appearance bail bond in an amount specified by the judge, coupled with the deposit in the registry of the court, in cash or other security, of a sum equal to 10 per centum of the amount of bail so fixed, which shall be returned upon the performance of the conditions of release.

"(4) Supervision by a probation officer.

"(5) Return to custody after daylight hours on conditions designated by the judge.

"(6) In the custody of a third person.

"(7) Reasonable restrictions as to associations with persons or movement.

"(8) Any other condition which the judge may reasonably require to insure appearance as required.

"(b) (1) A judge authorizing the release of any person shall issue an appropriate order containing a statement of the evidence upon which his decision is made and the conditions imposed. No such order is required for the execution of a written promise to appear.

"(c) A judge shall inform a person released as provided in this section of the penalties applicable to a failure to comply with the terms of his release with intent to avoid prosecution, service of a sentence, or the giving of testimony, and shall advise him that a warrant for his arrest will be issued for such a failure.

"(d) The judge ordering the release of a person on any condition specified in subsection (a) may at any time amend his order to impose additional or different conditions of release. The amended order shall contain a statement of the evidence on which the decision is made.

"(e) Evidence for any order entered pursuant to this section need not be governed by the rules pertaining to the admissibility of evidence in a court of law.

§3147. Appeal from conditions of release

"(a) Any person aggrieved by an order of a judge, other than a judge of a United States district court or court of appeals, or a justice of the Supreme Court, imposing or amending conditions of release under section 3146, may appeal from the order to the district court of the United States for the district in which the judge sits.

"(b) The district court shall consider the order in the prior proceeding and, if that order is supported by substantial evidence, as shown by the statement of evidence contained therein, it shall be affirmed. If the order is not supported by substantial evidence, the court may receive additional evidence and order the person released on any of the conditions provided in subsection (a) of section 3146. The evidence considered by the court need not be governed by the rules pertaining to the admissibility of evidence in a court of law.

"(c) An appeal taken under this section shall be determined within ten days of the date on which it was filed.

"§3148. Violation of conditions of release

"(a) Whoever, having been bailed or otherwise released as provided in this chapter, fails to comply with the terms of his release with intent to avoid prosecution, the service of his sentence, or the

the amount of such fine a sum equal to the average cost per day to the United States of detaining any person in custody multiplied by the number of days that such person spent in custody prior to his conviction, and pending certiorari or appeal with respect thereto, for the offense for which such fine was imposed."

TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS

Sec. 5. (a) The first sentence of section 3041 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out "or bailed" and inserting in lieu thereof "or released as provided in chapter 207 of this title."

(b) Section 3141 of such title is amended by striking out all that follows "offenders," and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "but only a court of the United States having original jurisdiction in criminal cases, or a justice or judge thereof, may admit to bail or otherwise release a person charged with an offense punishable by death."

(c) Section 3142 of such title is amended by striking out "and admitted to bail" and inserting in lieu thereof "who is released on the execution of an appearance bail bond with one or more sureties."

(d) Section 3143 of such title is amended by striking out "admitted to bail" and inserting in lieu thereof "released on the execution of an appearance bail bond with one or more sureties."

(e) (1) The heading to chapter 207 of such title is amended by striking out "BAIL" and inserting in lieu thereof "RELEASE."

(2) The table of contents to part II of such title is amended by striking out "207. Bail" and inserting in lieu thereof "207. Release."

PAGE (s) MISSING

COPY

Law Offices
RAUH and SILARD
1625 K Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D.C.

May 17, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of May 11. I understand your position and for that reason give you a summary herewith of our feelings vis-a-vis the Christensen memorandum.

General Electric's chosen method of bargaining had as one of its central features the communications program in question. The Trial Examiner and Board had to determine whether GE's bargaining conduct as a whole demonstrated a state of mind violative of the Act. The Trial Examiner found, inter alia, that the communications program supported two inferences that bore directly on GE's bad faith (p.95): that because GE relied wholly on the program to achieve its bargaining goals, it marked time at the bargaining table until its program undermined the Union's membership support; and that GE's program as well as its widely advertised policy not to alter in any significant way the offer it had announced to employees had locked GE in a position where it could not freely consider a change in its position at the bargaining table. The latter inference was found supported by GE's actual conduct in the conference room. There can be no question as to the significance of these inferences nor that the communications program provides substance for both of them.

In defining the good faith bargaining obligation, the Board said:

> Good faith bargaining thus involves both a procedure for meeting and negotiating, which may be called the externals of collective bargaining, and a bona fide intention, the presence or absence of which must be discerned from the record. It requires recognition by both parties, not merely formal but real, that "collective bargaining" is a shared process in which each party, labor union and employer, has the right to play an active role. On the part of the employer, it requires at a minimum recognition that the statutory representative is the one with whom it must deal in conducting bargaining negotiations, and that it can no longer bargain directly or indirectly with the employees.

A person may disagree with this standard, as GE does, but assuming its validity there is no denial of civil liberties in considering speech and conduct to determine whether the standard has been violated. Professor Christensen's memorandum seems to concede as much (see pp. 20-21 of his memorandum). Recently in N.L.R.B. v. Exchange Parts Co., 375 U.S. 405 (1964), the Supreme Court upheld the Board's finding that it was a violation of Section 8(a) (1) for an employer to announce and grant improved employee benefits prior to an election for the purpose of influencing the outcome thereof. The Court said that employees are not likely to miss the inference that the source of benefits conferred is also the source from which future benefits must flow and which may dry up if it is not obliged. In support of this inference, the

court referred to a letter from the employer to its employees which said: "The Union can't put any of those . . . /benefits/ in your envelope--only the Company can do that." (Original italics.) The Court added (footnote 3):

> We place no reliance, however, on these or other words of the respondent disassociated from its conduct.
> "Section 8(c) . . . ."

Like the Supreme Court in Exchange Parts, the Board has considered what GE has said only in connection with its actual bargaining conduct and in order to determine whether GE has fulfilled its bargaining obligation as the Board has defined it. The Board was plainly not foreclosed by Section 8(c) of the Act or the First Amendment from evaluating, as it did, GE's entire course of conduct including that part which consisted of communications to employees. Since GE's bargaining conduct revolved about the communications program, which was depended upon to achieve GE's goals, GE's state of mind in negotiations could not possibly be adequately evaluated without determining how the communications affected and reflected GE's position and attitude during negotiations.

It should be noted that the General Counsel did not allege, and neither the Trial Examiner nor the Board found, that GE's communications program was per se unlawful. Nor has the Board in its order specifically enjoined such conduct. On this aspect of the case, the order requires GE only to bargain in good faith with the Union.

Professor Christensen terms the Board's approach "sophistry...a device to condemn indirectly what it cannot condemn directly." To be sure, there is always a surface plausibility to this sort of attack upon the evidentiary use of statements which a speaker is plainly free to make. This plausibility arises from the tension between the competing principles of free speech, on the one hand, and, on the other, the principle that speech associated with conduct may be used in evaluating that conduct. The plausibility dissolves in the GE case upon consideration of the relevant authorities, for the Board's disposition of the issue is squarely within the settled resolution of the competing principles. If the Board engaged in "sophistry" in the GE case the Supreme Court in the same sense did so in the Exchange Parts case.

In sum, while I agree there is always a free speech issue in this kind of case, I can't believe there is a denial of free speech here.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 17, 1965

To: Due Process Committee

From: Edward Ennis and Sy Bucholz

Re: Federal Bail Bill

At its meeting on May 12, 1965, the Committee took a tentative position on the federal bail bill proposed by Senator Ervin. That tentative position is stated in the enclosed extract of the Committee's minutes. In accord with the suggestion to circulate materials pertaining to the bill so that members can be polled by telephone before the next Board meeting we are also enclosing:

(a) Text of the Bill, S.1357.

(b) March 12, 1965 letter to Larry Speiser from Senator Ervin (1st page only). Note the specific questions asked in the third paragraph.

(c) The Constitutional Rights Subcommittee's report on federal bail procedures.

Based on the Committee discussion at its last meeting, the enclosed materials, and ACLU's basic views in connection with pre-trial detention, the presumption of innocence, and the equal protection clause, we recommend a Committee statement along these lines:

"The federal bail bill recently introduced by Senator Ervin will vastly improved the administration of our federal bail system and will accord legislative recognition to the fundamental constitutional principles of the presumption of innocence and equal protection of the laws. ACLU supports this bill in the hope that thousands of persons whowwould otherwise be incarcerated prior to conviction solely because they lack the means to provide bail bond premiums and collateral will be offered alternatives permitting their release from custody and facilitating preparation of their defense.

"It appears that the proposed bill does not seek to eliminate entirely the use of secured bail bonds

by the federal courts but merely creates a wide range of alternative methods of pre-conviction release for persons accused of crime. Therefore, secured bail bonds are still available in those few cases where a court is satisfied by substantial evidence that an accused will flee the jurisdiction prior to trial unless restrained by the posting of a secured bond together with other appropriate safeguards available to the court under the bill, such as supervision by court officers. Since the bill contemplates that all orders granting pre-conviction release, as well as the conditions specified in them, are appealable, trial court discretion in denying release or in imposing unwarranted and onerous conditions will not be absolute.

"The addition to the proposed federal bail procedures of a system of 'preventive detention' in order to guard society against the pre-trial release of persons deemed by courts to be dangerous is repugnant to the to the constitutional principles mentioned above and is replete with potential abuses. In passing on a request for bail a court should be concerned only with deciding what conditions are likely to result in the appearance of the accused in court at the prescribed time. If the accused is mentally deranged, laws providing for commitment for mental observation or treatment under constitutionally required procedural safeguards are applicable. If it is feared the individual may commit crimes while at liberty, the answer is that the substantive criminal law applies to persons who are at liberty on bail as it applies to all others. Also, it is pertinent to note that §3148 of the proposed bill makes the violation of release conditions -- such as the requirement that one obey the law -- while at liberty on bail an additional substantive offense.

"Our bail system has a historically narrow but vital function -- permitting an accused to remain at liberty pending a determination of his innocence or guilt. To add to it debatable procedures for incarcerating social 'undesirables' would tend only to undermine it and to vitiate the constitutional principles on which it is based."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

EXTRACT FROM DUE PROCESS COMMITTEE MEETING MINUTES MAY 12, 1965

1. Federal Bail Bill -- S.1357. Mr. Ennis reported that three bills originally introduced in the Senate in 1964, S.2838, S.2839, and S.2840 had been combined into a single proposal to amend federal bail provisions, S.1357 and introduced last March by Senator Ervin. Larry Speiser testified for ACLU at the hearings on the original bail revision bills in 1964. Senator Ervin has invited Larry Speiser to testify at the forthcoming hearings on the new bail bill and has solicited ACLU views on a number of questions pertaining to pre-conviction detention of an accused. Because of the need to present testimony in late May or early June, Mr. Ennis asked the Committee to take up the bill and Senator Ervin's questions, even though no working papers had been previously sent out to the Committee, so that the Board could consider the matter at its next meeting.

Mr. Ennis summarized briefly the contents of the bill, and stated that its purpose was to liberalize bail procedures in the federal courts by allowing a wide variety of alternative methods of releasing persons charged with criminal offenses pending their trial or appeal. Included in the bill are such release methods as personal recognizance, unsecured appearance bonds, and 10% bail deposits returnable on the defendant's appearance in court. In addition, the bill provides for part-time or full-time release under supervision of probation or law officers or a third person. Any person complaining of the conditions of his release may appeal to the appropriate federal court. The bill also allows persons incarcerated prior to a final judgment of conviction to be given credit in serving their sentences for the time spent in jail before the commencement of the sentence.

In view of the greatly liberalized bail procedures contemplated by the bill, Senator Ervin is concerned about the need to create some mechanism for detaining in custody persons whose release prior to conviction might constitute a menace to society, or persons who are prone to flee the jurisdiction; the Senator voiced these concerns in his letter to Mr. Speiser of March 12, 1965.

After hearing Mr. Ennis' report and reviewing Senator Ervin's letter of March 12, 1965, the Committee concluded that preventive detention before a person had been convicted of any offense was an extremely dangerous proposal and was irrelevant to the purpose of bail. Bail procedures should be designed solely to assure the defendant's appearance at his trial. The Committee felt that the problem of dealing with persons who may be a menace to public safety if they are released prior to trial is one that should and could be dealt with by

the substantive criminal law or by laws relating to mental commitment and treatment.

As to the question of whether a detention could be authorized by a bail statute for persons likely to flee the court's jurisdiction prior to trial, the Committee questioned whether this problem could not be met by current surety bond procedures. That is, although a court should not consider whether a particular individual can or cannot meet a high bail bond, it could set an amount sufficient to insure a person's appearance at court. Professor Lusky stated that if a millionaire will appear at his trial without any bail bond, then it is wrong to place $100 bond on him; if an indigent looks like an extremely bad risk, then it is proper to place a $1,000,000 bond on him.

The Committee agreed that it could not do justice to the request for advice without further consideration. In view of the time factor,* it was agreed that Mr. Ennis and Mr. Bucholz should prepare appropriate materials, including a copy of the bill and a short proposed Committee position, which will be circulated to Committee members as soon as possible. Committee members will be polled by phone and the results submitted to the Board at its May 24 meeting.

*Hearings on the bill are likely to be held in the next two weeks.

Make card

May 18, 1965

Dear John:

I'll do it -- soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Mr. John de J. Pemberton
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 19, 1965

To: The Board

From: The Office

Re: Excerpt from Free Speech and Association Committee Minutes of May 14, 1965 on Peacetime Conscription

Mr. Millis presented his draft to the Committee. Several members questioned whether the sentence in the draft reflecting ACLU's previous opposition to U.M.T. showed inconsistency with the proposed Committee position.

In response, Mr. Millis stated that there was a great difference between the post-war universal military training proposal and the present draft system. The U.M.T. proposal would have imposed a continuing obligation for periodic military training on the entire male population of the country, regardless of what the particular military needs were at any given time. At the time the proposal was made it was criticized by experts as an inefficient way of meeting the country's defense needs and as institutionalizing arbitrary and discriminatory action by the Government. By contrast, the Selective Service System takes only those men needed to fill the ranks of military units at a particular time for a limited period of service. Mr. Millis agreed to amend the statement to clear up the apparent inconsistency.

Mr. Soll asked whether the statement reflected the views of the Committee, particularly the view stated at its last meeting, that the role of ACLU in considering the military draft was more limited than that of the private citizen or legislator who must choose among alternative proposals and policies for the national defense. The Committee thought that the statement reflected this view but suggested that it be emphasized, particularly at the conclusion of the statement. Mr. Millis agreed to make the several amendments in the statement suggested by the Committee before submitting it to the Board. The statement was adopted with the proposed amendments.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

WORKING PAPER NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

May 20, 1965

PROPOSED STATEMENT ON CONSCRIPTION

ADOPTED BY FREE-SPEECH
ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE
ON MAY 14, 1965

Compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, does not in itself raise a civil liberties issue. The principle of universal and compulsory military service (in the militia) has been accepted since the earliest colonial times. The Constitution imposed no bar to conscription, instead recognizing that there could be no limit on the power of the government to provide for the defense of the state since, as Madison said, "it is in vain to impose constitutional barriers to the impulse of self-preservation."

Any system of compulsory military service can be challenged on civil liberties grounds only if such service is clearly not required in the interest of national defense, or if it is unjustly discriminatory in structure or operation in respect to race, creed, economic status or other factors irrelevant to the national security. Thus the ACLU did not oppose the peace-time draft (Selective Service) in 1940; it did oppose Universal Military Training, a different concept, when it was advocated after 1945 as a permanent peace-time system, on the grounds that it was clearly unnecessary and ineffective; it did not oppose the revival of the draft at the time of Korea or the imposition of the universal military obligation which now obtains. The Congress and the Administration are now reviewing the draft laws. Whether the resultant proposals will be open to particular civil liberties objections of the kind brought against UMT remains to be seen. In any event, the ACLU function is not to debate technical questions of military necessity or to weigh alternative methods for national defense. Our specialized function is more limited, unlike the member of Congress or individual citizen who must judge such questions in deciding issues of broad national policy.

Whatever system of military service may obtain, it should, the ACLU believes, provide the broadest possible latitude for exempting from compulsory service those who conscientiously object to participation in war. While there is no consitutional basis for exemption on grounds of conscience, it has been recognized for so long as to acquire the character of a right. So long as it is so regarded, there can be no legitimate distinction between conscientious scruples dictated by avowedly theistic beliefs and those based on broad ethical convictions.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

file

AGENDA

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

NINTH FLOOR

1. Minutes of May 10 meeting.

ACTION

2. Due Process Committee report on the Federal Bail Bill (materials to follow).

3. Mr. Angell's recommendations on long range policy procedures (memo from Mr. Pemberton enclosed).

4. Free Speech and Association Committee recommendations on:

   (a) Rights of privacy and freedom of expression (text now under consideration enclosed).

   (b) Peacetime conscription (materials to follow).

5. Outline of proposed affiliate and national staff employees' pension plan (memo from Mr. Pemberton enclosed).

6. Request by the U.S. Committee for Refugees for use of ACLU lists (correspondence to follow).

INFORMATION

7. Due Process Committee action on probable cause at federal preliminary hearings.

8. Present operations and program of LCDC of ACLU.

9. Publication of interest to ACLU: W.W. Norton Co. symposium.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, MAY 10, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Mr. Angell, presiding; Messrs. Bierstedt, Buchalter, Carliner, Ennis, Evans, Fraenkel, Frank, Hacker, Kunstler, Maslow, Meserve, Miller, Vladeck, Waring, Westin; Judge Kenyon; Mesdames Jacobs, Harris.

Office: Messrs. Pemberton, Reitman, Speiser, Wulf, Bucholz, Haskell, Mote, Adler; Mesdames Floyd, Katz; Miss Strickland.

Visitors: Miss Janice Goodman (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), Mr. Henry Schwarzschild (Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee).

1. Minutes. Mr. Pemberton read from a letter from Mr. Steiner regarding the following correction to the minutes of the plenary Board meeting of April 3-4, 1965:

> "The minutes fail to state why I attempted to relate [the shared time issue] to item 14 on the agenda involving tax exemption for churches. Nor does it point up the reasons for my motion to table (bottom page 4).
> ....
> By adopting the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on shared time while recommitting what is the fundamental issue of tax exemption for churches is, to me, basically inconsistent. I would deeply appreicate it if the reasons for my motion for tabling the report be appropriately recorded."

Mr. Carliner corrected the minutes of April 19, 1965 regarding the unsuccessful challenge of Maryland's residence requirement for voting in presidential elections (item 5) by pointing out that the Maryland legislature recently reduced this residence requirement to 45 days. The minutes were approved as corrected.

2. Leaves of Absence. Mr. Pemberton reported the requests of Mrs. Jacobs and Mr. Angell to take leaves of absence from the Board for the periods June through August, and June 8 through August 1, respectively. Mr. Hacker, in addition, requested a leave for the months of June through August. The Board unanimously approved these requests.

3. Resolution of the Death of James R. Caldwell. Mr. Reitman read a proposed resolution expressing the Union's deep regret and loss at the death of National Committeeman, Professor James R. Caldwell. After a revision suggested by Mr. Maslow, the Board unanimously adopted the resolution, a copy of which is attached.

4. Free Speech and Association Committee's Report on the Discharge of the Panama Canal Company Employee. Mr. Wulf presented the recommendation of the Free Speech and Association Committee (adopted by a vote of 2 to 1) that the ACLU take the case of the discharged Panama Canal employee (material

previously circulated). The issue at stake here, he said, is whether an employee of the federal government can be discharged because of his statements criticizing government policy and his own superior. He pointed out the position adopted on freedom of speech for military personnel in 1962 and urged that a below-policy-making level government employee should not be barred from criticism simply because of his status as a government employee.

Mr. Ennis, citing his own experience as a supervisory government employee, stated his opposition to the case and moved that the ACLU not enter it. Judge Waring, agreeing with Mr. Ennis, said that the ACLU was in danger of spreading too thin; we have enough to do at home without going to other countries. Mr. Frank mentioned that when the case came to a head shooting and riots were very recent and that this fact was not given due weight in the Committee recommendation. Mr. Fraenkel, also speaking in support of the motion, said that while the General Walker case (which spurred the policy on military free speech) concerned an expression of opinion about government policy, the instant case concerned a scurrilous attack made during a critical situation.

Mr. Kunstler, arguing for the recommendation, urged that the fact that shooting was going on should not bar free speech; the present work-load of the ACLU should not determine which cases we take; and the fact that Payne's satirical attack has been called "scurrilous" is irrelevant to the selection of the case. Mr. Carliner supported Mr. Kunstler's opinion, and said that failure to take this case would be inconsistent with the Union's action in the Major Arch Roberts case, and that the situation has come up insistently in Washington, D.C. with respect to government employees residing there. Mr. Speiser pointed out that there was not a "clear and present danger" in the Canal Zone at the time the case occurred for the rioting was in January while Payne wrote his letters in February. The criteria used against Payne, he asserted, involved solely his exercise of free speech.

After further discussion, the question was called and the motion carried 12 - 5.

5. Rejection of Non-Commercial Advertising by Radio-TV Stations. Mr. Bucholz reviewed the past actions of the Board relating to the rejection of non-commercial advertising by radio and TV stations, and presented the recommendation of the Free Speech and Association Committee that the ACLU's position should be "that federally regulated radio and TV stations have a special obligation to accept advertisements dealing with political, social, or economic matters whether or not contrary viewpoints have first been aired on a station." (See excerpt from Free Speech Committee minutes of April 16, 1965, previously circulated.) Mr. Westin asked what was the ACLU's position on the code of the National Association of Broadcasters, and Mr. Reitman replied that the ACLU has always opposed it. After further discussion, the Board adopted the Committee's suggestions with no dissenting votes.

6. Evans Fund Account. The Board, at the request of Mr. Pemberton, authorized the opening of an Evans Fund bank account in the Chemical Bank at 156 Fifth Avenue, with the usual one signature of any of the officers of the corporation required to make withdrawals.

7. Academic Freedom at Howard University. Mr. Carliner informed the Board of the situation at Howard University and then asked the Board to refer the matter to the Academic Freedom Committee. There are three issues involved: (1) the reduction in academic rank of two faculty members; (2) compulsory ROTC; and (3) official discouragement of student political activity.

For example, it appears that about 500 students have organized or demonstrated to encourage the MFDP, and the University has denied this group campus recognition. Mr. Carliner asked that the Academic Freedom Committee seek further information from school officials and take such further action as may be necessary. During the ensuing discussion the fact was brought out that the President of Howard had said to the press that two persons (among a group of five hundred) active in campus civil rights efforts were members of the Communist Party and that he know this because he once represented them as private counsel. Although he did not say the two were students, it was felt that this implicated all of the students involved. The Board decided to so refer the matter to the Academic Freedom Committee.

8. Financial Report. Mr. Pemberton reported a quarterly unaudited statement for the Union for the period January through March, 1965 (audited statement to follow), and also mentioned the addition of an assistant bookkeeper which would implement his desire to present each quarterly report more currently.

9. Meeting with Congressman Celler. Mr. Ennis reported that he, Mr. Angell and Mr. Reitman had visited Congressman Celler to discuss the Union's concern to divert the impetus behind investigation of the Klan into a constructive review of the administration of criminal justice, especially in the South. Mr. Ennis stated that concrete proposals rather than general statements are now needed, and Mrs. Harris said that the ACLU should ask for an investigation of state as well as federal justice, particularly as it applies to the poor and disadvantaged, for new approaches are long overdue in this area. Mr. Westin pointed out that such an investigation would take more money and staff than Mr. Celler has at his disposal and that a "single-shot" investigation -- relatively narrow in scope -- would be a more realistic suggestion. He suggested criminal justice in the South as that one specific area. Mr. Carliner urged that the effort be focussed on the President's newly appointed Commission on Crime and said an investigation parallel to its concerns, and at least as broad, should be urged. The officers and staff were directed by the Board to continue their efforts, taking into account this discussion.

10. Executive Session on Staff Salaries. After the departure of the rest of the staff and the guests, Mr. Bierstedt recorded the remaining proceedings. The Board discussed the current level of staff salaries with Mr. Pemberton. The larger number of staff members are paid in accordance with the provisions of a union contract, just recently renegotiated with Local 1707, CSAE. However, the salaries of executive staff officers are set annually by the Executive Director. After a full discussion, Mr. Pemberton was excused and the Board discussed the salary of the Executive Director. On motion duly carried that salary was set at $20,000 per annum, for the year 1965 and succeeding years.

The meeting was adjourned.

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ACLU
ON THE DEATH OF PROFESSOR JAMES R. CALDWELL
ADOPTED MAY 10, 1965

The civil liberties movement lost one of its quiet and dedicated participants in the death of Professor James R. Caldwell on April 3. A member of the Union's National Committee since 1950 and a Director of the ACLU of Northern California for 20 years, Professor Caldwell's courage, humor, wit and intellect were assets fully utilized in the Union's cause.

His special concern with academic freedom and the right of inquiry, expression and assembly, were indicative of his deep belief in the freedom and vitality of the human spirit and mind. He carried his civil liberties convictions into his scholarly pursuits, his teaching and poetry. Termed by his friends as a "gentle rebel," Professor Caldwell offered personal testimony of the need for commitment, courage and mature judgement in advancing our work.

To his family we express our deep sympathy and to ourselves we pledge anew to pursue for all persons the high goal of individual freedom he represented.

COPY

May 26, 1965

TO: Alan Reitman

FROM: Edward J. Ennis

RE: PUERTO RICAN PROPOSAL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE OF MEDICAL DOCTORS.

I understand the proposed amendment to require an applicant for a license to practice medicine in Puerto Rico to have practiced for no less than one year as a medical doctor under special license in the Public Service of Puerto Rico in a place assigned by the Secretary of Health. In the absence of knowledge of the factual background for the proposed amendment and in view of the extensive police power of government to control medical practice one must hesitate to condemn a license requirement. Presumably it has proved very difficult to employ doctors in the Public Service of Puerto Rico in the outlying areas. But there are due process limitations in the control of medical practice. Barsky v. Board of Regents, 347 U.S. 442 (although suspension of license was upheld based on conviction for refusing to produce documents for HUAC). On the face of it I believe a very serious due process question is raised by the proposed amendment. It is a kind of peacetime conscription of medical doctors who wish to practice in Puerto Rico. No doubt the medical associations will oppose it vigorously.

Our particular question is whether the ACLU, apparently sua sponte and without request by a prospective licensee asking our help, should object to the Senate now considering the bill. Although I have a reluctance to place obstacles in the way of this effort of the government to obtain no doubt badly needed doctors for the smaller communities and rural areas of Puerto Rico and think the medical associations have not done enough to help the relatively underpaid rural medical practice I do believe the provision is probably unconstitutional and would be inclined to so advise the Senate of Puerto Rico.

cc. Osmond K. Fraenkel, Esq.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

May 26, 1965

To: Free Speech/Association Committee

From: The Office

Re: Notice & Agenda - June 11, 1965 meeting

The Committee will hold its regular meeting on Friday, June 11, 1965 at the Union's offices at 12:30 P.M. An agenda for that meeting is enclosed, and we would appreciate your returning the attendance card indicating your attendance.

In addition, we would like to hold a special meeting on Friday, June 25, for the single purpose of discussing ACLU action with respect to "institutionalization of McCarthyism." For several months, the office has discussed various approaches to such problems as the federal personnel security program, loyalty oaths, the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, and the House Un-American Activities Committee. We are at the point where we need the Committee's thinking, not only on certain policy questions, but more important, on program suggestions for strengthening our work in this area. We realize that the meeting date is late in the season, but rather than suffer further delay by waiting until the Fall, we hope that the Committee can convene now - June 25 at 12:30 P.M. Would you please reserve that date now. A memorandum covering the various phases of the problem will follow in a few weeks.

Enc.

MEMORANDUM

May 27, 1965

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Alan Reitman

RE: Item #5 of June 7th Board Meeting Agenda

The general counsel of the American Medical Association requests the Union's assistance with respect to a bill before the Puerto Rican legislature which would require one year of compulsory public service as a medical doctor as a prerequisite to obtaining a physician's license in Puerto Rico.

The present Puerto Rico Medical Practice Act states that persons wishing to obtain a license to practice medicine must fulfill, among other requirements, the following:

> "To practice for a minimum period of one year as a physician in a municipality of the second or third class in Puerto Rico under the supervision of the Board of Medical Examiners of Puerto Rico, through the special license issued to that effect indicating the town where such practice is to be effected; Provided, that in lieu of this requisite a physician may apply for and be admitted to examination, after two years of residence in a hospital approved by the Council of Medical Education and Hospitals of the United States or in the approved list of hospitals of the Board of Medical Examiners of Puerto Rico."

The proposed revision in the law states:

> "To have practiced for a period of no less than one year as a medical doctor in .... the public service of Puerto Rico .... in a place assigned by the Secretary of Health and approved by the Board of Medical Examiners of Puerto Rico; by means of a special license issued to that effect, indicating the town where said practice is to take place ...."

The office submitted this question to our general counsel. Osmond Fraenkel's comment was that he "had serious doubts about this being a civil liberties issue." Ed Ennis believes that a serious due process question is raised by the proposed amendment. The text of his statement, along with the letter from the American Medical Association, are attached.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

D
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LABOR COMMITTEE MEETING

JUNE 2, 1965 -- 6:15 P.M.

ACLU OFFICE

PRESENT: Professor Sovern, presiding; Messrs. Berg, Christensen, Dannett, Halpert, Jacobs, Mayer, Prashker, Sugerman, Vladeck, Wollett (Issacson).

1. Minutes. The minutes of the previous meeting were approved and adopted.

2. Introduction of Professor Berg. Mr. Sovern introduced Professor Ivan Berg of Columbia University's Business School, a new member of the Committee. Professor Berg is working on a special report for the Committee on The Corporation and Civil Liberties to be considered next fall.

3. NLRB and Free Speech. Mr. Sovern reviewed the Committee's decision at its last meeting to devote this session to a discussion of the current status of free speech doctrine in labor relations contexts, including representation elections and picketing. Mr. Sovern proposed that the Committee first take up item II in Professor Christensen's letter of May 24 (previously distributed), "Free Speech and NLRB Elections."

Professor Christensen stated that he was attempting to follow the NLRB's more recent decisions in representation elections, and was troubled by its apparently growing tendency to examine election campaign material to see whether it is false or misleading and to assess the degree to which its disseminators had knowledge of its falsity. He thought ACLU should be concerned over this tendency.

Mr. Sovern asked whether the ACLU position on the dissemination of racial propaganda to influence representation elections was not a precedent which controlled the Committee's decision with regard to speech containing misrepresentation. (The Board had concluded in 196_ on the recommendation of the Committee that when circumstances show inflammatory speech designed to inflame prejudices in order to influence an election, civil liberties principles do not preclude the ordering of a new election.)

Mr. Sovern recalled that the Board statement was in part an endorsement of the NLRB's view that material with respect to racial matters distributed in a union representation election may reach a point where it is no longer information but merely an emotional appeal to prejudices and irrationality.

Mr. Sugerman wondered whether the standards used by the NLRB in many cases to test the propriety of campaign utterances and conduct -- i.e., whether the utterances and conduct allowed employees to express a free, rational, choice -- was a good test.

Mr. Jacobs suggested that the standards the NLRB uses, whatever they are in particular instances, should be designed to minimize interference with speech. He suggested that the main concern of the NLRB in representation elections should be to allow free communication, not to evaluate its persuasive effect. Mr. Jacobs was convinced that the NLRB should devote more time in its supervision of

representation elections to insuring equal access to the electorate for both employer and union.

Mr. Mayer wondered whether this suggestion did not overlook the specific provisions of §8(c) of the National Labor Relations Act which, while disclaiming any intent to interfere with free speech, recognize that certain forms of conduct in elections, including threats or coercion, constitute unlawful labor practices.

Professor Christensen asserted that the NLRB seems to take the position in some cases that there are practices in representation elections which, though not made unlawful as unfair labor practices by the statute, are still prohibited acts necessitating the setting aside of a representation election.

Several members urged the Committee to consider the constitutional significance of differences between political elections and labor representation elections. Mr. Prashker suggested two critical distinctions: In union elections, unlike political campaigns, one of the interested parties has power to affect the livelihood of individual voters. Also, the election forum is largely owned or controlled by one of the contestants. Mr. Vladeck asserted a third distinction to be the fact that representation elections are basically a choice between representation by a union or no representation at all, whereas political elections are a choice between two kinds of representation for the electorate. Mr. Prashker rejoined that in some cases representation elections may also be between different kinds of representation, particularly where more than one union is involved or where a paternalistic employer creates a company union as a rival.

Professor Sovern stated that another distinction sometimes made between the two types of elections is the difference in consequences if government intervenes. If government intervenes in a political election, there is tremendous danger that the process will be subverted in order to retain incumbent officials in power. In union representation elections, the only consequence of government interference is the decision to hold another election. Professor Sovern and several other members of the Committee noted that the NLRB did not impose direct punishment on individuals for utterances made during an election campaign which the Board found to have transgressed proper limits; it merely ordered that another election be held.

Professor Christensen was troubled by the suggestion that union representation elections require governmental supervision over the speech of the participants because one of them has significant economic power over the lives of the employees. Using this rationale, he concluded, leads to the assertion that the speech of an incumbent governor or president running for re-election in a political campaign should be regulated, because each of those officials has far more power over the lives of individual voters than an employer has over an individual employee.

Mr. Mayer felt that there were sufficient parallels in some of the restrictions on speech contained in state and federal election laws to justify NLRB powers in representation elections, for instance the requirement that campaigning be conducted no closer to the polls than 100 feet.

Mr. Dannett asked that the Committee first decide whether a constitutional issue is present in the NLRB's regulation of representation election tactics. After that, the Committee could consider the desirability from a policy standpoint of particular NLRB decisions. Mr. Halpert responded that the ACLU should confine itself to constitutional issues which are within its special competence. He felt it was not ACLU's business to decide whether NLRB had interjected itself so far

into union representation campaigns that it could not do an adequate job of administration.

After further discussion, Mr. Dannett moved that the Committee adopt a position that the First Amendment is not violated by the current doctrine of the NLRB to the effect that willful misrepresentations of material facts within the special knowledge of the uttering party, under such circumstances that other persons cannot effectively rebut them, and where employees lack independent knowledge to weigh the erroneous statements, may serve as grounds for overturning representation elections.

Mr. Jacobs inquired whether the intent of the motion was to assert that the First Amendment did not apply to representation elections and was assured that the intent was merely to state that the First Amendment was not violated by overturning elections for wilfull misrepresentations under the circumstances stated. After further discussion the motion carried, 8 - 2.

The Committee then turned its attention to the problem of inflammatory statements.

Mr. Prashker stated that he was troubled in seeking a distinction between misrepresentations and inflammatory statements. Mr. Mayer replied that there could be inflammatory statements which are not willful misrepresentations. He urged that some control over statements made in a representation election, particularly in cases of misrepresentation and inflammatory material directed toward race prejudice, was necessary to allow the NLRB to carry out the purposes of the labor law.

After further discussion, Mr. Dannett moved to reaffirm the statement adopted by the Committee and the Board with regard to inflammatory propaganda in union representation elections. Mr. Vladeck wondered whether the language of this statement was not too broad. He suggested that the Committee might have been swayed initially by the fact that the inflammatory material was directed at race prejudice and by the feeling that such appeals was out of place in a union representation contest. Other members of the Committee questioned whether the Union could adequately distinguish its position on racial propaganda from its general position in free speech areas outside of labor relations contexts. On Mr. Dannett's call for the question, the motion to reaffirm was lost, 4 in favor to 5 opposed.

Mr. Prashker stated that in view of the Committee's readiness to reconsider its earlier position on racial propaganda, he would propose the following motion: the National Labor Relations Board, as well as state counterparts, should not set aside representation elections merely because of objectionable speech which is otherwise protected by the First Amendment. This motion was defeated by a 5 to 4 vote.

Mr. Vladeck argued that the essential function for the NLRB in accepting free speech problems in representation elections is to insure fairness for both sides in presenting their views and equal access to the electorate. If the NLRB relies mainly on what is said, outside of prohibited threats or coercive statements, it begins to run into First Amendment problems.

Mr. Mayer reiterated his feeling that there is a real need for an effective body to supervise representation elections under the Labor Relations Act. The NLRB must have power to place some limits on what is said if there is not to be a chaotic free-for-all. Actually, Mr. Mayer concluded, there are rather few cases in which the NLRB interferes on the basis of speech content, aside from threats or coercion. As to Mr. Vladeck's statement that the Board should concern itself with equal access and opportunity for rebuttal, Mr. Mayer felt that there are inflammatory statements which cannot be effectively rebutted and which may result in an irrational election process, particularly last-minute appeals to prejudice.

Mr. Vladeck moved that the Committee take the position that the NLRB violates the First Amendment when it sets aside an election solely because of inflammatory utterances made during the election campaign, even though the utterances may have been true, uncoercive, and without promise of benefit. Mr. Vladeck stated that it was certainly not the intent of his motion to preclude the NLRB from setting up ground rules to prevent the making of last-minute charges or appeals to prejudice which cannot be effectively rebutted. His motion was not an attempt to cover specific situations but merely to state a general approach for the Committee and the ACLU.

The motion was approved by a vote of 6 to 3.

Mr. Sovern asked whether the Committee was prepared to take up Part I of Professor Christensen's letter relating to access to the electorate for both parties in a representation election, in view of Mr. Halpert's feeling that ACLU's concern should be limited in this area to constitutional issues. He wondered whether the mechanics provided by the NLRB for addressing an employer's employees raised any constitutional problem. Mr. Reitman responded that ACLU often took the position that even though a policy position was not required by a literal reading or judicial interpretation of the Bill of Rights, it could be advanced by ACLU in the interest of maximizing the scope of free speech or due process of law.

Mr. Vladeck argued that Committee support for his last motion had inherent in it a concern that employees in a representation election be accessible to both sides and that the NLRB should afford unions an opportunity to reply to anti-union speeches delivered by an employer on company time and property, under similar conditions. Mr. Vladeck put his statement in the form of a motion which was tied on a 4 to 4 vote. The chairman then cast his vote in favor of the motion.

Mr. Prashker questioned whether the intent of the motion was to assert that the NLRB was constitutionally required to grant equal time and facilities to unions under the circumstances mentioned. He urged that the Committee express the motion in the negative, by saying that it was not unconstitutional for the NLRB to impose this requirement on employers during a representation election. It was the sense of the Committee that this should be done. Mr. Vladeck stated that the motion should be worded somewhat along these lines: In the interest of fostering free discussion during representation elections, the NLRB should support a union's request for access to employees on company time and company property, in order to reply to an anti-union speech made by employers under similar conditions.

The Committee next took up the question of whether an employer should be required to make available to a union the names and addresses of employees in the bargaining unit which the union seeks to organize on the premises. After some discussion, the Committee concluded that this was a matter of administrative concern for the NLRB, and was not either a civil liberties problem or important enough for the Committee to take up.

The Committee next discussed part III, "Free Speech and Picketing" of the Christensen letter. Virtually all members of the Committee felt that the free speech problems in this area had been extensively considered by the Committee several years ago and that there was no need to reconsider or further explore the Committee's position, approved by the Board in a statement of _____ (see statement attached). Mr. Vladeck suggested that any reconsideration of free speech problems in the labor picketing context await the development of a significant case in the area, and the Committee concurred.

Mr. Reitman inquired whether it was the Committee's advice that a letter be sent to the NLRB embodying the new position statements if the Board of Directors approves them. After some discussion the Committee concluded that no letter should be sent directly to the NLRB at this time, since the NLRB had under consideration cases raising the exact issues discussed by the Committee and since ACLU had not participated in the cases as amicus curiae. It was felt that if a letter were sent while the cases were pending, it would appear that ACLU had improperly attempted to influence the NLRB in its decision. However, the Committee agreed that we write the NLRB chairman saying that we had recently discussed these issues, and would be glad to supply our comments if it would be helpful. The Committee also urged that the office give general publicity to the positions

arrived at.

4. The Plymouth Brethren. Mr. Reitman reported on the Plymouth Brethren, a religious group that believes in the literal interpretation of the Bible, including its injunction to avoid worldly entanglements. As a consequence, they absolutely refuse to join any organizations, including labor unions, and when a business accepts a union shop agreement they simply lose their jobs. The Committee considered the problem in the 1950's, when it declined to intervene as amicus in a case brought by a member of the Brethren seeking to enjoin his discharge because of his refusal to join a union. The ACLU did, however, offer to act as mediator between the union and the employee. Mr. Reitman suggested the subject might be ripe for reconsideration, since the New York Times recently reported that the Brethren are attempting to secure an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act exempting them from compulsory union membership on grounds of conscience, at the same time the President is seeking to amend the Act to forbid state "Right-to-Work" laws.

A majority of the Committee indicated it was not interested in reconsidering the problem. Mr. Prashker volunteered to review the office's file and to report back to the Committee if necessary.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

June 7, 1965

TO: Affiliates and Members of the National Board

FROM: Roger N. Baldwin (as National Committeeman and Adviser)

Friends:

Will you pardon some personal observations on the proposal by the Southern California Union for a new statement of qualifications for our governing councils and staff? I hesitate to address you since I have not expressed so openly my views on internal affairs of the Union since my retirement as Director.

I do so now only because the material before you seems to me inadequate, and because I am encouraged by members of the Board here to convey to you my experience with this issue. The views are mine, not to be attributed to the Board beyond the conclusion expressed at a meeting on June 8, 1964 that any change in settled policy is undesirable.

I support that conclusion because we should maintain the integrity of our organization guided solely by those who unreservedly support its principles. Also I think it would be dangerous to our standing with members, friends, and the public to abandon a specific declaration for a vague one after twenty-five years of a settled policy embedded in our Constitution (see enclosure). At once the question would be publicly raised, "Why such a change? Does the ACLU intend to make eligible for its direction those whom it has so long excluded?" It might well be regarded as a breach of faith with those who have joined the Union relying on the 1940 Resolution as assurance of our integrity.

The Southern California proposal is to substitute for the present constitutional provision a simple declaration to the effect that:

> "Support of civil liberties as guaranteed in the Constitution of the U.S. and particularly the Bill of Rights is the one and fundamental qualification for membership or office in the ACLU."

The arguments against such a change as I see them are:

1. While the proposal is a test which is one we have always applied, it is too general. It lacks any specific quality to distinguish the qualifications inherent in our purposes from any other association. Any citizen would make such an affirmation, however unsuitable he may be for our purposes. Any Klansman, segregationist, American Nazi, anti-Semite, or Communist would readily make such an affirmation.

The time came in our history when we had to be more specific, both in applying

for ourselves a standard we had informally followed and in making plain to our friends and the public at large the character of our personnel. That standard has prevailed for years. The Southern California proposal would repeal it.

2. The ACLU has always excluded or removed from its governing councils those whose views or associations are inconsistent with our purposes. They have been persons of varied conflicting connections, such as members of the Klan in one local committee, an anti-Semite, a trade union leader supporting segregation, and another advocating prosecution of the I.W.W. In 1940 the present resolution was adopted and applied to remove a leading member of the Communist Party USA from the National Board. It is obvious that a private association must judge the suitability of those who direct its affairs. The formulation of that judgment in our present constitution is reasonable.

3. It is said, however, that it sets up a test that we do not apply to public office or institutions of a public character. That is correct, since the qualifications for a public post which should be open to all regardless of political or religious views are quite different from a private association with a single declared purpose, to be promoted only by those who share it without conflicting interests. No such limitation has ever qualified the vigor of ACLU's basic principle: defense of everybody's civil liberties regardless of political or other views or associations.

4. It is said that this limitation on our personnel is motivated only by the purpose of excluding Communists or their sympathizers. While the 1940 Resolution was so motivated, because that was then the issue, it applies equally to others whom the ACLU either did exclude or would exclude to avoid a conflict of interests. No valid reason appears for making any exception of Communists or their sympathizers. The various Communist parties are all opposed to our non-partisan principles; none defend the rights of their opponents; they are for defense of "progressive forces" only, those they regard as on their side. Such a policy cannot be reconciled with that of the ACLU's defense of everybody's rights. But it should not be assumed that such a limitation applies to persons with economic beliefs of radical changes in society (my own included!) who are nonetheless consistent supporters of civil liberties.

5. It is said that any test of qualifications is unbecoming for an organization dedicated to civil liberties. But Southern California does not propose to abolish a test, but to make it general, leaving its application, I presume, to whatever specific cases may arise, with all the dangers of vague "loyalty" hearings. The answer to its proposal lies in the varied interpretations open to such a vague test. Only specific language, such as we have had for twenty five years, affords a basis for uniform application.

6. It is said that the test should be not for beliefs, but acts, which is the test we use for the intervention of law. But any test we use to square with our principles must be based on beliefs. No proposal denies that, nor the need of consistency. Of course, any acts inconsistent with our principles would be a disqualification.

7. It is said that to exclude persons for mere membership in an organization is to sanction "guilt by association," a concept abused in the administration of

law. But the concept is valid when applied to qualifications for a private organization, where associations count like views. "Mere membership" in the Ku Klux Klan, for instance, is hardly to be ignored.

I have attempted to outline specific objections to the proposal presented to us. But the most persuasive objection of all, it seems to me, is that there is no practical reason to make a change in our constitution, and none is offered. The present qualifications are reasonable, and as valid today as when adopted. To change now would presumable arouse political emotions alien to our purposes, causing useless internal dissension.

May I suggest your consideration, or if necessary, reconsideration of the proposal? There is adequate time to do so in view of the constitutional requirements for amendment. But I venture the hope that we will all conclude that on balance we should not be diverted from our essential tasks to argue a change in a policy so long established, nor to invite the public mistrust such a change would arouse.

Fraternally yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

Roger N. Baldwin

RNB:ahs

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
of the
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

. . . .

Section 7 -- Governing Bodies

. . . .

(D) All persons who are members of the national Board of Directors, the National Committee or the board of an affiliate (or chapter), or a committee or other agency of any of the above, and all persons who are members of any staff, shall be unequivocally loyal to democratic government and civil liberties for all people. This requirement shall be interpreted in accordance with the 1940 Resolution, a copy of which is attached.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE ACLU AT THE ANNUAL MEETING -- FEBRUARY 5, 1940

While the American Civil Liberties Union does not make any test of opinion on political or economic questions a condition of membership, and makes no distinction in defending the right to hold and utter any opinions, the personnel of its governing committees and staff is properly subject to the test of consistency in the defense of civil liberties in all aspects and all places.

That consistency is inevitably compromised by persons who champion civil liberties in the United States and yet who justify or tolerate the denial of civil liberties by dictatorships abroad. Such a dual position in these days, when issues are far sharper and more profound, makes it desirable that the Civil Liberties Union makes its position unmistakably clear.

The Board of Directors and the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union therefore hold it inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committees of the Union or on its staff, who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle.

Within this catagory we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the Fascist and Nazi countries (such as the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and others); as well as native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives or practices.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

AGENDA

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

NINTH FLOOR

1. Minutes of May 24 meeting.

ACTION

2. Free Speech and Association Committee recommendation on peacetime conscription. (Materials to follow.)

3. Outline of proposed affiliate and national staff employees' pension plan. (Memorandum by Jack Pemberton previously circulated.)

4. Labor Committee report on employer free speech. (Minutes of Labor Committee 3/16/65 enclosed. Memorandum by Professor Christensen to follow.)

5. Request of American Medical Association for ACLU opposition to proposed compulsory public service requirement for medical license in Puerto Rico. (Memorandum from Alan Reitman, letters from AMA and Ed Ennis enclosed.)

INFORMATION

6. Present operations and program of LCDC of ACLU.

7. Audit Committee report on First Quarter, 1965.

8. Report of Executive Committee on adjustments in 1965 budget.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Mr. Angell, presiding; Messrs. Bierstedt, Black, Brown, Buchalter, Dorsen, Ennis, Evans, Fraenkel, Frank, Gettner, Hacker, Hiller, Hillis, Prashker, Rice, Soll; Mesdames Jacobs, Pilpel; Judge Kenyon.

OFFICE: Messrs. Reitman, Wulf, Mote, Adler; Mrs. Floyd, Miss Strickland.

VISITOR: Mr. Henry Schwarzschild (Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee).

1. Minutes. Mr. Reitman corrected the wording of item 7 of the minutes of May 10, 1965, which should read (page 3, sentence 3), "During the ensuing discussion the fact was brought out that the President of Howard had said to the press that two persons active in campus civil rights efforts were members of the Communist Party and that he knew this because he once represented them (among a group of five hundred) as private counsel." The minutes were approved as corrected.

2. Appointment of Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris as Ambassador to Luxemburg. The Board expressed its great pleasure at the appointment of one of its members as Ambassador to Luxemburg, and approved a congratulatory letter to be sent to Mrs. Harris by Mr. Angell.

3. Request of Roger N. Baldwin for a statement on the 1940 Resolution. Mr. Angell reported that he and Mr. Pemberton had asked Mr. Baldwin to address a statement to members of the Board and to all affiliates on the Southern California proposal with respect to the 1940 resolution, based upon his knowledge of the circumstances of its adoption and of the Union's experience with it. Mr. Baldwin, however, felt that he should not inject his opinions into the Board and affiliate deliberations on this issue unless the Angell-Pemberton request had Board approval. After discussion the Board approved that request.

4. Recommendation of the Administration Committee. Mr. Hacker reported the recommendation of the Administration Committee that the proposed New York State Civil Liberties Union be approved as an affiliate. It would be formed by a merger of the New York Civil Liberties Union and the Up-State Division, ACLU. A proposed constitution has been approved by both of these groups which provides that "the Upstate New York Division and a Metropolitan New York Division (NYCLU) shall exist as administrative units of the affiliate.

The Upstate Division shall include the 19 counties assigned to it in 1964, with the addition of the Counties of Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Allegany, Steuben, Chemung and Tioga. The Metropolitan Division shall include the 5 counties of New York City and the Counties of Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester. All other areas of the State shall be organized and administered directly by the affiliate." After hearing explanations that the financial loss incurred by the national ACLU in giving up non-affiliated areas of the state is expected to be recouped by increased income resulting from increased organized activity, and that the new affiliate would strengthen legislative work in Albany, the Board unanimously approved the Administration Committee's recommendation.

5. Due Process Committee Report on the Federal Bail Bill. Mr. Ennis summarized the recommendation of the Committee, previously circulated, that we support legislation liberalizing bail provisions. He explained that Larry Speiser had been invited to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights studying the proposed bill especially on the question as to why there should not be added provision for temporary detention of those who constitute a menace to the community. The Board unanimously approved the Due Process Committee recommendations concerning bail reform and opposing the temporary detention idea.

6. Policy Procedures. Mr. Angell summarized the memorandum from Mr. Pemberton dated May 13, 1965 entitled "Policy-Making Procedure on Long-Range Issues" (previously circulated). Some doubts were expressed as to the efficiency of the method though Mr. Ennis felt that the Board could experiment with a few issues before deciding finally whether to adopt it or not. Mr. Brown suggested changing "require" to "encourage" (second paragraph, first sentence) and Judge Kenyon favored inserting the phrase, "when it might be useful," in the same sentence. The Board accepted both of these suggestions. Without passing a formal motion, the Board decided to accept this procedure, as amended, and incorporate it when feasible.

7. Free Speech and Association Committee Recommendation on Right of Privacy. Mr. Soll presented the Committee's recommendation, emphasizing the limited definition of "privacy" that the Comm. intended (see statement dated April 1, 1965 footnote). Mr. Brown said he did not feel the Board was competent to act on this issue with the information then available, and that material expressing a contrary view should be studied. Several other Board members supported this view. Mr. Angell suggested that those who had objections should write these to the office which would distribute them to the Committee for further consideration of the subject.

8. Peacetime Conscription. Mr. Angell requested that this issue be postponed until the next meeting because questions had arisen as to the accuracy of certain factual points in the statement.

9. Request by the U.S. Committee for Refugees. Mr. Evans presented the request of the U.S. Committee for Refugees that the ACLU exchange lists with them so that they might solicit our members to buy Christmas wrapping. Mr. Evans acknowledged that the Board's policy was against exchanging lists when the exchange was not advantageous to the ACLU, but moved that the Board make an exception in this case since the Committee for Refugees was such a worthy cause.

After discussion during which it was pointed out that (1) many members of the ACLU dislike receiving so many solicitations and resent ACLU giving out their name, and (2) if the ACLU lists are overused they become worthless for future exchange purposes and this limits considerably ACLU contacts with potential members, the Board voted against Mr. Evans' motion.

10. Financial Report. Mr. Mote reported that the total membership income for April was $86,572, and that the total for the first quarter of 1965 was $612,436. Thus, the ACLU is at 56% of its goal of $1,087,000.

11. Due Process Committee Action on Probable Cause at Federal Preliminary Hearings. Mr. Ennis reported that the Due Process Committee had considered the issue raised by the release, by the U.S. Commissioner in Meridian, Mississippi, of the men arrested for violating the civil rights of the three civil rights workers murdered last June. The release was based on the theory that the evidence presented by the Government was insufficient because it consisted only of hearsay. [The defendents were later indicted, though the indictment was dismissed.]

Though it was the sense of the Committee that the Commissioner had acted correctly, it was decided to take no action now because the issue was moot.

12. Publication of W. W. Norton Symposium. Mr. Reitman informed the Board of an agreement worked out with the W. W. Norton Company to publish a book of essays on civil liberties to be written by ACLU Board and National Committee members. While the essays would be personal statements of the authors they would reflect ACLU views. The ACLU would have no financial responsibility for the book, but we would receive royalties from its sale.

The meeting was adjourned.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

LABOR COMMITTEE MEETING

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1965 6:15 p.m.

ACLU OFFICE

PRESENT: Professor Sovern, presiding; Messrs. Benson, Christensen, Dannett, Goldberg, Lipsitz, Mayer, Prashker, Rachlin, Sugarman, Summers, Wollett.

Guests: Professor Northrup, Sidney Reitman, Albert Rubenstein, Benjamin Blumrosen, Mr. Bluson

Staff: Messrs. Pemberton, Reitman, Bucholz.

1. General Electric v. National Labor Relations Board. Professor Christensen summarized his working paper (previously distributed) on the case. General Electric was found by an NLRB trial examiner to have violated section 8(a)(5) of the National Labor Relations Act by "refusing to bargain in good faith" during negotiations with the International Union of Electrical Workers in 1960. A majority of the NLRB sustained the trial examiner's findings and an appeal was taken to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, where the matter is now pending. In view of the fact that the finding of a refusal to bargain in good faith was based at least in part on speech by company officials, commentators have questioned whether the NLRB decision does not constitute an abridgement of the free speech rights of management. Professor Christensen stated that even if we accept the Board's thesis that the trial examiner was merely using statements by company officials as "evidence" of refusal to bargain in good faith, just as courts use speech as evidence of intent in many instances, the net impact of the NLRB decision is to make employers quite wary about communicating with employees during or prior to negotiations with a union over new labor agreements.

The chair reminded members of the Committee that they were being called upon to decide whether to recommend to the Board that

ACLU participate in the case in the Court of Appeals, and if so, what amicus position to take.

Professor Northrup summarized his working paper (previously distributed) and urged the Committee not to consider the GE case in isolation from the history of NLRB decisions on free speech issues as they arise in labor disputes. His conclusion was that the NLRB looks critically at employer communication in many instances but not so critically at speech used by unions. Professor Northrup also noted that the NLRB had admitted GE was not trying to get rid of the IUE in this case. The essence of the finding against GE was the company's attitude at the bargaining table. Professor Northrup concluded that the purpose of the case as he saw it was to inhibit employer communications with employees and to discourage the practices known as Boulwerism.

Mr. Lipsitz took issue with Professor Northrup's characterization of NLRB's attitude on free speech matters. He stated that in many cases in his experience involving representation, the NLRB has given critical attention to union and employee communication. As he saw the GE case, the NLRB here had examined the totality of conduct on the part of GE, including its speech and attitude of mind, because it is the usual NLRB practice to assess totality of conduct in determining whether an unfair labor practice has occurred.

Mr. Dannett stated that if GE hadn't formed its bargaining policy in advance and maintained it with intransigence, the case wouldn't have occurred. Here GE made one offer and announced that it wouldn't deviate from it one iota. Making one offer and refusing to indulge in any give and take whatsoever is a refusal to bargain in good faith.

Mr. Prashker urged that in determining whether or not to enter the case the Committee look to the language contained in the opinion of the NLRB, by which the NLRB construed section 8(a)(5) of the National Labor Relations Act. The language that particularly disturbed him is set out on page 13 of the Christensen memo. In this paragraph, Mr. Prashker said, the Board found three things to be a violation of 8(a)(5): It found that it was improper for an employer to "mount a campaign" for the purpose of "disparaging and discrediting" union officials; it found that it was inconsistent with the statutory obligation to bargain in good faith to seek to pressure employees to accept the employer's contractual offer; and it found that the National Labor Relations Act makes it unlawful for an employer to tell its employees that it -- the employer -- not the union is the real protector of the employees' interests. Mr. Prashker felt that the issue for the Committee to decide was whether these specific findings by the Board interpreting 8(a)(5) raise a constitutional question under the First Amendment. He stated it was in-

correct to try to analyze the NLRB's opinion in terms of the "totality of conduct" formula.

Professor Summers stated that the particular paragraph referred to by Mr. Prashker is the best example of the difficulty of the GE case. The language quoted shows that there certainly was communication involved in the practices which the NLRB found were unfair, but, Mr. Summers continued, the rest of the opinion fails to make clear how much weight the Board gave to expression alone. He stated that if we go through the opinion and pick out a particular paragraph here and there we can make the NLRB opinion sound like an attack on the free speech of employers. The problem is that we have an entire opinion to deal with and that taken as a whole it did not make clear exactly how much weight the Board gave to speech addressed to GE's employees in finding that the totality of conduct violated section 8(a)(5). Later on in the opinion, for example, the NLRB fastens on the actual negotiations with the Union themselves and finds that they fell short of the standard required by the National Labor Relations Act. Professor Summers concluded that the significance of the paragraph cited by Mr. Prashker is obscure, that we should not base our position in this case on it alone, and that for him the case simply stands for the propositions that hard-nosed, inflexible bargaining is outlawed by 8(a)(5).

Professor Northrup reiterated his feeling that the GE case should be looked at in perspective, and that it represents merely the latest example of the NLRB's hostility toward free speech in various labor relations contexts. He also stated that the essence of the hardnosed bargaining which the Board found to be a violation of 8(a)(5) is communication and that the other ingredients of "Boulwerism," such as conduct at the negotiating table are not as important since, if the company cannot deliver its message to its employees, Boulwerism will fail. Professor Northrup also stated that he had examined not only the opinion of the NLRB but the record of the proceedings before the trial examiner in which there was continual reference to company communications to employees. He could not see how GE can be charged with anything but communication in this case and he suggested that it was the communication which really hurt the union bargaining representatives.

Mr. Rubenstein stated that in his experience the NLRB bends over backward to protect employer free speech. He reads the opinion to be based not on findings against free speech but on the totality of the evidence available.

Mr. Prashker commented no member of the Committee had said that the portion of the NLRB's opinion to which he referred is consistent with the First Amendment. Other members of the Committee, he noted, said that there are other parts of the NLRB's opinion

which are more important, but no one had argued that the far-reaching language of the NLRB to which he referred previously is not of doubtful constitutional validity. He suggested that if we enter the case we need not attempt to tell the court whether an unfair labor practice was committed on the basis of all the available evidence, but that we merely urge the court to examine the doubtful language closely. If the court finds that the language referring to speech is necessary to support the finding of an unfair labor practice, it would have to reverse. If it didn't, and could find adequate other grounds on which to affirm the NLRB's finding, then it could do so. Our function in the case should be to point out that the language in the NLRB's opinion dealing with expression is extremely dangerous and that it ought not to be approved by the court so that it can become a precedent for forbidding company officials from publicly criticizing a labor union prior to or in the course of contract negotiations.

Mr. Benson questioned whether ACLU should really base its concern on three or four sentences in an opinion. He suggested we focus on a broader and more worthwhile concern, the state of free speech rights of employers generally in a labor relations context. He noted that generally speaking, employers have disparately greater strength than employees and it is the philosphy of the National Labor Relations Act to permit intervention on the side of the employee to redress the balance. The question is whether, in the process of this intervention, the civil liberties of employers, including the right of free speech, are infringed.

Mr. Sidney Reitman felt that the issue in the GE case is not really one of communication, but of a total course of conduct. He thought that it was well within the Board's jurisdiction to determine whether GE accorded the IUE recognized collective bargaining status, and that the NLRB could look to all the evidence available to make that determination.

Mr. Sugarman felt that the NLRB was not out to censor the communication of employers in this case. He felt that the case did not squarely raise a communications question and that the opinion was ambiguous on whether or not the NLRB made its decision on the basis of employer statements to employees. He agreed with Professor Summers that we should not take a few sentences out of the opinion and commit ourselves upon the basis of them.

Mr. Wollett thought that the Committee should base its decision on whether the opinion in fact hinders the right of an employer to communicate with his employees.

Mr. Blumrosen thought that the communication of the employer here could not be separated from its total refusal to bargain. He

felt the case was part of NLRB's efforts to preserve the integrity of the bargaining process and to keep employers on their own side of the bargaining table.

Mr. Prashker moved that the Labor Committee recommend to the Board that ACLU file a brief amicus curiae in the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit urging: that that portion of the NLRB's opinion attacking specific speech by employers, and particularly the paragraph referred to in the Christensen memorandum, states an unconstitutional principle; that ACLU take no position in its brief on the extent to which the NLRB relied on this paragraph in reaching its conclusion; that to the extent the court finds the Board relied on it, the court make an appropriate disposition of the case. Mr. Prashker also stated that it was part of the intent of his motion to suggest to the court the danger of allowing language in the NLRB opinion to be implicitly approved by the court if it sustains the NLRB's holding.

The Prashker motion was defeated by a 3 to 7 vote.

Several members of the Committee stated that although they had voted against participation in the GE case, they had some serious concern about the overall fate of free speech rights in certain labor relations areas, including representation elections, picketing, and collective bargaining. They suggested that another meeting of the Committee be called to discuss the state of free speech rights in these areas. The Chairman construed the suggestion as a motion for holding another Committee meeting to discuss the broader question of the extent of free speech rights in labor matters, based on the concern of some members of the Committee that the NLRB may be unduly restricting free speech in cases other than the GE controversy. The vote on this motion was 7 to 1 in favor. The Committee also agreed that its deliberations and actions should be reported to the ACLU Board.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

June 9, 1965

STATEMENT CONCERNING CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CONSCRIPTION
by Norman Thomas

Compulsory military service is today the greatest single infrigement upon the freedom of the individual, the greatest assertion of the coercive power of the state. There can be no sound philosophic basis for civil liberties which denies this fact. This is in effect realized by the exemption given conscientious objectors to all war. Logically there is no more reason to exempt conscientious objectors to all wars on this basis than conscientious objectors to a given war. Of the latter there may be great numbers under President Johnson's foreign policy as it develops in more and greater wars.

In peacetime compulsory military training and service, however limited (and therefore inequitable) in application, is a major prop of the dangerous religion of the state. It puts nationalism above the moral law. No organization solely devoted to civil liberties can as such support conscription without undermining its own philosophic basis, and strengthening a relation of the state to the individual which tends to prolong the institution of war and to make easier a totalitarian conception of the state itself.

At the same time civil libertarians may honestly believe (as I do not) that interests of supreme importance in a dangerous world require conscription. If so, it should be recognized as a lesser evil and no one should attempt to see in it any form of civil liberty, although some forms of conscription may be recognized as worse than others. It may be better, many of you will think, under certain circumstances to compel our youth to fight in wars of which they do not knowingly approve, and to accept the doctrine of moral irresponsibility in wars ordered by the state than to face national defeat. But this is not civil liberty and that fact should be admitted and deplored. It may help to hasten the day when we can get rid of the institution of war if the incompatability of conscription and civil liberty is clearly understood.

I recognize that the constitution, as interpreted by the courts, accepts conscription. So did it once accept slavery. I have been delighted that the constitution is as friendly to civil liberty as it is but I never derived my concern for civil liberty from the constitution.

I am not disposed to quarrel with Mr. Millis' description of former stands of the ACLU. While in theory the idea of conscription for local militia was philosophically not different from the idea of conscription into a great army, the effects of the two were very different. Universal training and service was an important factor in making possible the first world war in Europe. Even socialists had been conditioned to listen to the voice of the drill master rather than to their own deep belief. As a Socialist, I recognize that the control of society and of the state as its agent over property is rightfully great. No man's property rights are equivalent to his right to determine the conduct of his own life in relation to the immorality of war.

I am peculiarly concerned in this matter now because of the high probability that more and more draftees will be plunged into a war in Southeast Aisa to which many of them who are not full conscientious objectors are opposed. At present I doubt if any draftees have been used in South Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic, but of course many men have been used who volunteered because they preferred that to accepting the draft. The war cannot be indefinitely escalated without using draftees, and, if I may judge by the strength of the feeling I have found on many campuses, the jails may be filled with men who refused the draft, and the army manned by numbers of men who hate the cause for which they are asked to kill.

Since the ACLU is so highly pragmatic in dealing with war, conscription and individual rights, it must be pragmatic enough to face the very grave danger in which we are if spokesman, not only for democracy but for civil liberties, are to insist that the right of the state to coerce men to do what they may hate is consistent with civil liberties.

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American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

June 10, 1965

To: Board Mailing List

From: Gordon K. Haskell

Subject: Civil Liberties Book Service

At its meeting last August, the Steering Committee of the National Development Council voted the following motion as a recommendation to the Board of Directors:

> "The National Office may offer sale items (books, records, etc.) to members on a national basis. The proceeds of such sales to be retained in full by the National Office. It was understood that National would undertake such programs only with regard to items where the sale would insure income over and above that required for the promotion and handling of the program itself."

Subsequent to this motion, investigation has been made of any legal restrictions or conditions on the offering of sale items such as those referred to, to its members, by a non-profit corporation such as ours. We are satisfied that they present no obstacle.

The Board may have noted that in the May issue of Civil Liberties, we advertised sale at an attractive price of a recording of President Johnson's voting rights speech to the Joint Session of Congress. These recordings were obtained by us at a price from the manufacturer which would actually permit a modest profit on bulk sales. We have now been offered "The Quest for the Dream" by John Roche, an historical treatment of the development of civil liberties and civil rights concepts in the United States, at 50¢ per copy, if we buy 1,000 copies. We believe this book would be of considerable interest to ACLU members, and if sold at $2.50 per copy could return a profit to the organization. If the Board authorizes the sale of this book, we would like to utilize it to inaugurate a general "Civil Liberties Book Service" whose purpose it would be to earn additional funds for the Union, while providing our members with items of civil libertarian interest.

If this is to become a regular though modest aspect of ACLU fund-raising, selection of the items involved would have to be left to the staff, which would exercise its judgment on the quality and potential market within the Union for the items selected. It is proposed that all announcements of items offered by the Civil Liberties Book Service be accompanied by the following caveat:

> "The Civil Liberties Book Service offers books, records, and other items for sale to members of the Union. Selection of items offered through CLBS is made on the basis of their general civil libertarian interest. The offer of an item by CLBS does not imply an endorsement of the contents by the American Civil Liberties Union."

It is proposed that the Board of Directors authorize the inauguration of a Civil Liberties Book Service on the above conditions.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

June 10, 1965

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: The Office

RE: Excerpt from the Minutes of the Due Process Committee Meeting, March 10, 1965

2. Radio and TV Broadcasting of Legislative Investigations: The Committee briefly discussed the action of the Free Speech/Association Committee in rejecting its recommendation that all radio and TV broadcasting of legislative hearings be barred. The Committee decided that it could not agree with FS/A and that it would not change its position. However, in view of the fact that the Committee will shortly discuss a wide area of due process protections in legislative investigations, it was agreed to delay the submission of the recommendation to the Board until a general statement on due process in legislative investigations is adopted by the Committee.

file

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

AGENDA

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1965, 12:30 P. M.

ACLU OFFICE

1. Libel.

   (a) punitive damages;

   (b) definition of a public figure.

2. Final Review of Foreign Agents Registration Act. (See memorandum from Mr. Lowenstein enclosed)

3. Fair Trial and Free Press. (Continuation of discussion at April 16 meeting; the Committee agrees to focus especially on what kinds of information it is undesirable to release in advance of trial and what should be disclosed as serving a useful public purpose. See also text of Attorney General Katzenbach's statement, previously distributed.)

NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

PROPOSED POLICY STATEMENT ON THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT.

Louis Lowenstein
June 4, 1965

The American Civil Liberties Union has never objected to the basic objectives of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, to require the registration of agents of foreign governments and certain other principals and the identification of material distributed by them.

It is recognized that registration and labeling involve restraints on freedom of speech and as a general matter, therefore, are obnoxious. Nonetheless, there are situations where other, countervailing considerations may render such restraints acceptable. In the case of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the government, in carrying out its responsibilities for the national defense and in foreign relations, may reasonably have concluded that the Act is justified by the necessity of identifying those who act for foreign interests so that, according to the Act's statement of policy, "the Government and the people of the United States ... may appraise their statements and actions in the light of their associations ...." An identification with foreign interests may not always, or even generally, be a critical distinction. There may frequently be times, however, when it would be vital that the public and the government know that certain individuals or groups labor under the burden of divided loyalties of this kind.

While not critical of the Act in principle, the ACLU, keenly aware of the possible stigma and considerable burdens of registration and labeling, urges that the Act be carefully applied only to its proper objects and not, for example, to lawyers rendering only customary legal services in a judicial or administrative proceeding for a foreign principal. The Act should not apply to those who are not engaged in lobbying propaganda or political activities, or elsewhere in situations where no paramount national interest is served.

MEMO IN SUPPORT OF PROPOSED POLICY STATEMENT ON THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT.

In the early 1940's, the ACLU Board, apparently concerned with the flood of German propaganda, concluded that the Foreign Agents Registration Act served "a commendable purpose" in exposing "to the American public those persons and organizations which are acting in the interests of a foreign government, party or principal so that the public may know precisely for whom they speak and act."

We may find it more difficult today to make any such unqualified endorsement of the Act. Registration and labeling are both significant restraints of freedom of expression, as several court decisions in the intervening years have indicated. (see, e.g., Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516; Talley v. California, 362 U. S. 60.) In Thomas v. Collins, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional a state statute requiring union organizers to register before engaging in organizational activities, and in the Talley case the Court held that

the government may not, in blanket fashion, insist upon indentification of the source of leaflets and handbills. Very recently, in Lamont v. Postmaster General, 33 Law Week 4489, the Supreme Court agreed with the ACLU's position that the Post Office cannot insist that addressees of "communist political propaganda" mailed from abroad must, in order to receive it, file a written request for the material -- also a kind of a prior application or registration procedure.

But neither the ACLU nor the Supreme Court has ever asserted that registration and labeling requirements, such as those provided in the FARA, may never be justified. The courts have upheld the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, with its registration procedures, and the ACLU has consistently taken the view, most recently in 1959, that the 1948 federal statute prohibiting anonymous election campaign material constitutes a "reasonable effort to protect the integrity of the election process."

There is no single, broad gauged principle on which to resolve the problem raised by statutes of this character.

As for the FARA, our conculsion depends, I believe, on our views with respect to the participation of foreigners in the domestic market place of ideas. Recognizing the transnational character of ideas and debate, and anxious, perhaps, to disassociate ourselves from any suggestion of xenophobia, we may at first recoil from restricting access to the forum. Yet, I think there is a rational basis for the Act, sufficient to still any opposition by us even though we may not choose to give it affirmative support. For it may have been important, even vital, in times past for the govern-

ment and the public to know who was financed by and spoke for Nazi Germany, Cuba under Batista or Castro, or the Dominican Republic under Trujillo. The same may be true tomorrow for either of the Chinas, Gaullist France, the Soviet Union or who knows what other group. The inherent bias and the strong possibility of factual distortion in what may be strenuous, well financed foreign efforts to influence our international relations or national defense should be exposed to the deterrent, or at least the detergent, effect of publicity. And this is so even though we may agree that domestic groups that may be seeking to exert comparable pressures on behalf of foreign interests of their own are not subject to the Act. For one thing, the Act need not be all-inclusive. And secondly, we are more concerned that domestic groups not be deterred from expressing their views, lest a labeling requirement have the effect of frightening some people into remaining silent. It is not fear that deters the distribution of labeled material under the FARA, but embarrassment or reluctance to reveal the source.

The Act is generally a reasonable measure, both as to registration and labeling, which should be acceptable to the ACLU, though there would seem to be no need to take the further step of endorsing it. It should be noted that the label suggested by the Department of Justice does not include the word "propaganda" or any similarly negative expression.

Although approving the FARA in general, the ACLU has from time to time been concerned with its application in specific instances. In 1946, for example, it was urged that the Attorney General should

exercise his discretion in favor of freeing already identified foreign delegates to international conferences and meetings from the burdens and possible stigma of registering as foreign agents. Recently, Mr. Wulf intervened on behalf of someone who had been advised by the Department of Justice that he was required to file a registration statement because he had made a single recording of material prepared for other purposes for broadcast over Radio Moscow, much as have many other American writers, actors, etc. And there are still a great many other issues as to the full scope of the FARA. See, e.g., the recent case of Rabinowitz v. Kennedy, 376 U.S. 605 (1964), applying the Act to lawyers who litigate for foreign governments. The Act inevitably restrains freedom of expression, and those who administer it should be cognizant of that fact. It is important that it not be applied to those who by any common understanding would not be regarded as foreign agents or in situations where no paramount national interest is involved.

New York

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

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MINUTES

FREE SPEECH/ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEETING
FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1965, 12:30 p.m.
ACLU OFFICE

Present: Mr. Soll, presiding; Messers. Evans, Galantiere, Lowenstein, Millis, McReynolds

Staff: Messrs. Bucholz, Reitman, Wulf

1. ACLU Libel Position: The chairman reviewed the action of the Plenary meeting of the Board on April 3 and 4, 1965. The Board approved the majority recommendation of the FS/A of May, 1964, with several important changes. First, the Board deleted paragraph 4 of the statement, dealing with punitive damages. Second, the Board excised the Committee's reference to "persons in public life." Mr. Soll stated his understanding of the Plenary Board's decision on libel to be that, as regards punitive damages, the Committee was to consider the problem further. As to the problem of the "public figure," Mr. Soll referred the Committee to the following paragraph of the Plenary minutes, which show that the Board left the problem unresolved:

> "Mr. Prashker moved to amend paragraph 5 by striking 'persons in public life' and adding 'public and political officials.' Mr. Bondurant opposed the amendment, saying that it doesnt make sense to include minor public officials while excluding those in public life who have great influence on public affairs, such as General Walker or Linus Pauling. Mr. Fraenkel responded that, though it is important to allow criticism of public persons, the undefined words 'persons in public life' open the door too wide. Mr. Schroeter felt that to allow attacks against public officials with no recourse open to them discourages people from running for public office, though he expressed his general support of the Prashker amendment. Mr. Prashker explained that the purpose of his motion was to defer

the issue -- not to conclude it, and with this understanding, the Board voted to adopt his amendment."

As to the problem of punitive damages, some members of the Board felt that they could be justified as a means of insuring a responsible press, while others thought that the term "punitive damages" should not be included in the statement since the term has a technical meaning which varies from state to state. Mr. Soll, who presented the Committee's position to the Board, recalled that three other points had been debated by the Board with reference to punitive damages, although not reflected in the Board minutes of the Plenary meeting. First, several Board members had expressed particular concern over irresponsible labeling of dedicated public servants as "Communists," and urged that punitive damages should be allowed in such cases because it was often very difficult to prove the extent of financial damage resulting from the use of such terms. Next, other Board members felt that the cost of libel suits made it unlikely they would be brought in many instances where merited, unless punitive damages were allowed so that persons defamed would be able to meet attorneys' fees. Last, the Board was concerned over the possibility that, if punitive damages are not allowed, they may nevertheless be awarded by juries in extreme cases under the guise of general or compensatory damages.

Mr. Lowenstein thought that some of the Board discussion at its Plenary meeting missed the point the Committee was trying to make. When the Committee mentioned punitive damages in its statement, it was concerned not so much with the technical legal doctrines which have grown up around the term, but with the use of non-compensatory damages in libel actions as a method of punishing speech. He moved to reaffirm the Committee's position on punitive damages, with the understanding that it was intended to place the Union on record as favoring generally compensatory damages without regard to technical definitions of the term in the various states.

Several members of the Committee thought that the use of punitive damages by courts and juries to stifle criticism of public officials, as indicated in New York Times v. Sullivan, 376 U. S. 254 (1964), should be enough to make the Union quite wary about the dangers flowing from the use of a civil penalty like punitive damages in the free speech area.

After further discussion, the Committee voted unanimously in favor of Mr. Lowenstein's motion.

The Committee turned to the question of whether public figures or "persons in public life" should be subject to the same libel

rule as elected or appointed public officials.

Mr. Evans asked which "public" the Committee had in mind in dealing with public figures and stated that public opinion surveys had shown there are many different public in the United States, one for baseball, one for theatre, etc. He urged that mere notoriety in the eyes of a public should not be the test of whether a person's right to sue for libel should be limited. He thought there should be some element of voluntariness in the test, so that persons thrust into the public eye through no fault of their own should not be limited in bringing suit.

Mr. Wulf recalled that in arriving at its libel position, the Committee was mainly concerned with maximizing public debate in connection with the political process viewed in its broadest sense. He suggested that, since the ACLU was more concerned with encouraging public debate over political issues than over baseball heroes, we might, for the time being, confine the notion of a public figure to persons who have gained notoriety through broadly defined political activity. He felt it would be illogical to treat Linus Pauling, for instance, as less of a public official for purposes of libel law than a lower level government employee who never spoke out.

Mr. Galantiere noted that all persons who get some kind of notoriety or who arrive at a position in life where they are fairly well known by at least some segment of the public, often make public remarks about public issues. Some persons, previously unknown, become public figures by virtue of one speech. He therefore wondered whether including "public figure" in the statement would not result in extending the proposed position to cover virtually everyone.

Several members recalled that the ACLU's position statement was not intended to apply to the private life of a public official, and that the Committee had always assumed that any person, public official, public figure, or private individual, could sue without showing malice if libelous statements were made about his private life. After further discussion, the Committee was able to isolate three possible positions on the question of defining a "public figure."

1. The Committee could simply agree not to comment on the public figure problem for the time being, as the Board appeared to suggest.

2. The Committee should take the position that when a person who is a public figure is defamed by a comment on an issue of public import-

ance, he should be subject to the same rule as an elected or appointed public official with respect to his ability to sue for libel, namely, no right to recover unless there is a showing of malice.

3. The Committee should take the position that all persons (whether or not public figures) who place themselves in the public arena by engaging in substantial comment on public affairs, should be subject to the same rule with respect to libel as public officials.

Mr. Galantiere thought that the latter concept was dangerously broad and asked whether it would mean that any citizen who comments on the activities of a particular baseball player would be treated the same as a public official. Mr. Reitman replied that our concept of maximizing free speech always concentrated on the realm of ideas. He assumed that we would limit the latter position to comment on political, social or economic matters, in their broadest possible sense.

Several members of the Committee felt that alternative #1 would be undesirable, since it would be an admission that the Union was unable to cope with the problems posed by a Linus Pauling or a General Walker.

One Committee member voted for alternative #1, that is, not extending the ACLU statement to public figures at this time. One Committee member voted for reaffirming the Committee's original position, alternative #2. Four Committee members voted for adopting alternative #3.

2. Foreign Agents Registration Act. The Committee discussed the Lowenstein statement and memo of June 4, 1965, reviewing ACLU's position on the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In response to a question, Mr. Reitman stated that, aside from the importance of reconsidering ACLU positions of ancient vintage, the need to look at the Act once again has been stimulated by recent proposals for revisions of the Act's language.

Mr. Lowenstein moved the adoption of his statement and supporting memorandum, which, he added, essentially embody past ACLU policy.

Mr. Soll recalled that Morris Ernst had frequently taken the position when he was an active Board member that ACLU should support the requirements of full disclosure of the source of all published materials. ACLU had opposed this and had adopted the

general position that published matter should not be required to be labeled. However, one exception made by the Board several years ago is the recognition that material introduced at the last minute into a political campaign should be required to be identified as to its source or author, since it might not be effectively rebuttable before the vote begins and the people are therefore entitled to consider the question who has published the material. Another exception to the general rule is ACLU's past position that no civil liberties problem was raised by requiring that materials distributed by or through foreign agents registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act must be labeled. However neither federal law nor the ACLU supported the position that domestic lobbyists should identify themselves as the source of material distributed by them.

Mr. Galantiere felt that the requirement for labeling material was generally helpful to a reader who attempted to be informed, since it helped him to screen the vast amount of printed material which he felt obligated to absorb.

Mr. McReynolds proposed this example: Suppose the Communist Party knows material distributed by it won't be read by anyone, if it has its label on it. It therefore creates a front group with a different name. What label should be required on the material distributed by the front group? Mr. Lowenstein conceded that the labeling requirement under some circumstances did not insure that material would be accurately identified as to authorship or viewpoint.

Mr. McReynolds urged that in the South, materials relating to the struggle for integration or materials like those Tom Paine distributed can be circulated only anonymously. Mr. Evans recalled that in the early history of our republic many documents, such as the Federalist papers, were distributed either anonymously or under a psuedonym to protect the author from reprisal.

Mr. Millis stated that he was in favor of allowing anonymity for domestic material in this country but not for material authored and distributed from abroad.

Several Committee members recognized the difficulty of making the distinction between domestic and foreign materials in certain circumstances. A foreign government could, for example, induce a domestic group to circulate material reflecting the viewpoint of the foreign government, even though the domestic group need not be registered under the FARA. Also, large domestic corporations with interests in many parts of the world may circulate material as much or more favorable to foreign governments than that distributed by any foreign agent.

Several members of the Committee thought that two apparently conflicting values had developed in the Committee discussion: The desirability of having an informed public know who is speaking to it on a given issue, and the desirability of protecting a writer from reprisals by allowing him anonymity. It was suggested that this apparent conflict perhaps could be resolved by deciding that labeling should be permitted where the results of a labeling requirement would not have the effect of suppressing free speech or press due to fear of physical or similar harm if anonymity were eliminated. On the other hand, if labeling simply deterred some people from publishing material, not out of fear but because they were unwilling that the public know the source of material or the funds used to distribute it, then a different problem altogether was raised and we should not object to such labeling on civil liberties grounds. This approach would distinguish FARA labeling and political campaign labeling from a hypothetical requirement of labeling all integration material in the South.

However, several objections were raised to the wording of the statement, particularly with regard to the first and last paragraphs. Mr. Millis questioned whether the Committee had intended by its discussion to accept the registration requirement as well as the labeling imposed by the FARA. Other Committee members felt that labeling was the extreme form of the restraint imposed on free speech by the FARA and that free speech was not significantly affected by the registration requirement. It was agreed that Committee members were to call the office with suggested changes and that a re-worded statement was to be submitted to the Board.

Next meeting, Friday, June 25, 1965, 12:30 p.m. at the ACLU office.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

A G E N D A

DUE PROCESS COMMITTEE MEETING

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1965 - 4:45 P.M.

ACLU OFFICE

1. Congressional Investigating Procedures (materials previously distributed).

If time permits, the office suggests that the Committee review briefly its operations over the last year and consider planning for next year's sessions.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

AGENDA

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

1. Minutes of June 7 meeting.

ACTION

2. Request of American Medical Association for ACLU opposition to proposed compulsory public service requirement for medical license in Puerto Rico. (Memorandum from Alan Reitman, letters from AMA and Ed Ennis previously circulated.)

3. Recommendation of the Free Speech and Association Committee on:

   (a) Foreign Agents Registration Act
   (b) Extension of position on civil actions for libel to "public figures" and to "punitive danages." (Materials to follow.)

4. Due Process Committee recommendation on legislative committee investigation procedures, with contrary recommendation of the Free Speech/Association Committee on broadcasting of hearings. (Memorandum by Seymour Bucholz dated May 5, memorandum from the office to the Due Process and Free Speech Committees dated February 5, excerpts from the Due Process minutes of March 10 and the Free Speech minutes of February 11, enclosed.)

5. NDC Steering Committee recommendation on inauguration of an ACLU book service. (Memorandum by Gordon Haskell enclosed.)

INFORMATION

6. Present operations and program of LCDC of ACLU.

7. Audit Committee report on first quarter, 1965.

8. Academic Freedom Committee appointment of a subcommittee on student unrest.

9. Supreme Court, 1964 term.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Mr. Angell, presiding; Messrs. Bierstedt, Black, Buchalter, Dorsen, Ennis, Evans, Frank, Fraenkel, Lipsitz, Maslow, Miller, Millis, Prashker, Rice, Rubin, Soll.

STAFF: Messrs. Pemberton, Reitman, Wulf, Bucholz, Haskell, Mote; Mesdames Floyd, Katz; Miss Strickland.

VISITORS: Mrs. Rebecca Lyons, Messrs. Henry Schwarzschild and Norman Thomas, Professor Michael Sovern.

1. Minutes. The minutes of the May 24th meeting were approved as circulated.

2. Visitors. Mrs. Rebecca Lyons, a long-time volunteer for the ACLU was welcomed as was Norman Thomas, Director Emeritus of the ACLU, and Professor Sovern, Chairman of the Labor-Business Committee.

3. Free Speech/Association Committee Recommendation on Conscription. Mr. Millis presented the recommendation (previously circulated) of the Free Speech/Association Committee on peacetime conscription and summarized his memorandum (also previously circulated). Before the general discussion began, Mr. Pemberton pointed out that this issue might be an appropriate one to submit to the affiliates for consideration after the Board has taken a tentative position, in accordance with the procedure experimentally adopted at the last Board meeting.

Mr. Thomas summarized the statement just prepared by him (attached). Mr. Evans proposed that after debate on this issue, no vote be taken but rather this matter be referred to the affiliates for advice, and the Board adopted this procedure by majority vote.

In the ensuing discussion Mr. Thomas sought to clarify his position stating that the ACLU should say conscription is wholly inconsistent with civil liberties, conceding no more than that a greater evil abroad may make it necessary. Mr. Soll, the chairman of the Free Speech/Association Committee, responded with the following points: (1) there may be greater injustice in war-time conscription than in universal conscription; (2) the conscientious objector exemption is protected, not as a matter of right, but because we believe our democracy is strong enough to afford this desirable privilege. So grounded, the government may limit the privilege to objectors to all war; (3) the ACLU should abandon its attempt to distinguish the draft from universal military training.

Mr. Fraenkel said that conscription, like martial law, can be justified only by an emergency. But unlike martial law the draft is better adopted in anticipation of

an emergency. In these circumstances it is better for ACLU to slide along on a position less clear-cut than that proposed by Mr. Thomas. Mr. Angell suggested that a parallel situation to military conscription was the situation existing in some states where men are conscripted to fight forest fires, but Mr. Thomas rejected the comparison for want of a basis in conscience for objections to fighting forest fires.

Mr. Ennis moved to amend the statement of the Free Speech Committee to read (first sentence) "Compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, raises the gravest civil liberty issues." Thus, it would be recast in terms of the Supreme Court doctrine of balance of interest between the state and the individual. Then, in a particular case the Union should decide whether it is prepared to oppose conscription.

Mr. Black predicted that the generality of youth's opposition to the war in Vietnam may soon pose for us a civil liberties problem of dimensions comparable to those of the civil rights revolution. Mr. Millis questioned whether the ACLU is equipped to judge the military necessity of conscription or what exactly a given situation warrants militaristically.

Mr. Dorsen stated his general agreement with both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Ennis that civil liberties have been violated when the state takes a man for two years and does with him whatever it chooses. Although the Union is not equipped to judge military necessity, it should insist that the proponents of conscription carry a heavy burden of proof before it is enacted or renewed.

Mr. Maslow also stated his agreement with the Ennis amendment for the U.S. Constitution is not the highest authority for civil liberties; rather there is a natural law of civil liberties which is higher than the Constitution. For example, slavery was provided for in the Constitution, but this is clearly a violation of civil liberties.

But Mr. Soll felt that the difference between the FSA position and Mr. Ennis' position is merely a semantic one. Mr. Thomas objected to this, stating that when you take an indifferent position you have lost the fundamental ground of your existence. There is an enormous danger of statism in the world, he asserted; the state needs more power, hence there is more need to limit it.

Fr Fraenkel asked if the FSA Committee would adopt the Ennis amendment, and Mr. Millis said no.

Mr. Soll suggested another change to the first sentence of the FSA statement: "Compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, raises serious civil liberty issues since it takes young men away from their homes, their families and their livelihood without their consent." But Mr. Thomas objected that this stated only half the problem; military conscription not only takes men away from their families but often makes them violate their consciences.

Mr. Prashker felt that insufficient attention had been paid to Mr. Baldwin's statement (previously circulated) and asked why the FSA Committee found it unacceptable? Mr. Thomas said that it implies that we're only constitutional lawyers. Mr. Soll said that there were two differences between Mr. Baldwin's

statement and that of the FSA Committee: (1) Baldwin's distinction between the draft and universial military training; and (2) his seeming inconsistency in opposing peacetime conscription while admitting the draft special emergencies.

Mr. Ennis moved that all of the papers be sent to the affiliates for advice with an additional statement incorporating the sense of today's discussion. The motion carried by a majority vote.

4. Pension Plan. Mr. Pemberton presented the pension plan described in his memo of May 13th (previously circulated) noting that the last figure in paragraph 4 should be "age 65" instead of "age 55." The Board, after discussion, approved it unanimously.

5. Report of the Labor-Business Committee on Free Speech in Labor Relations.

Professor Sovern presented the Labor Committee recommendations on free speech set forth in the Committee's minutes of June 2 (enclosed).

Mr. Fraenekl moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation that the Union not participate in the General Electric case. Mr. Prashker opposed the motion, asserting that the proponents of the position that prevailed in Committee uniformly agreed that the NLRB language (quoted at the bottom of page 13 of the Christensen memorandum) was "unfortunate" though they advocated no ACLU intervention. The NLRB order, if affirmed by the Court of Appeals, will have the effect of an injunction imposing the limitations on speech inherent in that language. Since a statute in that language would be inconsistent with the First Amendment, an injunction that gives it the force of law should be equally objectionable. The ACLU intervention should ask the court to determine whether its reasoning was any part of the basis of the NLRB decision, he argued, and to take appropriate action if it was.

Mr. Lipsitz contended that this argument oversimplified the free speech issue. The NLRB order actually forbade, he said: (1) refusals to divulge information, (2) certain dealings with locals, and (3) a take it or leave it pattern of bargaining. It then directed GE to bargain in good faith. But it never forbade GE to "mount a campaign ... to seek to persuade the employees ... [or] to create the impressions ... " specified in the language Mr. Prashker referred to. Even that language read only that "it is inconsistent with" the duty to bargain in good faith for an employer to do these three things and the NLRB was correct in so asserting.

The Fraenkel motion was then put to a vote and it carried 9 - 2.

Mr. Fraenkel then moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation that "willful misrepresentations of material facts within the special knowledge of the uttering party, under such circumstances that other persons cannot effectively refut them, and where employees lack independent knowledge to weigh the erroneous statements, may serve as grounds for overturning representation election." After brief discussion this motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Bierstedt then moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation that the Union abandon its earlier position that concedes the propriety of overturning an election where speech is designed to inflame rather than inform. Mr. Fraenkel opposed con-

sideration of this motion except in the context of a pending case. Mr. Prashker briefly described the cases which involved appeals to race prejudice, that were before the Board when it adopted this position in 1963. He favored the Committee's present recommendation on the ground that the old position permitted in effect administrative determination of what was relevant or proper to put before the voters in a representation election campaign. Mr. Dorsen then moved that the matter be recommitted to the Labor-Business Committee to reconsider in the context of some case that is pending at the time of such reconsideration. After discussion, the Dorsen motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Sovern then called attention to the Committee's recommendations on equality of access to the electorate in representation elections and, after brief discussion and on motion duly made and seconded, the Board adopted the Committee's recommendation.

The meeting was then adjourned.

MEMORANDUM

June 21, 1965

TO: Board of Directors, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California.

FROM: John Henry Merryman

SUBJECT: Legislative Apportionment Issue

I have prepared this statement in the hope that it will be of assistance to the Board in its deliberations at the July Meeting. The statement is in two parts. In the first I try to clarify the issue, which is a very complicated and confused one. In the second part I make a specific proposal for action by the Board.

I.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a series of decisions culminating in 1964, held that the United States Constitution (specifically the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) requires that seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature be apportioned as nearly as possible on a population basis. All of these decisions were reached by a divided court. They have been received by a divided legal profession. Many responsible legal scholars, including men who are deeply devoted to civil liberties, disapprove of the principle enunciated in the culminating decision. Some of them believe that the Court decided wrong. Others believe that whether the Court was right or wrong is irrelevant; if the Constitution means what the Court said it means, they think it should be amended. There have been strong reactions in other quarters to the apportionment cases. Some of these reactions are badly motivated and badly conceived. Others are the result of careful deliberation by responsible people with a deep concern for civil liberties.

In the United States Congress the reaction has taken the form of several proposals to amend the United States Constitution. These proposals vary widely in form and substance. The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has been asked by the national office of the American Civil Liberties Union to devote its full legislative action energy and resources to opposition, not to any one proposal, but to all of them. If we join in such an effort it must be because we believe that such an amendment will infringe on civil liberties. We are a civil liberties organization, not a general social action organization. What is the civil liberties issue?

There is no proposal to take the franchise from anyone. The same Congress that is considering these amendments is also busily working on voting rights legislation intended to strengthen the rights of citizens to register and vote. The two lines of activity are not inconsistent. Of course we should oppose any legislation or constitutional amendment that sought directly or indirectly to deprive individuals of voting rights. That would clearly be a violation of civil liberties.

Everyone has his own method of arriving at some conclusion about the nature of civil liberties, but certainly no one would say that they are defined by the Supreme Court. The fact that the Supreme Court held as it did does not solve the problem; it creates it. Civil libertarians, including this Board, have frequently disagreed with the Court. As obvious recent examples I need only mention the Smith Act and obscenity decisions. The Court is not always right on civil liberties (or on other issues, as those senior citizens whose memory extends back to the New Deal will confirm). Nor is precedent for constitutional amendments overruling Supreme Court decisions lacking; both the Eleventh and the Sixteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution are examples.

There is no sweeping proposal to exempt the states from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. The responsible proposals, which are among those we are being asked to oppose, have a much narrower aim. They would allow the states to use other factors than population in apportioning seats in one of the houses of a bicameral state legislature.

There may be an inconsistency in the thinking of those who would deny the states this power. They are interested in voting rights and in preserving citizen participation in the democratic processes of government through the vote. The constitutional amendments proposed include provisions that would give the voters of the states the power -- on a one man-one vote basis -- to establish a method of representation in one of the two houses of a bicameral state legislature which was not based solely on population. Those who oppose such amendments would leave the determination of the method of representation entirely in the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States. That body is not elected. Its members are appointed by the President, subject to the approval of that house of the Congress which is not apportioned on a population basis: the Senate. I am not being facetious when I suggest that it is arguable that the decisions in question deprive individuals of voting rights, and hence of civil rights. It is arguable that a properly drafted amendment to the United States Constitution would restore civil rights and should be supported, not opposed, by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The bicameral legislature is a common phenomenon in American political life. Typically one house is apportioned solely on the basis of population; typically the other is apportioned on other bases. The purpose, according to traditional American political theory, is to avoid the tyranny of the majority, to protect minority interests in the legislative process. The decisions in question deny the validity of this theory (for the states; not for the Congress) and insist that both houses shall be apportioned solely on the basis of population. In this way the principal, if not the sole, reason for a bicameral legislature is removed. One who is convinced that the bicameral legislature is a sound political institution and is concerned about the legislative representation of interests that are not adequately represented by population ought to be concerned about the effect of these decisions.

There is no general principle of non-discrimination which forbids all distinctions among individuals. Neither the Constitution nor civil liberties principles forbid all kinds of discrimination; only the wrong kind. It is proper to deny the vote to minors; it is wrong to deny it to Negroes. The suggestion that other factors than population might legitimately be considered in legislative apportionment is simply another form of the principle that some kinds of discrimination are legitimate. It is conceivable that in some states under some circumstances it might be not only permissible but desirable to distinguish between rural and urban areas in the legislative apportionment process. In others regional balance or adequate representation of different kinds of natural and human resources might be sought. It is conceivable that one or more such factors, or others I have not thought of, might in a given case be properly employed in apportioning one of the two houses of a bicameral legislature.

Under no circumstances, of course, should discrimination based on race or color or belief be permissible. The courts must retain the power to review any proposed reapportionment, whatever the basis selected. Some proposals seek only to establish that the mere fact that population is not the sole basis would not, of itself, render the plan unconstitutional. Under such proposals it would be necessary for the court to go further and show that the actual basis used somehow embodied an <u>impermissible</u> discrimination.

The proposals before Congress would not <u>require</u> the states to apportion the second house on a basis other than population but would <u>permit</u> them to do so. Under the decisions in question they are not so permitted. Hence the peculiar result in the <u>Lucas</u> case, in which a legislative apportionment plan approved by the great majority of the voters of Colorado at a general election was held unconstitutional. If every eligible voter in Colorado had voted in favor of that plan it would still, under the reasoning in <u>Lucas</u>, be void. It should be

noted that the voters who approved that plan voted on a one man-one vote basis. They were not the victims of a system of malapportionment that was controlled by those who were the beneficiaries of it, as is still the case in a number of states; that situation, of course, is intolerable. But in Colorado the voters themselves had the opportunity to vote on a plan which provided that one house of the legislature be apportioned on a geographic rather than a population basis, and the great majority of them voted in favor of it. Of what civil liberty did they deprive themselves?

If malapportionment is not locked into the political system in the state; if there is a procedure available by which the voters can correct malapportionment; if this procedure is truly available at reasonable intervals of time and under realistic political circumstances; if an apportionment plan, while permitting representation on other than a pure population basis in one house of a bicameral legislature (I know of no proposal to go farther than this) does not permit invidious discrimination; if the courts are open to complaints about the fairness of the plan and the procedure by which it was adopted; what civil liberty of whom is infringed?

It is possible to be seduced by simplistic notions and by fine-sounding slogans. "One man-one vote" has both of these attributes; it is simplistic and it sounds good. But I wonder whether even the most avid devotee would follow it all the way. Negroes are outnumbered by whites and Negro voters are vastly outnumbered by white voters in all of the southern states. If the one man-one vote principle were pushed to the extreme, to the point where all state offices were filled on a state-wide basis by candidates running at large in the state, in general elections in which each voter had one vote, no Negro would hold any elective office in any southern state. Alabama has already moved in this direction, and other southern states, spurred by the Supreme Court, will follow. In some states Democrats out-number Republicans; and in others the reverse is true. In a recent election in Illinois to elect members of the state legislature on an at-large basis Democrats dominated the election much more strongly than they had in previous elections. These examples illustrate that a slogan, no matter how high its sound or how appealing its simplicity, can create more problems than it solves.

II.

As I see it, the national ACLU asks too much. It asks that we oppose every proposed amendment, no matter how carefully drawn, no matter how solicitous of individual rights and democratic values, if it would permit the state to consider anything other than pure population as the basis for apportionment. I would rather see the American

Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (which has, to its credit, taken independent positions in the past and found itself justified by subsequent events) adopt a more complicated but more appropriate position. Accordingly, I have prepared the following resolution. If the signs are propitious on July 8, I propose to move that the Board adopt this resolution.

RESOLUTION

The Board of Directors of the ACLUNC opposes any attempt to amend the Constitution of the United States to permit legislative apportionment in the states on other than a population basis if:

A. Such proposed amendment, while permitting apportionment on bases other than population, expressly or impliedly permits discrimination among individuals according to race, color, creed, or any other impermissible basis, or if

B. Such amendment does not guarantee to the citizens of each state adequate periodic opportunities to initiate and to adopt by popular vote alternative plans of legislative apportionment, or if

C. Such amendment does not guarantee the right to judicial review of both the procedure for adoption and the content of any plan of legislative apportionment in any state.

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Y

MEMORANDUM

June 30, 1965

TO: Board of Directors
ACLU of Northern California

FROM: Lawrence Speiser, Director
Washington Office, ACLU

SUBJECT: Proposed Constitutional Amendments on Apportionment of State Legislatures

The Dirksen Amendment, in a modified form, has been reported out by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the full Senate Judiciary Committee by a 6 to 3 vote. There are probably not enough votes to prevent the full Senate Judiciary Committee from voting this bill to the floor. Operative sections of the bill are as follows:

SECTION I. The people of a State may apportion one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, or give reasonable weight to factors other than population in apportioning a unicameral legislature, if, in either case, such apportionment has been submitted to a vote of the people in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution and has been approved by a majority of those voting on that issue.

SECTION II. Any State which has approved an apportionment plan under this Article shall resubmit it to a vote of its people at the general election next following the year in which there is commenced any enumeration provided for in Section I of Article I, and upon approval by a majority of those voting on that issue, such plan shall continue in effect until changed in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution. If not so approved, it shall remain in effect for a period not to exceed two years from that general election or until the earlier adoption of another plan pursuant to Section 1.

The major changes to the original bill, S.J. Res. 2, were to eliminate the sentence "The right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a State and the apportionment of the membership thereof shall remain with the people of that State," and, secondly, to provide a rather complex and confusing system of submitting the matter to a vote of the people.

The bill, in its present form, does not exclude race as a factor. Indeed, one of the amendments proposed in the Subcommittee was that there should be a specific exclusion to prevent race, color or creed from being utilized as one of the factors for apportioning one house of the state legislature. This was withdrawn after Senator Ervin (D-North Carolina) objected. Even if this amendment had been adopted, it would not be sufficient to bar racial discrimination. The effect of any plan which would permit giving greater weight to the votes of those who live outside of cities would be to proportionately deprive Negroes or other minority groups within cities of equal weight for their votes.

In 1960 over 72% of American Negroes lived in urban areas and this percentage is increasing. If disproportionate weight is given to the votes of those in rural areas then Negroes as well as other minority groups in urban centers are being discriminated against. If property qualifications are used, for example, only 3 out of 8 non-white householders owned their own homes in 1960 as compared with 5 out of 8 white householders. These are national figures -- the disparity would be much greater in Southern states. No matter what factors are utilized, even though they are not blatantly stated as racial, they will all end up with the same result -- they will deprive Negro and other minorities of an equal weight for their vote.

If a state passed a bill reducing the votes of Negroes, Catholics or Jews so that each had one tenth of a vote, there would be no question but that citizens thus discriminated against would be denied equal protection of the laws under the 14th Amendment. Although such a blatant proposal would probably not be suggested under the Dirksen Amendment, still the same kind of result can be accomplished by more sophisticated plans.

In California there are 58 counties. Under the Dirksen Amendment, no matter what form it may take, it would be possible for each county to have a State Senator. But even the most vehement critics of the Supreme Court's decision in the reapportionment cases, would not advocate this, I assume, because of the tremendous disparity between the number of inhabitants of your smallest counties as compared to the number of inhabitants of the metropolitan centers, such as Los Angeles county or San Francisco county. Alpine County has 500 inhabitants; Los Angeles has 6,593,500.

Yet, if geography or a political subdivision may be a valid "other factor" for apportioning the California State Senate, then that could be permitted. The political weight of the vote of each Alpine County resident would be 13,187 times as great as that of each citizen of Los Angeles. If it is said that is wrong then it can only be because it is too unequal. But that acknowledges that inequality of the weight of votes is bad. What then is the standard for being unequal but not too unequal?

The point has been made that there was no concern over this being a civil liberties issue prior to the Supreme Court's decision in Baker v. Carr, which just is not true. A number of the ACLU affiliates have been handling the reapportionment cases in their own states. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice filed an amicus curiae brief in Baker v. Carr urging the Supreme Court to take the position that it did.

Some of the organizations which are opposed to any sort of reapportionment proposal include the following:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
American Ethical Union
AFL-CIO
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees
American Jewish Congress
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
American Newspaper Guild
B'nai B'rith Women
Congress on Racial Equality
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Hadassah
International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL-CIO
Jewish War Veterans
National Association of Negro Business & Professional Womens' Clubs
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Jewish Welfare Board
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO
United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO
United Churches of Christ
Young Women's Christian Association, National Board
Womens International League for Peace and Freedom

The so-called "Federal analogy" does not apply as anyone who has read the Supreme Court's decision should be aware. This is for two major reasons:

(1) The States themselves are not composed of sovereign counties who decided to get together to form a state. On the contrary, it was the other way around -- the States preexisted and then sub-divided themselves down into whatever arrangements they made.

(2) The arrangement we have in the Congress of the United States, in which each state has two Senators was a product of political compromise. It was the price that had to be paid in order to create the United States. This does not mean that it is democratic; it does not mean that it is right. It just exists. It has sanctity because it is in the Constitution, just as equal protection of the laws is in the Constitution.

Subjective motivations are difficult to judge. However, if it were not for the fact that Herb Packer ends his memorandum with a plea that the voters of the State of California have indicated they do not want to have both houses of the state legislature dominated by Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego County, I would not raise the question that his Northern California geographical location may be affecting his constitutional judgment.

LS:M
cc: Ernest Besig
Dean Robert McKay
Edward A. Friedman
John DeJ. Pemberton

MEMORANDUM

July 2, 1965.

TO: Board of Directors
ACLU of Northern California

FROM: Robert B. McKay, Associate Dean and Professor of Law,
New York University School of Law

SUBJECT: Proposed Constitutional Amendments on Apportionment of State Legislatures

These comments are prepared at the request of the ACLU office in New York, in a sense as a reply to the memoranda of Professors Merryman and Packer. However, since there is no really official "line" on some of these matters, I should like to address my remarks to you on a somewhat more personal basis, particularly since I had the good fortune to meet some of you when I visited at Berkeley in 1960-61.

The first thing that should be said about the Dirksen Amendment, in its original form or as modified when reported out of the subcommittee, is that the issue no longer involves the relatively abstract question whether the Supreme Court was right or wrong in requiring substantial population equality among election districts in state legislatures. The equal-population principle has become in effect the meaning in this context of the equal protection clause of the fourteenth

amendment to the Constitution. Similarly, it is not relevant for purposes of the present discussion to consider whether the Supreme Court was justified in rejecting the so-called "federal analogy" as a rationale for refusing to apportion on the basis of equality in one house of a state legislature.

The question now before the nation - and the question immediately before you - is whether the constitutional requirement of substantial population equality among legislative representation districts in both houses of a bicameral legislature is so intolerable as to require resort to the drastic and seldom-exercised device of constitutional amendment. Necessarily, the burden of persuasion rests heavily upon the proponents of this drastic change. That obligation is especially severe in this instance because of the specifically anti-democratic character of the proposal which quite frankly suggests the permissibility - even desirability - of subverting majority rule. As I shall later note, the requirement that such a plan be approved by a majority of the voters of the state is not in fact, but only in form, a manifestation of respect for true majority sentiment.

The central feature of the Dirksen Amendment, as of all the proposals, is a reliance on interest groups as units of representation. However disguised by reference to history, geography, or political subdivisions, the bare fact is that the

proponents of these amendments advocate restraint of majority rule by allowing the retention of a veto power in the hands of minority interest groups. Professor Alexander Bickel, for example, has offered a startlingly frank justification for ethnic-group constituencies as follows: "I believe the Silk Stockings should be represented by a man specially responsive and congenial to them, ... I think the same of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, farmers, and other distinguishable groups of reasonable size." Letter to Editor, 36 Commentary 344 (1963).

Surely this is not the ACLU view of representative government. It seems perfectly clear that businessmen cannot always be represented in legislative chambers by a businessman, dairy farmers by one of their own, Negroes by a Negro, and Lutherans by a member of that denomination. In the first place, no individual is just a businessman, dairy farmer, Negro, or Lutheran. He may be all of those or none of those; but surely no one of these groups as such, simply because it is less than a majority, is entitled to exercise a veto over decisions made by representatives of the majority. Moreover, members of these alleged interest groups do not ordinarily isolate themselves in particular geographical areas around which election district lines can be conveniently drawn. The heterogeneous community is the

genius of the American political system in which businessmen, dairy farmers, Negroes, and Lutherans can all live together and somehow come to a viable consensus through their elected representatives.

The simple truth is that the opinions in the Reapportionment Cases reaffirmed the basic ideals of a representative democracy in which universal suffrage is the nearly realized objective. As Professor Carl Auerbach has observed: "Nothing is more fundamental to representative government - and therefore more constitutional - than the rules governing the electoral process itself . . . . No reason consistent with the democratic ideals of equality and majority - or minorities' - rule has been advanced for not effectuating the equal-population principle." Auerbach, "The Reapportionment Cases: One Vote, One Value," 1964 Supreme Court Review 1, 66-67.

But you may well ask why the Dirksen Amendment, particularly as reported out of the subcommittee, does not satisfy the democratic impulse of representative government since it would permit departure from equal population in one house only after "such apportionment . . . has been approved by a majority of those voting on the issue." Moreover, proponents of change would point out that the present version of the amendment provides for resubmission of such a plan at least every ten years. Yet

I believe that these provisions do not adequately protect against dilution of majority rule in its special role in American government. The reasons are essentially pragmatic and I think not at all mysterious.

Any non-population proposal for reapportionment presented to the voters must ordinarily come from the legislature (except for initiated measures which I shall comment on separately); yet that is precisely the body that has the greatest interest in maintaining an unbalanced system of representation in which self-preservation of incumbent legislators is likely to emerge as the controlling principle. Accordingly, the voters are not likely to be given a real opportunity to choose a truly equal-population basis for reapportionment. Instead, they are likely to be presented with a choice between two alternatives, both of which may be unattractive to large groups of voters. This likelihood is particularly illustrated by the history of initiated measures in the several states in which reapportionment has been attempted by initiative. In Colorado, for example, where some have thought the Supreme Court disregarded a 1962 popular vote rejecting the equality principle, the simple truth was that the so-called equal-population proposal submitted to the voters was unacceptable to the urban voters because it required at-large

elections of all representatives in the populous counties. This provision, which would obviously be disadvantageous to minority groups, whether racial, religious, or political, was not included in the "little federal plan" approved by the voters. Even in California there has never been presented to the voters by initiative a clear choice between a non-population formula and an equal-population formula free of other undesirable features.

Moreover, even if it were possible to devise a clear-cut test of principle which could be rationally presented for popular decision (which I doubt), I do not believe it appropriate to submit to popular referendum a question that goes so clearly to the core of our political and social institutions. For the same reason that the ACLU would oppose submitting to majority vote the question whether freedom of speech or religion should be sometimes breached, or whether segregation should be sometimes tolerated, I would oppose popular vote to permit dilution of the basic right to equality of the franchise.

The issue presented to your board is one of high principle. I well understand the appeal in the argument - more or less overtly made, but certainly central to the issue - that Northern California must retain a veto over all legislative

activity in the state. But I cannot see that this is basically different from allowing farmers in Iowa, "Porkchoppers" in Florida, or any other special interest group to retain the legislative power to approve or reject measures that are favored by substantial majorities in the state. I ask you to do no less than rise above what seem to me to be the speculative and narrowly parochial advantages offered by the Dirksen Amendment and to consider the larger issues of democracy implicit in the equal-population principle. This I believe to be the way of representative government and the way of the ACLU.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

July 7, 1965

To: The Board of Directors

From: The Due Process Committee and the office

Re: Revised Recommendation on Principles to Govern Legislative Investigations

The ACLU yields to no one in its recognition of the importance of Congressional investigations. Congressional investigations provide the information which Congress needs if it is to legislate intelligently. Investigations also enable Congress to evaluate the operation of government agencies. Nevertheless, while the historic right of Congress to investigate matters within its competence and jurisdiction must be preserved, the ACLU is concerned, along with many other organizations and individuals, about the need for fair rules of procedure to guide Congressional investigating committees and subcommittees in the performance of their duties. Past and recent history have shown the dangers posed to American freedoms by legislative investigating bodies which fail to honor constitutional limitations and requirements of fair play in legislative inquiries. The ACLU urges that a set of principles recognizing the limits of Congressional investigations and the requirements of procedural fairness be applied by all Congressional committees. We suggest that these principles include as a minimum:

I. Properly Defined Legislative Purpose

The purpose of each Congressional investigation should be specifically defined, both by the Congressional resolution creating a committee and by the resolution authorizing a particular investigation. The specification of a legislative purpose is indispensable in focusing and guiding the investigative work of Congressional committees and is required by decisions of the United States Supreme Court. As the Court said in Watkins v. United States, 354 U.S. 178 187 (1957), "No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress." A statement of the subject matter and purposes of an investigation is therefore necessary to enable individuals who may be subpoenaed to testify under the compulsion of contempt power, as well as the public at large and the federal courts, to judge whether or not a particular investigating body of the Congress is keeping its inquiry within proper limits or indulging in forbidden excesses. We need look no further than the vague mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee to "investigate the extent, character, and objectives of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States," and the utilization of that broad mandate by the Committee to inquire into opinion and political belief, for ample support for the conclusion that Congressional committees should have specific mandates for conducting investigations.

Of course, it is beyond argument that no mandate, however specific, may authorize a Congressional committee to investigate merely for the sake of exposing unorthodox views or criminal activity. Congress has no power to expose individuals, but only to consider and pass on legislation. Investigations into improper conduct by individuals should be undertaken by appropriate law enforcement agencies.

Most important, any mandate for a committee investigation must be subject to the important limitation that an individual's private beliefs and associations are protected from Congressional or other governmental inquiry by the First Amendment. Although American history is replete with instances of legislative committees ignoring this principle, the ACLU has continually urged that no Congressional committee undertake to interrogate witnesses or pursue investigations which solely concern private beliefs and associations. It should be emphasized that any governmental investigation, and especially one by a Congressional committee, into ideological beliefs and personal associations has a deleterious and far-reaching effect on the free public debate which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to encourage.

II. Composition of Committees

Because of frequent abuses stemming from the use of one-man investigating subcommittees, it is imperative that Congress adopt rules forbidding the holding of hearings and the examination of witnesses by one member of a subcommittee acting alone. As an example of a recent step in the right direction, the United States Commission on Civil Rights is required by law to have at least two members present at any hearing, representing each major political party.

III. Adequate Notice for Witnesses

Adequate notice to an individual that a hearing is to be held at which he will be compelled to testify is essential not only as a matter of constitutionally required due process, but as a means of insuring orderly and productive committee sessions. Notice to prospective witnesses must be given sufficiently far ahead of the committee hearing to enable them to secure the advice and assistance of counsel if they so desire. To make consultation with counsel meaningful, to enable a witness to prepare adequate testimony, and to prevent unfair surprise, notice should not merely state when and where a hearing is to be held, but should specify what the subject of the hearing is to be and, as precisely as possible, what specific matters the witness will be questioned about. The notice to prospective witnesses should be accompanied by a copy of the appropriate Congressional rules governing investigatory hearings.

IV. The Right to Counsel

The right to counsel should encompass more than the right merely to be accompanied by counsel, the construction which most Congressional committees have placed on it. Counsel for a witness should have the right to make and to explain briefly objections to the relevancy or propriety of committee questions

or to other committee procedures which violate his client's legal rights. In addition, counsel should be permitted to subject his client to reasonable direct examination in order to explain or justify answers given to the committee. (For cross-examination see infra.)

V. Prejudicial Testimony

There are today individuals who still bear the scars inflicted on them by untrue or unsubstantiated charges of wrongdoing by Congressional investigating committees. In th' nature of things, it is virtually impossible for an effective rebuttal to catch up with sensational accusations made at a public committee hearing. At the very least, therefore, before airing defamatory, prejudicial, or adverse information, a committee should screen such material in executive session to determine whether or not it is reliable. The individual whom the information tends to prejudice should be properly notified and given an opportunity to appear before the committee in executive session with other witnesses if he so requests, or with other evidence rebutting the information. The same requirement of fair notice pertaining to witnesses at public hearings should apply here. Further, in order to safeguard the privacy of the executive session, there should be an absolute prohibition on the publication of information discussed at the session, prior to a determination of whether to hold a public session at which the defamatory information will be presented. Sensational disclosures to the press or ex-parte statements by individual committee or staff members which do not reflect the official conclusions of the committee must be prevented, not by hortatory admonitions but by binding Congressional resolution forbidding such actions.

In order to prevent unprincipled attempts to punish individuals for invoking the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination, an investigating committee should not recall for a public hearing a witness who has claimed his privilege in executive session in response to certain questions put to him, merely in order to ask him the same questions publicly.

VI. Rebuttal of Prejudicial Testimony

Committee investigations should not be in fact or appearance one-sided attacks on individuals, organizations, or ideas. Particularly where individual reputations are concerned, there should be adequate opportunity to rebut damaging information in an effective manner. If adverse testimony is given in public session after the committee has determined in executive session that it is appropriate to the investigation, any person about whom such testimony is offered should be afforded an opportunity to: (a) testify or offer sworn statements in his behalf; (b) subject the witness offering prejudicial testimony to cross-examination; (c) obtain the assistance of the investigation committee in compelling the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents reasonably necessary to rebut the charges against him. Though cross-examination has not generally been recognized as a right or even a privilege by Congressional investigating committees (with the notable exception of the Army-McCarthy hearings), it is absolutely necessary to prevent or expose unfounded

charges which may ruin an individual's reputation forever. Reasonable cross-examination may take a little time in cases where it is necessary, but it is a fair price to pay for the assurance that the lives and reputations of American citizens are not unjustly blemished.

VII. Broadcasting of Public Hearings

(The Committee's position is contained in its statement of February 5, 1965, previously distributed. The FS/A Committee's position is set out in its minutes of February 11, 1965. Compare the recent rule of the Civil Rights Commission 45 CFR 702.16, which states:

> "Subject to the physical limitations of the hearing room and consideration of the physical comfort of Commission members, staff, and witnesses, reasonable access for coverage of public sessions shall be provided to the various means of communication, including newspapers, magazines, radio, newsreels, and television. However, no witness shall be televised, filmed or photographed during the hearing nor shall his testimony be broadcast or recorded for broadcasting, if he objects.")

VIII. Compelling Answers to Questions

In order to avoid the sometimes deliberate distortions of truth which can result from compelling a witness to respond to a complex question by a yes or no answer, witnesses should be allowed concise explanations of their answers when appropriate. Also, a witness should be permitted a short opening and closing statement or explanation of his position. Those communications generally recognized to be privileged in the law should be respected by Congressional investigatory bodies.

A witness who believes that a committee has asked him a question which he has a legal right not to answer is faced with an impossible dilemma under current Congressional procedure. If he answers it under the mistaken assumption that the committee has the power to compel him to do so, he may be needlessly damaging his reputation forever and exposing matters which he has a constitutional right to keep private. If he does not answer the question he runs the risk of a contempt citation and criminal conviction if it turns out in a subsequent court proceeding that his or his attorney's judgment is mistaken. To eliminate this dilemma, the ACLU favors replacing the present Congressional contempt procedure with one allowing an application to a federal court immediately after the propriety of a particular inquiry is called into question. The court may then decide whether the question is a proper one or whether the witness is constitutionally privileged not to answer it. As a less desirable alternative, the ACLU would suggest that a supervisory committeee of Congress be established to screen each application for a contempt citation from any investigating committee to determine which are and which are not justified. This procedure would at least have the advan-

tage of placing the determination of whether a witness has been contemptuous of Congress in the more objective hands of a committee other than the one before which the alleged contempt took place. Naturally, under either suggestion, once the determination is made that the question is proper, the witness should be afforded a reasonable opportunity to purge himself of contempt before being subjected to a criminal prosecution. Regardless of which alternative is ultimately adopted, the ACLU also urges amendment of those provisions of the contempt statute, 2 U.S.C. 194, which allow the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to initiate contempt prosecutions by themselves when Congress is not in session, merely on the basis of the investigating committee's statement of the facts.

IX. Transcripts

Verbatim transcripts should be made of all committee hearings in order to provide a record for substantiating or refuting charges and findings. Before a committee makes public a transcript of testimony taken in executive session, that portion containing damaging matter should be forwarded immediately to the person affected in order to inform him of the contents of defamatory or prejudicial testimony. A similar service should be provided for persons prejudiced by testimony at public hearings. Fees for such a service should not be charged, since the individual affected, who may need to reply to the defamatory charges immediately, may not be able to raise the necessary funds to secure a copy of such a transcript.

X. Committee Files

Unevaluated, unreliable, or supposedly confidential information in committee files is too often distributed without proper safeguards to prevent its use to damage reputations. There are many cases in point stemming from the making available of HUAC files containing stale or misleading information. The aura of government authority lent by identifying the source as a Congressional committee, when in fact the information may have had a completely unreliable origin, compounds the problem caused by careless use of Congressional committee files. ACLU suggests that the answer lies in maintaining the confidential nature of defamatory material in committee files. The limitation on public access to such information should continue for a reasonable number of years, even after the termination of a particular committee. If information in committee files suggests that an individual or a group has committeed a crime, it should, of course, be turned over to appropriate law enforcement authorities.

XI. Enforcement and Sactions

An individual injured by an improper action of a Congressional investigating committee has no resort except the court of public opinion. There he is at a decided disadvantage since, as a private citizen, he cannot effectively criticize Senators or Representatives who not only have easy access to the press but Congressional immunity for their statements.

Without some kind of enforcement machinery, any code of fair procedure for Congressional investigating committees can be only an exhortation to fair play. Without presuming to specify what kind of supervisory framework Congress should enact, it is appropriate to note that past proposals have called for the creation of a special bi-partisan Senate-House Committee presided over by the Vice-President of the United States. Other suggestions have specified the Rules Committees of both House and Senate as the appropriate supervisory agency. What is clear is that some kind of enforcement framework is needed and that it must be given appropriate powers, such as the power to censure offending Congressmen or Senators, the power to recommend an official apology to an individual wrongly accused or mistreated by an investigating committee, or the power to award money damages to victims of investigatory committee abuse.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The purpose of Congressional investigating committees is to gather information needed in order to make intelligent judgments about legislation and to examine the operation of governmental agencies. There would be no necessity for a code of fair procedure were it not for the unfortunate view of some legislators that the purpose of investigating committees is to harass or intimidate witnesses or to expose evil-doers merely for exposure's sake. If our legislative process is to maintain the importance and respect due it under our constitutional system, it must continue to be basically legislative, not accusatory. Above all, it must remain responsive to the first principles of fairness embodied in the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights.

M.I. file

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

July 9, 1965

TO: The Board of Directors

FROM: Jack Pemberton

RE: The Union's Position on Reapportionment

On July 8, 1965 ACLU of Northern California reconsidered and revised its position in support of the national Board's statement of policy adopted March 12, 1961. It urges the national Board to reconsider the 1961 policy in the light of Northern California's resolution. In view of the imminence of Congressional debate and action on constitutional amendment proposals to change the rule in the 1964 reapportionment cases, and in order to guide with clarity the actions which will be taken by the Union during this debate, I propose that the Board alter its July 12th agenda so as to give priority to this request and that it reconsider and conclude upon its position on this issue at this meeting.

The March 12, 1961 statement adopted by this Board states:

> "The equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment is infringed by the dilution, as well as the denial, of the right to vote and malapportionment by the states raises a civil liberties issue. The ACLU does not believe a valid analogy can be drawn between the federal system, which justifies representation by states in the U.S. Senate, and apportionment within states based on area representation. Because the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment would appear to require that there be no classification between voters, the establishment of state electoral districts should be based only upon population. It is conceivable that there might be situations where apportionment on a strict population basis would cause inequalities, and for this reason certain variations may be necessary. But since the 14th Amendment requires that any variation must result in a reasonable classification, the burden of proof for making such a variation must rest on those making the claim."

The July 8, 1965 position of ACLU of Northern California, which it now urges upon this Board: (1) opposes the Dirksen amendment reported out of subcommittee to the Senate Judiciary Committee (set forth in full in the enclosed memorandum by Larry Speiser), and (2) then states:

> "The Board of Directors of the ACLUNC opposes any attempt to amend the Constitution of the United States to permit legislative apportionment in the states on other than a population basis if:
>
> A. Such proposed amendment, while permitting apportionment on bases other than population, expressly or impliedly permits discrimination among individuals according to race, color, creed, or any other impermissible basis, or if

B. Such amendment does not guarantee to the citizens of each state adequate periodic opportunities to initiate and to adopt by popular vote alternative plans of legislative apportionment, or if

C. Such amendment does not guarantee the right to judicial review of both the procedure for adoption and the content of any plan of legislative apportionment in any state."

I enclose the following materials which had been presented to the Board of ACLU of Northern California in preparation for its July 8 reconsideration:

1. Memorandum of June 21, 1965, by John Henry Merryman, former chairman of ACLU of Northern California and a member of the faculty of Stanford University Law School.

2. Memorandum of June 8, 1965, by Herbert L. Packer, member of the ACLUNC Board and member of the faculty of Stanford University Law School.

3. Memorandum of July 2, 1965 by Robert B. McKay, member of the NYCLU Board, member of the faculty of N.Y.U. Law School, and spokesman for the Union in testimony on this issue before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judicial Committee.

4. Memorandum of June 30, 1965, by Larry Speiser requested by the ACLUNC Board.

5. Reprint of a New York Times Magazine article by Andrew Hacker currently being distributed by the Union and its affiliates.

MJ-file

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION - N.Y.
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

July 8, 1965
Revised July 12, 1965

TO: The Board of Directors

FROM: Jack Pemberton

RE: Final action on proposed pension plan

Five underwriters have submitted bids to us on the pension plan which the Board approved in broad outline on June 7, 1965. The most significant data from their bids, according to our pension advisers, the Martin Segal Company, are the matters abstracted below.

The plan calls for a "deposit administration contract" with the underwriter selected by the Board. Under it the underwriter will invest funds deposited annually by the Union (including participating affiliates), crediting interest (and sometimes, dividends) on the amounts so deposited, and applying such amounts as are required to the purchase of annuities for employees becoming eligible as each becomes eligible. We rely on our pension advisers to make the actuarial determination necessary to assure that the deposits will at all times be sufficient to fund the benefits promised under the plan. Thus, the significant data to be gathered from the bids are : (1) the guaranteed interest rates, (2) the probable dividends to be paid, (3) the guaranteed rates that will be charged for the purchase of annuity contracts, (4) the contract administration charge, and (5) the withdrawal, or "cash-out" provisions.

I

Interest Guaranteed on Funds Deposited
During the First Five Years:

Year	New York Life	Bankers Life	Conn. Genl.	Prudential	Hancock
1	4.25	4.00	4.50	4.00	4.75
2	4.25	4.00	4.50	4.00	4.00
3	4.00	4.00	4.50	4.00	4.00
4	4.00	4.00	4.25	4.00	4.00
5	4.00	4.00	4.25	4.00	4.00
6	3.75	3.75	3.75	4.00	3.75
10 yrs'ave.	3.925	3.875	4.075	4.00	3.950
20 yrs'ave.	3.588	3.625	3.600	3.750	3.600

II

Dividend Plans

A. General Provisions

All bidders pay dividends on an experience rating of the individual contract, and each calculates the investment experience of the contract on a "new money" or "investment year" basis. On this basis, each year's net additions to the deposit are credited with the actual earnings of money invested by the underwriter that year. Before full dividends will actually be credited to the contract, the underwriter will develop a history of mortality and cost experience over a period of years. In the interim reserves are built up against potentially adverse mortality and cost experience. Normally, therefore, actual dividends may be expected to be deferred for many years.

B. Early Dividends

Three of the bidders, however, have modified the normal practice, spreading a part of the anticipated dividend return of the later years of the contract to the early years. While the recent dividend experience of these companies is not a guaranty of its continuation, the early dividend practice warrants consideration as an additional attraction to their bids, above the guaranteed interest rates.

Bankers Life will pay dividends from and after the end of the first year of the contract. Early dividends paid in recent years have brought the effective earnings of deposits up from the guarantees shown under Item I to an effective rate of 5%.

John Hancock's early dividend policy applies from and after the end of the second year and recent dividends have brought the actual earnings credited to early dividend contracts to 4 3/4% (the same rate guaranteed in the first year).

New York Life has an early dividend policy, in such amounts as are voted by the Board of Directors each year.

III

Annuity Rates Charged for $1.00 Per Month Payable for Life Beginning at Age 65, Guaranteed for Money Deposited During First Five Years

Sex	Policy Year	NY Life	Bankers Life	Conn. Gen.	Prudential	Hancock
F	1-5	160.98	161.34/163.76	160.44	165.86/169.78	160.39
F	6-10	168.55	163.76/166.22	166.44	170.77/174.69	167.88
F	11-15	172.57	168.71/171.24	172.80	175.67/179.60	171.85
F	16-20	172.57	171.24/173.81	180.84	180.58/184.50	171.85
M	1-5	137.01	139.21/141.30	136.86	141.74/145.09	137.88
M	6-10	142.48	141.30/143.42	141.83	145.93/149.28	143.40
M	11-15	145.36	145.57/147.45	147.00	150.12/153.48	146.31
M	16-20	145.36	147.45/149.97	153.71	154.31/157.67	146.31
Cost of the anticipated first four retirements		67,612	66,654	67,234	69,389	67,342

(Amount to be deposited during first five years = $80,000.)

IV

Contract Administration Charge (Per Annum)

	NYLife	Bankers Life	Conn. Gen.	Prudential	Hancock
Basic charge	650	600	700	600	750
Reducing at rate of	1%	1 1/2%	1%	1%	1%
On annual deposits in excess of	20,000	40,000	10,000	20,000	25,000
No charge at	85,000	80,000	80,000	80,000	100,000
Charge on $16,000	650	600	640	600	750

Note: Prudential would increase this charge if it determined that "more than one fund must be maintained because of the inclusion of affiliates."

V

Cessation and "Cash Out" Provisions

N.Y. Life: 5% penalty on "cash out"; balance of fund on deposit payable over 10 years with interest at 3 1/2% or above guaranteed rates if less. (Guaranteed rate is 3 1/4% after 10th policy year.) Annuities already purchased may earn dividends for the plan.

If plan is discontinued, fund on hand will be applied to purchase deferred annuities for all participants.

Bankers Life: Cessation without "cash out" incurs penalties of up to 10% of first $10,000, and 5% of next $30,000 (less 2 1/2% of excess above $100,000) of aggregate deposits. Funds on deposit will continue to purchase annuities in accordance with the plan.

On "cash out", penalty of up to 5% of fund on deposit will be incurred; balance of fund payable 10% per year with interest at above guaranteed rates plus dividends.

Annuities already purchased would be undisturbed.

Conn. Genl.: Up to 5% penalty on "cash out"; balance of fund on deposit payable over 10 years with interest @3 1/4%.

Prudential: Will make no provision for transfer of funds on deposit.

John Hancock: Up to 5% penalty on "cash out"; balance of fund on deposit payable at rate of $10,000 per month with interest at above guaranteed rates plus dividends. (Guaranteed rate of interest is 3 1/4% after 10th policy year.) Annuities already purchased may earn dividends for the plan.

VI

Miscellaneous

John Hancock annuity contracts would not offer the 5 years certain option contained in our plan [see 5/13/65 memo, paragraph 4(c)]; all other options would be pro-

vided, however,

If an employee elected to defer his annuity to commence later than age 65 (having elected one of the options described in paragraph 4(a), (b) or (c) of the 5/13/65 memo), Hancock would not permit the option he elected to become effective until his annuity actually commenced; hence, if he died during the period of deferment, his survivors would be deprived of all benefits.

Bankers Life would permit us to amend our plan, which now provides that the options described in paragraph 4 of the 5/13/65 memo must be elected not less than 3 years before retirement, so that this election may be made at any time not less than 2 years before retirement.

Prudential would permit the provision in Article VII, Section 3, for payments to another on behalf of an incompetent recipient to be liberalized.

September 1, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

file

Dear Jack:

Thank you for your letter of August 26. The Times sure did that one funny.

I would love to attend the New Orleans meeting, and I mean that genuinely. It will be, however, next to impossible, and so let's just say that I cannot be there. The likelihood is that the Dunbars will be moving that weekend, or if not, that Mrs. Dunbar would not tolerate her husband's absence from the horrors of preparation. Paul Anthony will be there, however. Would you be interested in inviting Pat Watters in my stead? I spoke to Chuck about this, and he would like to have Pat there.

I look forward to seeing more of you once I get to New York.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION aclu

156 FIFTH AVENUE / NEW YORK / NEW YORK 10010 / ORegon 5-5990

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Rec'd 8/27/65

August 26, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Despite the curious way in which the New York Times cast you into limbo last week and although we are inviting your successor, I write especially to invite you to join us in the second Southern Regional Conference we are calling next September 24th and 25th. I enclose a copy of the call.

I am sure you fully appreciate how many different strands of activity developed in the ACLU picture since the conference in Atlanta in May, 1964 in which you helped us create the Southern Regional Office. The whole purpose of this conference is to gather these strands together into a coherent plan for the immediate future. I can think of no one better able to advise us concerning the needs to which such a plan must be addressed, and the means most likely to be effective in dealing with those needs, then you.

I hope that it will be possible, during your making of a major move and your having to address yourself to a thousand new matters for you to come.

Washington Office: 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, Director; Mary O'Melveny, Executive Assistant

Southern Regional Office: 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., Director: Jean Levine, Executive Assistant.

With organized affiliates in 31 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

If you'll give me the word, I will see that each subsequent notice is addressed to you.

Very sincerely,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr. / G M.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:gm
Enc.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION aclu

156 FIFTH AVENUE / NEW YORK / NEW YORK 10010 / ORegon 5-5990

CALL TO AN ACLU SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 24-25 1965

During the past 18 months ACLU has invested far more effort and funds in defense of civil liberties in the South than ever before. In May, 1964 a southern conference was held in Atlanta to assess civil liberties problems in the South and propose to ACLU a program for developing its work there.

With a year's experience behind us, we feel that the time has come to take another look at what has been done, and to propose guidelines for the kind of organizational and programmatic approach which will best serve defense of civil liberties throughout the area. We thus propose to hold a second Southern Regional Conference in New Orleans on September 24-25 1965.

The Atlanta Conference proposed the opening of an office in the South, which would concentrate on across-the-board civil liberties litigation. In response to this suggestion, the ACLU opened its Southern Regional Office (SRO) in Atlanta last October, with Charles Morgan as director. During the past year, the following additional steps have been taken in response to the civil liberties problem in the South:

-- ACLU "adopted" the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee when it appeared that LCDC was in danger of perishing from financial malnutrition.

-- The ACLU of Alabama was chartered. This is a purely volunteer group, centered in Birmingham, with neither funds nor staff with which to develop work in the rest of the state. Small groups of civil libertarians have been brought together in Huntsville, Tuscaloosa, Auburn and Mobile to serve as "watchdog" committees. But their survival, let alone development, is questionable unless additional resources can be provided to aid and support their growth.

-- The Louisiana Civil Liberties Union has been provided with a lawyer-director for the rest of 1965 by a capital-funds grant from ACLU of $11,700. The LCLU continues a vital litigative and educational program under strong political attack and threats to the lives of its leaders.

-- The Florida Civil Liberties Union continues with a good deal of civil liberties litigation, and has now reorganized itself to make provision for chapters in Orlando, Jacksonville, Miami, Talahassee, West Palm Beach, Sarasota, etc. They have had an executive director for the past year with the aid of $3,750 per year from ACLU funds on a matching-fund basis.

-- The Georgia CLU also shows signs of increased operational vitality with the addition of a part-time (1 day a week) executive secretary.

We think it is premature to prepare a structured agenda for the New Orleans Conference at this time. However, some suggestions follow as to the kinds of problems we may well be considering at the conference.

1. During the past year, have there been changes in the operations of the various civil rights and human relations organizations in the South? Do we anticipate a shift away from "direct action" (demonstrations, sit-ins, etc.). Does this suggest one or another direction for the development of ACLU work and structure?

2. Will there be a greater degree of sophistication in racist obstruction and counter-action to the civil rights challenge? Will this require new approaches by ACLU?

3. What impact on civil liberties work can we expect from passage of civil rights legislation (civil rights and voting rights acts) and Supreme Court decisions relating to due process and equal protection?

4. The 1964 Atlanta conference decided that in view of ACLU's limited resources, the first step in its southern work should be to employ an attorney who would concentrate on recruiting cooperating counsel throughout the South, and on across-the-board civil liberties litigation. (See excerpts from the report on the Atlanta ACLU Conference enclosed). Has this judgment been justified by our experience?

If we make a list of functions for the SRO, what priorities would we want to assign them?

(1) Litigation

Jury system and segregated justice

Other

(2) Assistance to affiliates

(3) Organization of new affiliates

(4) Organization of student chapters

(5) Public information

(6) Other

Recruitment and survival of cooperating attorneys in the South is a problem which affects Southern affiliates, the SRO and LCDC. Do the specific problems of the South require some modification of traditional ACLU relations with cooperating attorneys? How can we make it possible for a cooperating attorney to live?

(1) Should LCDC be encouraged to retain Negro lawyers?

(2) Should ACLU's Defense & Education Fund retain Southern lawyers?

(3) What impact would either of these practices have on the traditional relationship between ACLU and cooperating attorneys?

5. With the possible exception of Florida (where some further investment of seed-money may produce sufficient local development to make this affiliate self-supporting on a fully-staffed basis with another year or two to go), there is little prospect that the other affiliates, or the ones about to be formed, will be able to support full-time staff for several years. How, then, can ACLU resources best be employed to support the over-all ACLU program in the South? And how can we nevertheles less increase local membership recruitment and support in their areas? By:

a. Strengthening the Southern Regional Office. This could mean the addition to the SRO staff of an organizational officer who would seek to organize new affiliates and aid the present ones with membership-recruitment and other organizational problems. It could mean this, plus opening a branch office in New Orleans or elsewhere. Or it could mean adding to the legal personnel of the SRO.

b. Strengthening affiliates. Instead of strengthening the SRO, try to strengthen each affiliate as much as possible. Thus, additional staff (when available)would be added to this or that affiliate rather than to the SRO.

c. Grouping of Southern States or Affiliates. A varient would be to group Southern states, providing each group with some staff support. (e.g., Louisiana-Mississippi-Alabama; Georgia-South Carolina-North Carolina-Tennessee).

d. A Southern Regional Conference. Would it make sense to set up a Southern "Regional Conference" or executive committee made up of affiliate representatives to determine over-all ACLU program and policy in the South? Should such a body have administrative power, or should its functions be advisory and as a clearing house for information?

6. How does the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee fit into an over-all scheme of ACLU organization in the South?

a. How can LCDC-ACLU's operation be encouraged in such directions as will buttress the SRO's mandate to recruit cooperating attorneys?

b. Given the relatively large investment of ACLU fundraising effort involved in maintaining LCDC-ACLU, does this agency's special role warrant continued support on the same scale in 1966? Should LCDC-ACLU prove incapable of raising a larger proportion of its funds independently of ACLU next year, should we consider recommending its structural integration into ACLU's southern work with modification of LCDC's procedures and emphasis?

7. How will the creation of a prospective ACLU tax-deductible Legal & Defense Fund affect the financing and structure of ACLU organization in the South?

Please note that these are merely suggestions of the kinds of problems which occur to the ACLU staff at this time for discussion in New Orleans. Every recipient of this invitation to participate is asked to think about the whole problem of civil liberties defense in the South. Please send in any ideas you may have which you wish to circulate to other participants before the meeting for duplication and distribution. While there is no substitute for face-to-face discussion (and that is why ACLU is glad to foot the bill for your travel expenses for this conference), such discussion can be most fruitful when preceded by thoughtful consideration of the problems by each participant. Your ideas, circulated in advance, may be just what is needed to stimulate such thought.

Attendance.

All ACLU affiliates in the deep South and border states are invited to send as many participants as they wish. ACLU can pay travel expense for one person from each affiliate only (Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Maryland, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Texas). In addition, we are inviting one or two people who have shown deep interest in organizing ACLU affiliates in other states, or who have been involved in ACLU work in other ways: South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas. ACLU and LCDC staff members will participate. Special invitations are being sent to a small group (3 or 4) of persons who do not fall into any of the above categories.

We expect the conference to be attended by 20-40 people. (Depending on affiliate decisions to send more than the one delegate).

Time

The Conference will convene at 8:00 p.m. on Friday, September 24. Other sessions will be held starting at 9:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. Saturday. The conference itself will have to decide whether to hold a Saturday evening session. (The reason for this schedule is that the Steering Committee of the National Development Council of ACLU will have to meet on Sunday to fit recommendations of the conference into the whole structure of ACLU's funds and development plans for 1966, and to transact other business. Thus despite the heavy schedule of matters to be discussed, Sunday is not available to us).

You will be informed of additional details on this Conference in a few days.

8/12/65
GKH/tc

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

AGENDA

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1965 -- 12:30 P.M.

Annual Meeting of the Corporation

1. Election of Corporation, Board and National Committee Officers (Memorandum from Ernest Angell to be supplied)

2. Approval of Subject-Matter Committee Personnel (Memorandum from Ernest Angell to be supplied)

Board Meeting

1. Minutes of August 9 meeting.

ACTION

2. Resolution on Death of Joseph Freeman

3. Due Process Committee Proposed Statement on Legislative Investigating Procedures, including Broadcasting of Hearings (continuation of August 9 discussion)

4. Radio-TV Committee Report on Newspaper Ownership of UHF-TV Stations (see August 9, 1965 memorandum previously distributed)

5. Proposed Statement on OEO Ban on Voluntary Sterilization (see July 7, 1965 memorandum previously distributed)

6. Recommendation of Free Speech-Association Committee on Extension of Position on Civil Actions for Libel to "Public Figures" and to "Punitive Damages"

7. Developments in the Book Field:
   a. Civil Liberties Book Service (see June 10, 1965 memorandum previously distributed)
   b. Charles Markmann book on ACLU, The Noblest Cry

8. Marshall Fund Request from the ACLU of Pennsylvania

9. Revolving Fund for Local Finance Directors (recommendation of National Development Council)

INFORMATION

10. Investment Committee Request to Convert Authorization for Bache & Co. to Buy and Sell Securities for the ACLU

11. 1964-65 Supreme Court Term

12. Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Lawyers' Lobby

13. Legal Conference on the Establishment Clause

14. The Los Angeles Office of LCDC of ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1965 -- 12:30 p.m.

Present: Mr. Angell, chairman; Messrs. Bierstedt, Buchalter, Carliner, Dorsen, Ennis, Fraenkel, Goldberg, Kunstler, Maslow, Millis, Rice

Guests: Mr. Newton Friedman, Duluth, Minnesota; Messrs. Bronstein, Schwarzschild, LCDC

Staff: Messrs. Pemberton, Reitman, Haskell, Bucholz; Mrs. Feinbaum; Miss Goldstein

1. Minutes. The minutes of the July 12 meeting were approved as circulated.

2. Death of Austin T. Walden. The Board adopted a resolution expressing sympathy on the death of Austin T. Walden, former Georgia state correspondent. A copy is attached.

3. Leanne Golden Katz. On being informed that she has left the ACLU to assume a new role as mother, the Board adopted a resolution to express its appreciation for dedicated service to Mrs. Leanne Katz, former executive assistant. A copy of this resolution is attached.

4. Semi-Annual Financial Report and Budget Review. Mr. Pemberton summarized the contents of the Operating Statement which the Board had before it, noting that such a budget review was recommended by the 1965 plenary Board meeting which decided that the whole ACLU budget should be reviewed on a semi-annual rather than on an annual basis.

5. Security Investigation Provision of Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act.

Mr. Reitman summarized the August 5 staff memorandum, previously circulated, which discussed the problem of security investigations of Americans employed at American-supported institutions abroad. The investigation is required under a provision of the Foreign Assistance Appropriation Act, before payment of AID funds to any employee can be made. An academic freedom controversy last Spring arose over the refusal of the Robert Colleges Faculty in Istanbul to cooperate in the investigation, and after protests, in which the Union joined, the President exercised his discretionary power under the Act to waive the security check. The issue is important now because the Administration is proposing an amendment to the foreign aid bill authorizing the President to prescribe regulations "to the extent necessary to protect the security and other interests of the U.S." this amendment has been suggested as a substitute for the present provision which would require employees to undergo the same loyalty-security investigation given to persons employed by the U.S.

The staff sought the Board's advice on what the ACLU position should be on this proposal because the Union's last stated policy on federal security investigations, in July, 1958, said that while we oppose such investigations for non-sensitive positions, whatever problems of loyalty there are regarding federal employees in such positions could be handled by the Civil Service Commission's "suitability" criterion. These criterion include the Civil Service Commission's practice of subjecting government employees in non-sensitive posts to some degree of loyalty and security check.

The discussion focussed on the fact that Americans employed at institutions abroad supported in part by federal funds could not be regarded as government employees. The Board then unanimously adopted Mr. Dorsen's motion that the Union oppose any loyalty-security investigation for non-sensitive and non-government employees.

6. John Gojack Case. Mr. Bucholz reported this challenge of the House Un-American Activities Committee, now before the U.S. Supreme Court on a writ of certiorari. The case, which has been in the courts for eight years, raises again the free speech and association questions which the Court had decided negatively in the 1959 Barenblatt case. Because of the case's significance, it had been reviewed by both general counsel who agreed the Union should support it. Mr. Fraenkel, noting that the Union would have to assume the expenses, moved that the ACLU enter the case as an ACLU-supported case. The Board approved the recommendation.

7. Recommendations of NDC-Steering Committee. Mr. Haskell presented the report, covering the following recommendations:

a. Fund B be merged into the Vigilance Fund at the end of this year. Fund B, which has been used for affiliate growth, is declining, as contributing affiliates' activities require that they receive the standard 60% affiliate share of income. It is proposed that Fund B be merged into the Vigilance Fund as of December 31, 1965. By unanimous vote the Board accepted the recommendation.

b. Matching Fund grants be made from the Vigilance Fund to several affiliates. As stated in the June 25 minutes of the NDC, the Steering Committee recommended several grants from the Vigilance Fund to specific affiliates. This support would be in the form of matching grants, with the Vigilance Fund offering a particular sum and having the affiliate match that amount. The Board voted to adopt these Steering Committee recommendations:

1. St. Louis. Increase share of membership income to 60% as of July 1, 1965 Vigilance Fund grant of $2,500 for 1966 on the conditions that they: (a) match this with a similar amount over and above their regular shared membership income during the next six months; (b) after consultation with the Greater Kansas City affiliate, they are to consider broadening their jurisdiction.

2. Colorado. A Vigilance Fund grant limited to no more than $2,000, on the basis of matching dollar for dollar money to be raised by the Colorado affiliate from now to the end of the year through special fund-raising efforts.

3. Florida. Vigilance Fund grant of $3,750 for 1966. This grant to be made on the condition that (a) Florida successfully raise the $3,750 in matching funds obligated for 1965 and (b) raise by April 1, 1966 an additional $2,000 in matching funds.

4. Maryland. Vigilance Fund grant of $5,000 on condition that Maryland raise matching funds of $5,000 over and above their regular Shared Membership Income by May 1, 1966.

c. A loan be made to finance an equipment purchase and a long-term purchase of membership envelopes. Mr. Haskell presented a recommendation of the Steering Committee that the Board approve an additional Vigilance Fund loan to the national office for purchase of air-conditioning equipment in the amount of $2,314 to be re-payed over a 3-year period.

d. Primary Membership Respondibility be transferred to New York State CLU and Minnesota Branch. This recommendation was adopted unanimously.

8. Recommended Statement of Due Process Committee on Legislative Investigating Procedures.

Mr. Ennis presented the statement, set forth in a memorandum of July 7, but excluded the section on the broadcasting of hearings, on which the Free Speech-Association Committee has a different recommendation and which will be taken up later.

The Board took these actions on the Introduction and the first five sections:

1. Introduction. Agreed with Mr. Maslow's suggestion that we specifically say that the House and Senate should amend their rules in accordance with the ACLU principals.

2. Section I. Properly Defined Legislative Purpose. Agreed to clarify the discussion on initiating an investigation to make clear that a committee might start an investigation on its own motion, without reference to its mandate.

Deleted the last sentence of paragraph 1 (p.2) as too broad, because Congress may investigate improper conduct in connection with impeachment proceedings, appointments, or governmental appropriations; and revised the second sentence of paragraph 1 (p.2) to read: "Congress has no power to expose individuals, but only to conduct legislative investigations pursuant to its constitutional powers."

Section I was adopted as amended.

3. Section II. Composition of Committees. Agreed with Mr. Maslow's suggestion that since this section is already contained in the rules of the House of Representatives, our statement should specifically refer to the House rule.

Section II was adopted as amended.

4. Section III. Adequate Notice for Witnesses. Section III was adopted.

5. Section IV. The Right to Counsel. Agreed to delete the second clause of sentence 1 and to state that most congressional committees do allow a witness the right to consult his counsel.

Agreed that the right to counsel includes (1) the right to make and explain non-repetitious objections to the Committee's questions, and (2) the right to reasonably brief redirect questioning of the witness. The Board considered as an alternative to reasonably brief redirect questioning Mr. Fraenkel's substitute proposal, the filing by the witness at the Committee Chairman's discretion of a supplemental statement, but rejected it on the ground that this procedure did not

really help the witness in countering a defamation at the time of the hearing.

Section IV was adopted as amended.

6. Section V. Prejudicial Testimony. Agreed to strike the last sentence of paragraph 2.

Amended paragraph 2 to delete the first two and one-half lines, so that the paragraph begins "An investigating...," and inserting after "privileges" the words "against self-incrimination."

Because of the late hour the meeting was adjourned, and the rest of the Due Process memo was tabled for the next Board meeting, on September 13.

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Resolution of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Death of Austin T. Walden

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union expresses its sorrow at the death of Austin T. Walden of Atlanta, Georgia, formerly the Union's state correspondent in the state of Georgia. The Union's debt to Mr. Walden is greater because of his representation of the cause of civil liberties in his state at a time when voices speaking for freedom and equality were far fewer in the deep South than they are today.

Mr. Walden's record of accomplishments stands out as a testament of courage. Himself the son of former slaves, he led the battle for equal rights in suits to end discrimination against Negro participation in white primaries and to obtain equal pay for Negro school teachers, and led negotiations which resulted in the peaceful integration of Atlanta lunch counters.

The American Civil Liberties Union is proud of his association with our work and our organization.

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Resolution of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Resignation of Leanne Golden Katz

Leanne Golden joined our ranks eleven years ago as a secretary-typist, but soon thereafter proved herself so invaluable to the ACLU that she was placed in a key executive post. In 1964 she married Alvin Katz, and on the happy note of impending motherhood, she is now leaving to start a family. She deserves thanks for thousands of days of long hours and hard work, for a spirit of dedication the Union will not find soon again. The ACLU and its many affiliates form a stronger, more closely knit body -- and thus civil liberties in the U.S. are in healthier shape -- because of her devoted efforts.

We convey to her our deep appreciation for the yeoman service she has rendered over the years, and our best wishes for happiness in her new family responsibilities.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION aclu

156 FIFTH AVENUE / NEW YORK / NEW YORK 10010 / ORegon 5-5990

To: Board of Directors

From: National Development Council

Subject: Vigilance Fund Loans for Affiliate Finance Directors

Several of our affiliates have been growing very rapidly in the past three years. This has been achieved in most instances without the employment of professional finance or development officers. Affiliate substantive programs have been growing hand in hand with their increased memberships and funds. The point has now been reached in some affiliates where their present staff cannot handle adequately both aspects of their program.

Some affiliates are convinced that rapid further growth would be certain if they could add a finance officer to their staff. Yet their current income does not permit them to take this step.

Faced with this problem, the National Development Council (NDC) proposes that for a limited number of staffed affiliates Vigilance Fund loans be made in the order of $3,500 to be used as seed-money to hire finance directors. The Steering Committee would be authorized to grant such loans only in circumstances where they are convinced that such a finance director would be able to raise sufficient additional funds for his own salary and repayment of the loan.

It is requested that the Board authorize up to a total of $7,000 from the Vigilance Fund to be used as a revolving fund for loans to affiliates for the employment of finance directors in such instances and on such terms as may be decided by the Steering Committee of the NDC.

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September 22, 1965

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
The American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Henry:

I'll be interested in your reasons as always, but I am not reluctant for Aronson to print my letter, if he prints the whole thing. But I don't believe he will.

I'll be glad to get your reports. I assume you will send them to 250 Park Avenue. Keep in mind that the Foundation likes to have applications in 60 days in advance of board meetings. This may be impossible for you, as the next meeting will be probably in early December; that is, however, still indefinite.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
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ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Chief Staff Counsel

FIELD OFFICES
in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Northern Florida

PWL
PAV
LD

September 16, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Thank you for sending me your exchange of correspondence with James Aronson.

I fear that I do not think your letter very prudent under the circumstances. I cannot imagine Aronson doing anything but printing it exactly as you wrote it and I don't know that that will be very helpful. I would rather reserve my reasons for this feeling to a conversation.

I hope your move to New York will be smooth; I welcome you to this impossible town; and I expect to badger you mercilessly for the more or less ill gotten gains over whose disbursement you will preside.

Within about a week or so I shall have ready our summer activities report and a detailed financial statement, both of which you will find interesting.

We have done a tremendous job. We are bankrupt.

Cordially,

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary

HS:hdl

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Contributions to LCDC of ACLU are tax-deductible.

File
Comes - Civil Liberties Union

September 24, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

Reference is to your letter of May 12. I failed you, and did not get it done, and I think in my new life it might be imprudent for me to do it. Excuse me if you will -- this time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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Rec'd 5/14/65

May 12, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Les:

Forgive my persistance, but what you said in your April 6th letter needs saying within ACLU councils very badly. I can say it, in my own somewhat different way, in non-public oral statements, but not in the somewhat larger forum I proposed to you -- because of the danger of that becoming public property.

It took you some time and thought to write one letter. Wouldn't it be worth an investment of just a little more time to rewrite it, so as to meet your objections (of the kind referred to in your April 21st letter) and send it as a wholly new letter? It must come from someone as prestigious as you are.

You are absolutely right; the word in the last line should have been "acceptance".

Very sincerely,

Jade

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:GM

Washington Office — 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, *Director*; Julie N. Barrows, *Executive Assistant*
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See A.C.L.U.—N.Y.

September 28, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jack:

It was good to meet you and your colleagues and participate in the New Orleans meeting. And, it's very encouraging to know that ACLU is expanding its activities in the South.

Let me assure you again of our wish to be of any possible assistance and of our hope that ACLU and SRC can enjoy the closest possible working relationship.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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September 22, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am delighted I will have the good fortune of seeing you at our Southern Regional Conference on September 24th and 25th. I have asked our Membership and Development Department to be sure that you receive all of the conference mailings.

Please give Les Dunbar my thanks for suggesting Mr. Watters be invited, which has been done, and tell him how much we are looking forward to seeing him as a resident of this area.

Very sincerely,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:gm

Washington Office: 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, Director; Mary O'Melveny, Executive Assistant

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With organized affiliates in 31 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

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Free
P.

November 22, 1965

Mrs. Florence Robin
American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Florence:

Thank you for the nice note. And, while I appreciate the demurrer, I did have my hour earlier.

So help me, things will calm down. We want to see more of you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/pf

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

November 16th, 1965

Dear Paul:

That was a beautifully run affair last night -- well attended, the speaker had something to say, for a change from most dinner speakers, and even the food was edible. You really should feel very gratified.

The only demurrer is that I feel certain that most of the guests shared with me a desire to hear from SRC's new Executive Director. I was told that you had spoken earlier in the day - magnificently from all reports - but I wasn't there to hear you and neither were a lot of other folks who attended the dinner. This comment is not motivated by my customary desire for you to have your name in twelve foot lights and 96-point type - I honestly feel it would have been most appropriate.

But aside from that one nagging note, it was a great evening. Fred joins me in congratulations for such an auspicious beginning.

As ever,

Florence Robin

(Mrs)

MR. HUGH GIBERT, PRESIDENT

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Letter
file
Amer. Civil Liberties Union

November 29, 1965

Mr. Stegen H. Rubin
President
Louisiana Civil Liberties Union
7911 Terpsichore Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear Steve:

Thanks for your good note. I hope that I and others on the staff will have frequent occasions to work with you and the Louisiana CLU.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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Louisiana Civil Liberties Union

1911 TERPSICHORE ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

An affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union

Victor P. LeBeau
Director

November 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Paul:

All of us in the ACLU family greatly appreciate your contributions to our Southern Conference last September. Your comments served to remind all of us, I know of the thoughtfulness and effectiveness of the SRC.

Please forgive my not having written sooner: work has been piling up and it simply slipped my mind.

I do hope that when next you or members of your staff are in New Orleans, the LCLU will again have the pleasure of getting together with you.

Cordially

Steve

Steven H. Rubin
President

SHR:bjd
cc: John de J. Pemberton

National Headquarters—156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010
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Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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THE REV. ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.
Counsel
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice

HOWARD MOORE, JR.
Counsel
Student Non-violent
Coordinating Committee

CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
Southern Regional Director
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SOUTHERN OFFICE
603 North Farish Street
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ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Staff Counsel

PRESS RELEASE

For release: A.M. papers, Friday, December 24, 1965

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGAL GROUP CRITICIZES NEW U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

Says Pace of Southern School Desegregation is Appalling

New York, December 23: An organization of civil rights lawyers today sharply criticized the newly appointed U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2nd, for what it considers unduly optimistic statements about the pace of school desegregation in the South.

In a telegram, the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union calls Mr. Howe's reported comments "an unpromising beginning in a position of strategic importance for progress in civil rights." The LCDC asserted that only one in twenty Southern Negro school children goes to a formerly all-white school and that in some States the record is even worse--in Mississippi it is only one in three hundred.

In the wire LCDC takes issue with Mr. Howe's statement that "a great deal has been done" in school desegregation. It warns that what it claims to be false statistics of the United States Office of Education plus Mr. Howe's conciliatory statements will give encouragement to the most backward elements in the South. It

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adds that the Federal Government's failure to enforce the educational provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may have dangerous consequences for American Society.

The text of the LCDC telegram to Mr. Howe follows:

The Hon. Harold Howe 2nd
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Your statements concerning Southern school desegregation reported in the press today are an unpromising beginning in a position of strategic importance for progress in civil rights.

Twelve years after the Brown decision and eighteen months after the Civil Rights Act, no more than one in twenty Southern Negro schoolchildren goes to a desegregated school. In "your part of the South", presumably North Carolina, the rate is only one in fifty, a record worse than that of Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and Arkansas. In Mississippi, it is one in 300.

Even by the outrageously false and inflated figures which the Office of Education persists in putting out (see September 1965 School Desegregation report of Southern Regional Council), the record of school desegregation in the South is appalling. Even the Southern Regional Council figures, which show those of your office to be exaggerated by as much as two thousand percent, are undoubtedly high as they reflect September enrollments and could not take account of Negro children who have since been coerced, threatened and pressured out of attending formerly all-white schools.

Your agency's failure to enforce judicial and congressional mandates, in the illusory reliance upon voluntary compliance, is a scandalous contribution to a deepening of Negro alienation from the society. For the new U.S. Commissioner of Education to pat the South on the back, to skirt the issue of enforcement, and to claim that a great deal has been done on school desegregation in the South is to encourage continued resistance by the most backward elements in the South and to shake further the little remaining confidence among your agency's friends in its will to be a committed and active partner in the struggle for equality of educational opportunity.

The failure to enforce the Brown decision led to the non-violent direct action civil rights movement. We urge you not to be responsible for the consequences of the failure to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We look for your affirmative leadership in promptly enforcing the educational and human rights of Negro schoolchildren South and North.

Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
of the American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
by Henry Schwarzschild, Executive Secretary

HS:hdl

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF
THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
(212) YUKON 9-7530

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MS
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MS - file

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National Council of Churches

CARL RACHLIN
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ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Staff Counsel

12/23

Paul:

Thanks for your help and encouragement!

P.S.

252

Contributions to LCDC of ACLU are tax-deductible.

December 28, 1965

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
of The American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Henry:

Thanks for the news release and the text of your telegram. Both were just what they should be. I don't know what his reaction will be, but one way or the other I suspect the Commissioner will be impressed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 1/21/66

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(601) 948-4191

ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Staff Counsel

January 20, 1966

COPY

The Hon. John W. Macy Jr.
Chairman
U. S. Civil Service Commission
1900 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20415

Dear Mr. Macy:

We want to express our serious concern at the announcement, reported in today's New York Times, that the United States Civil Service Commission is recruiting retired military officers to serve as Federal voting examiners in the South.

Three principal reasons, it seems to us, militate against the choice of former military officers in that capacity:

(1) The recruitment of voting examiners from this group in the South had an inherent and unavoidable tendency to appoint only white men to those jobs. The number of Southern Negroes who have served in the armed forces is great, but the proportion of ex-officers among them must be minute. To use a recruitment practice that is almost certain to avoid the hiring of Negroes among voting examiners by the Civil Service Commission strikes us as quite astounding.

(2) The announced pay for the job is $2.74 an hour, plus mileage and living allowances. Given the economic profile of the South, it strikes us that there are a great many people in that part of the country who do not already receive pensions and other allowances from the Government and whose economic situation might indeed commend them in all equity to a preferred chance at this intermittent Government service, especially, of course, among the Negro community.

(3) One of the most disturbing barriers to voter registration of Negroes in the South has always been the atmosphere of fear and hostile authority that hangs over the county court-houses, where most of the registrars have their offices. Former military officers, almost all of them white, now serving as voter examiners are hardly likely to dispel that atmosphere. In my three years in the service in World War II, I did not become aware that

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as a class, military officers, especially from the South, were more committed than other citizens to standards of equality and humanity, to say nothing of attitudes of civil courtesy.

We do not, of course, know whether this report, which is attributed to your Atlanta Regional Director, had the approval of yourself, as Chairman of the Commission, or of Mr. Matthews as Director of the Task Force on Voter Examiners. We should be grateful, nonetheless, for urgent assurances from the Commission that the selection of voter examiners will proceed in a manner that will maximize the effectiveness of the Voting Act of 1965 and that will assist the continuing work of the Federal government and private agencies to extend to Negro citizens in the South their constitutional rights.

Very truly yours,

Henry Schwarzschild

Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary

HS:c
CC: Mr. Wilson M. Matthews
Mr. Hammond B. Smith
The Hon. John Doar

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

(3)

April 12th, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is an outline of the study, Police Procedures in Atlanta, which we talked about on the telephone yesterday.

I do hope this gives you want you need, but if there is any further information required, we will be pleased to supply it.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Florence B. Robin

Mrs. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Director

MR. HUGH GIBERT, PRESIDENT
MRS. FREDERICK ROBIN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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MR. JOHN GLUSTROM, TREASURER

File
Amer. Civil Lib's Union
1966

April 26, 1966

Mrs. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Florence:

The request which we submitted to our donor of the Contingency Fund has been turned down.

However, on reflection it occurs to me that what you plan to do is very much of interest to us in our concerns about rehabilitation of criminals and penal administration. Therefore, I see no reason why SRC cannot provide the funds for your program insofar as it is related to research.

At your convenience give me a call and we can discuss final arrangements.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See ACLU
Cr. ref
New World Fd -
Contingency Fund #1

May 2, 1966

Mrs. Florence Robin
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union of
Georgia
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Florence:

Enclosed is our check for $375 representing a contribution in support of the proposed research by the ACLU of Georgia into police practices.

We place no restrictions on this grant other than that the funds not be used in any way inconsistent with the Council's tax exemption. This is merely to state that our funds are to be used purely for the research part of your project and, of course, that you may use the findings as you see fit. We do, however, require a copy of your report upon its completion with the understanding that we shall use this research report as an overall part of our concerns in our special project in criminal rehabilitation and prison reform.

If our research staff can be of any assistance to you as you develop this very important study, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

May 2, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please make a check for $375 to the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia to be enclosed with their letter of this date.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

ACLU

REGARDING

Ltr. to Mr. Gordon K. Haskell - ACLU - NY, NY
Regarding program of soliciting bequests for its long range interests.

DATE

5-12-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

PROSPECTIVE NEW SOURCES - SRC

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MRS. FREDERICK E. ROBIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 5th, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed are the results of the first Know Your Rights Committee meeting, along with Robin's ideas for illustrations and my questions and comments. This is, of course, still in very rough shape, but I think we're headed in the right direction.

I talked with Frances today, and she seems very enthusiastic about the project, and came up with some very useful ideas about getting the broadest possible distribution for the material. She plans to have the Georgia Council play an active role in the project, which pleases me a great deal. She tells me that she is writing you today about her thoughts on this subject.

She also reviewed my budget with me, dollar by dollar and pointed out that I had already overspent the money I had set aside for meetings, just getting the lawyers together. Also she feels, and Robin does too, that cartoon stick figures which could be mimeographed might be interpreted by some of the people who receive them as demeaning or talking down to them. So we've shifted to regular drawings which must be offset. This means instead of $75 for the books, we need $150. She also points out that I have set aside nothing for postage, for Robin's art materials, for mailings, or anything extra.

She says she is writing you about all this. All I can do is plead my inexperience in these matters and tell you that Frances' lecture made sense to me, and ask that you reconsider the amount in the light of her greater experience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Flora

Mrs. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Director

August 5th, 1966

To: ACLU Lawyers' Committee on "Know Your Rights"

From: Florence Robin

Enclosed is a copy of the minutes taken at your meeting of August 1st in Mike DeVito's office. May I make the following comments:

I think it would be much easier, technically, to start off with the picture book first. The finished product could then be handed to the film strip people. With it as a guide, they could pose live actors for the frames, following the illustrations. The captions in the book will serve as the basis for the commentary in the strip.

I agree that underscoring citizens' obligations as well as their rights is absolutely essential. I do not agree, however, that the book or the strip should start out this way. As noted in your minutes, an opening like this might lose the audience we are trying to reach before we got started. It would be more effective to work this message into the body of the text.

Based on your recommendations, the following pictures suggested themselves to the artist, Robin Ulmer, who will be doing the illustrations:

1. Officer accosting citizen to ask for information. Message: Citizen's duty to cooperate with police and supply information which is not self-incriminating.

2. Officer accosting citizen in an accusatorial way: Message: Citizen's right to ask: Am I under arrest and if so, what for? If under arrest, his right not to volunteer self-incriminating information.

3. Citizen running away from officer. Message: If you were in trouble before, resisting arrest won't help you.

4. Citizen fighting officer, i.e. kicking him. Message: Neither is being charged with assaulting an officer -- a serious crime -- going to do you any good.

5. Citizen being searched by officer. Question: Is a frisk a search? Can a citizen say he is being frisked against his will and thus state it is done without his permission? Or is a search something other than a frisk? Please clarify.

6. Citizen getting name and number of arresting officer. We have heard that sometimes one officer arrests an individual and a different one testifies to the facts in court. Do we need a picture with the message that you should get the name and number so your lawyer can find out whether it's the same officer in court? Please comment.

7. Officer knocking at door. Message: If officer asks to come in, you may refuse to permit him to.

8. Officer pounding at door. Message: If he insists on coming in, ask him whether or not he has a search warrant.

9. Tenant opening door to length of chain. If he has a warrant ask to see a copy of it, making sure it specifies the correct premises. In any case, do not resist, but you may make an affirmative statement: I do not give permission for my home to be searched.

10. Question: Doesn't the officer have to be searching for something specific, and doesn't this specific something have to be set forth in the warrant and be related to both the area and length of time of the search, i.e. if he is searching for a stolen car battery it is not reasonable for him to look for it in the medicine cabinet?

11. Officer entering apartment, accompanied by landlady with passkey. Question: We have been asked about this several times. Does the officer have the right to get the passkey from the landlady and search if the tenant is not home? May he do this with a warrant? Without a warrant? Can the landlady refuse to cooperate? Please clarify.

12. Citizen in car stopped by police. Message: If requested, get out of car promptly and walk toward officer. Don't give him idea you are about to run him down or reach for a weapon. The injury to policemen in vehicle arrests is high, and they are understandably touchy about unwarranted movements.

13. Citizen presenting driver's license. Message: Police officers have a right to ask for your license and your obligation is to produce it, whether in connection with a traffic violation, for a license check or whatever. Question: Therefore, isn't the driver's responsibility to produce his license greater than if questioned as a pedestrian? Please comment.

14. Officer searching trunk of car. Message; Again, you may say it is being done without your permission, but do not resist the search.

15. Officer writing out receipt for property. Message: If police take any personal property from your house, your car or from your person, you should ask for a receipt if they do not offer you one. Question: Is this receipt customarily given by the officer who takes the property, or may it be given at the police station by another officer?

16. Citizen at police station. Message: You may ask what you are charged with. Question: Who, in addition to the arresting officer, do you ask? You are under no obligation, beyond giving your name, address and where you work, to make any statement. You may say that before saying anything further, you want to consult a lawyer. Question: Why do you have to say where you work?

17. Citizen charged with drunkenness. Message: You are not entitled to an appointed lawyer for a misdemeanor like being drunk or for a minor traffic violation, only for a felony.

18. Police officers offering cigarette and coke to suspect. Message: Police officers have no power to arrange for an acquittal or for a lesser sentence if you confess. Just keep in mind, anything you tell them may be used against you in court.

19. Suspect being given paper to sign. Message: You are under no obligation to sign anything. If you can't understand legal terminology, you may not know what you are signing. You may state that you won't sign anything until you talk to your lawyer. If you can't get a lawyer, you are under no obligation to sign by yourself.

20. Citizen trying to make phone call to lawyer. Question: What is the obligation of police officers to assist you here, i.e. to provide access to a phone? Give you change for a dime? If you can't reach your lawyer even though you've completed the call? Please clarify.

21. Picture denoting passage of time. Question: Is there a length of time you can be held before calling a lawyer? Is there a length of time you can be held on suspicion? Or to go back to Picture #2, can you be arrested on suspicion? If arrested on probable cause, is there a length of time you can be held before being taken before a magistrate? Please clarify.

22. Lawyer meeting with client in private. Message: You have a right to meet privately with your lawyer. What you tell him is confidential between him and you and cannot be used against you.

23. Lawyer representing you in court. Message: Your lawyer is a specialist. You wouldn't think of taking out your own appendix instead of a doctor. You can't be a do-it-yourself lawyer, either.

24. Lawyer appointed to represent you. Message: It's best if you can afford it to have your own attorney. But even though a court-appointed attorney may not get to see you until just a few minutes before court, this is better than being your own lawyer. Again, you have a right to court-appointed counsel only for a felony, not a misdemeanor.

For Atlanta only:

25. Presenting complaint to Police Board. Message: You can complain about police actions before Monday night sessions of Police Board. Tell them if the police are mean or discourteous, such as if they call you "nigger" or "boy" or by your first name instead of Mr. or Mrs. This is good citizenship and will improve police work.

In addition to these, we will need an opening shot for the

title and a little comment about the general theme, another one one who is spo nsoring it and a closing shot of general uplift (which hasn't come to mind yet -- suggestions welcome). All this should take about 15 minutes. I am afraid that any longer and we will start to lose audience interest. Of course, if we have omitted anything important, we will make room for it.

* * * *

I would very much appreciate your meeting one more time to pass on the pictures and the accompanying messages, considering specifically:

1. Are the pictures in logical sequence?

2. Are the messages appropriate to the pictures?

3. Have we wasted some pictures - i.e. could some of the pictures and messages be combined with others?

4. Are some of the messages too complicated for one picture? Should some be separated into two frames instead of one?

5. Have we omitted any pictures and messages? If so, please indicate where they should go.

6. Please answer the questions raised in Pictures 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 20 and 21. If these are not valid questions, or are unanswerable, please indicate this, but keep in mind that they are asked by an uninformed layman, and this might be the kind of question you get from the audience, also composed of uninformed laymen.

While the Committee should exercise strict editorial control over the meaning and content of the messages, I do not think you need feel responsible for coming up with the actual wording to achieve simplicity or a popular tone. Once we have your judgment as to what needs to be gotten across, I think we can find the writing talent to frame the thought into a simple, understandable vernacular.

The next meeting of the committee will be on Thursday, August 11th at 8 p.m. in Mr. DeVito's office, Room 213 A at the Emory Law School; 377-2411, Extension 510. Please telephone Mr. DeVito and let him know you will attend.

And finally, I know I speak for our Executive Committee and Board when I extend my very warm thanks for your willingness to give your time and talents to this project, and most especially for the fruitful work you have already done.

ACLU Committee "Know Your Rights"

Meeting of August 1st, 1966

Present: Steve Hester, Mike De Vito, Glenn Zell, Richard Hubert, Joan Browning - Secretary. Absent: Warren Fortson, William Hall.

The concensus was that the pamphlet should begin with a general section called "Citizen's Obligation" on this order:

"Although at a given time you may be having difficulties with the police, the first person you think to call in crisis is the police; the law enforcement officers are the ones who can be very helpful to you. He can protect your person and your property.

The police officer's job is not to punish, or even to find persons guilty of crimes; the courts determine guilt or innocence.

As a good citizen, it is your duty to help law enforcement officers. Although you have this obligation, if you are ever arrested or even questioned by an officer you have certain constitutional rights.

Questioning (Accusation)

If a policeman calls you over or summons you, you should talk to him.

If he asks your name, you should give it to him; if he wants your address, give it to him.

Other questions he may ask and you should answer are:

Where do you work?
Do you know a certain person or where they live?

But at some point you have a right to know if you are under ARREST.

Never walk or run away from a cop

"What are you doing here?" For example, near warehouses in the middle of the night -- if you have a good reason, give it. Otherwise, ask "Am I under arrest?" If yes, ask the charges.

Do not resist attempts by an officer to search you, your car, or your home. You can tell him, whether he asks or not, that you refuse your permission for the search.

If at any point in preliminary questioning by an officer you don't want to answer any more questions, you can raise these questions:

1. Am I under arrest?

2. What are the charges?

Search

If an officer comes to your house and wants to search it:

1. If he asks to come in, you may refuse

2. If he insists on coming in, ask for a search warrant

3. If he has a search warrant, ask for a copy of it

4. If he does not have the warrant and insists on coming, do not resist, but you may make an affirmative statement, "I do not give permission for my house to be searched."

If you are asked to go with the police officer:

1. Always ask whether you are under arrest

2. What are you being charged with

If you are under arrest you have the right to remain silent and get an attorney, or have an attorney appointed for you by the courts. (do we warn here that if an attorney is appointed, you may not see him until the trial itself; or that in some misdemeanor cases, you will not be entitled to a court-appointed attorney?)

If you get to the station and they want to question you further, answer if you like but if you don't want to answer, KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT AND ASK FOR AN ATTORNEY. Remember that any "deals" the cops offer may have no validity.

If you answer some questions and don't want to answer others, you may say you don't want to talk further until talking with an attorney at any time. You have a right to see the attorney IN PRIVATE as well as to have him with you during the interrogation.

Remember that anything you say to an officer, at any time, may be used against you. You do not have to sign anything unless advised by an attorney to do so.

<u>If you are in a car</u>

If you are in a car and are stopped, the best procedure is to get out and walk toward the officer. (they're touchy about approaching cars, due to the high rate of fatalities to cops that way)

Present your drivers license if you have one and he asks for it.

The same general rules apply to search of car as search of house: you may say that you don't want it done, but don't resist if the cop insists on searching it.

If the police take any personal property from house, car, or from your person, you should ask for a receipt if they do not give you one. You are entitled to get this back after the case is settled.

(At some point, it should be explained that a lawyer is a professional like doctors, dentists, etc., and that your lawyer is your man at court; you need him because he knows the procedures and is a specialist in legal affiars.)

These themes ran through the meeting:

1. The absolute right to say nothing except name, rank, and serial number, and to ask for a lawyer, whether a private lawyer or an appointed one.

2. Never physically resist an officer -- you may always state verbally that you don't want your house, your car, or your person to be searched, but if they insist, never risist.

There was brief discussion of individual film strips, but the conclusion was that they would work on the text only, and that the production folks could take their words and illustrate in a way they thought most effective; there was some reluctance on the part of the attorneys to reduce these legalisms to language understandable by the people this is aimed at. It was hoped that someone would be able to translate, either into the vernacular or by effective photos.

A question was also raised as to how much detail of law to work in: for example, under some circumstances cops are not required to have a search warrant for searching houses; in some

cases, specifically minor traffic cases in which an arrest may be made, there is no right to an appointed attorney, etc. How much of this do we want to go into? How much can our audience understand?

There was some disagreement as to whether or how much we should build up the cops as good guys who deserve our cooperation -- in the opening "OBLIGATION" section. It was thought that we could assume that our audience had only bad experiences with police officers and that they might not even listen to the rest of the material if we start out by stating that we have "obligations" to cooperate with them.

It was decided that a rough draft of these notes would be sent to Florence Robin who would edit and call another meeting to work on anything she thought still in need of work.

SW - file

what is the american civil liberties union?

The American Civil Liberties Union has an essential role at this critical time. It defends the rights of even the most despised to speak, to assemble, and to petition for redress of grievances. It protects the individual's constitutional guarantees of the right to counsel, to confrontation and to due process of law. It has come to symbolize racial justice and religious freedom.

Lyndon B. Johnson

During the 43 years of its existence the American Civil Liberties Union has played a significant role in defending our basic democratic freedoms. Your voice has always been raised clearly and sharply when our liberties have been threatened. America is a stronger nation for your uncompromising efforts.

John F. Kennedy

The American people have given increased attention to progress in the field of civil rights. We have come to know that the success of our plans for a better world—at home and abroad—are dependent upon equality of opportunity for each citizen. . . . It is good to be reminded that the members of the American Civil Liberties Union and the overwhelming majority of my fellow citizens are working together in this field with steadfast vigor and understanding.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

it is an idea

BITTER FEELINGS erupted during the First World War. The government launched prosecutions against nineteen hundred speeches and publications. Citizens were thrown in jail for expressing unpopular views—even for criticizing the Red Cross in their own homes. Primarily in reaction to the Russian Revolution, anti-foreign sentiment mounted. Attorney General Palmer arrested thousands of suspected aliens. One thousand were deported.

Most Americans seemed not to care. Some did. In January, 1920 the American Civil Liberties Union was born. The ACLU grew out of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, itself an independent outgrowth of the American Union against Militarism. Leaders of the Bureau were joined by other persons of various political and social opinions in forming the new body. They were united solely by the idea that something must be done about a frightening fact.

The frightening fact was that the Bill of Rights —the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the citizen's guarantee of his central political liberties—was haphazardly observed and frequently violated. American officials had not sufficiently learned, or had too much forgotten, the lesson of John Adams, who in 1770 combined Revolutionary patriotism with defense of the legal rights of British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre.

About fifty old-fashioned American citizens created the American Civil Liberties Union as a permanent, national, non-partisan organization, with the single purpose of defending the whole Bill of Rights for everybody. The early roster deliberately included representatives of many political and social views. Perhaps the most widely remembered today were the following: Jane Addams, Roger Baldwin, Clarence Darrow, Eugene Debs, John Dewey, Morris Ernst, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur Garfield Hays, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, James Weldon Johnson, Helen Keller, Rabbi Judah Magnes, Alexander Meiklejohn, Monsignor John Ryan, Norman Thomas, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

it is beliefs

NEARLY ALL Americans would say they believe in free speech, due process, and equal protection of the laws—in principle. The rub comes when principles must be applied to actual cases.

Free speech is indispensable—but what about anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish pamphlets? Due process is only fair—but what about the criminal who evades punishment by challenging an improper procedure used at his trial? Equal protection of the laws is right and proper—but what about a Negro family moving in next door?

Upon being banished in 1652 by a committee of Parliament, John Lilbourne, previously pilloried for printing unlicensed books, spoke the words which still boldly declare ACLU's essential belief: "WHAT IS DONE UNTO ANY ONE, MAY BE DONE UNTO EVERY ONE."

To keep democracy's guarantees intact, the ACLU defends the civil liberties of everybody—even those who do not believe in civil liberties. The ACLU never defends anything else for anybody.

Violations of free speech, fair trial, and equal protection hit first those who happen to be unpopular at the moment—labor organizers in New Jersey in the 1920's, anti-union employers in Michigan in the 1930's, Japanese-Americans in California in the 1940's, Communists from coast to coast in the 1950's, Civil rights demonstrators in the 1960's. But such violations may—often do—strike at anybody, anywhere. And, however disagreeable the task, defending the civil liberties—nothing else—of even the hated and feared must be undertaken, in order to prevent the decay of everybody else's constitutional rights.

Freedom of Inquiry and Expression

The guarantees of the First Amendment are the blood and tissue of American democracy. For the right of any person or group to search for truth and express an opinion is more than an individual right; it is the heart of democracy's survival and growth. On the anvil of controversy people hammer out solutions for all their social problems.

Of course, in a living society, principles some-

times conflict. A man cannot be allowed freedom directly to injure other people. He cannot slander, he cannot immediately incite mob action, he cannot create a clear and present danger of illegal sex conduct, revolution, or sabotage. Within those limits, people should be able to say what they please, however unpopular, however irresponsible. Otherwise there's no telling when the majority may decide that *YOUR* ideas, too, are offensive.

THUS, The ACLU opposes all prior censorship of what people may see, read, or hear.

The ACLU battles against laws and legislative committees that, under the guise of national security, punish "advocacy" and "teaching" of revolutionary philosophy rather than overt acts of violence.

The ACLU protects the right of individuals to associate and assemble.

The ACLU seeks to broaden public access to government information, convinced that an alert and articulate public opinion depends upon information.

The ACLU defends the right of religious belief, any, or none at all —no matter what community pressures attack that belief.

The ACLU (on the other side of the religious-freedom coin) guards against government intrusion into religion by opposing financial aid to private religious schools and religious exercises in public schools.

The ACLU resists invasions of teachers' and students' academic freedom, realizing that a flow of unfettered ideas in the classroom speeds the nation's intellectual growth.

Thus, the ACLU agrees with the dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in the *Barenblatt* case: "*. . . the real interest . . . of the people* [is] *in being able to join organizations, advocate causes and make political 'mistakes' without later being subjected to governmental penalties for having dared to think for themselves. It is this right, the right to err politically, which keeps us strong as a Nation.*"

Due Process of Law

The Constitution's protection of individual rights is clearly spelled out by the legal guarantees in the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments. "Due process" is the term lawyers use to describe these rights; laymen would say, "fair treatment," or "fair play." The ACLU believes fair procedures for everybody must be constantly defended in order to protect the individual against whimsical exercise of judicial and administrative power—even though legal safeguards occasionally are twisted to the uses of the guilty. The age-old maxim, "Better twenty guilty go free than one innocent man be wrongfully convicted," is mandatory advice if the Constitution is to be preserved.

Fair play—or due process—includes not only the well-known concepts of trial by jury, right to counsel, and the right not to be forced to testify against oneself. It includes the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, to be accorded a speedy trial, to gain release from prison by bail. It includes the specific prohibition against "cruel and unusual punishment," and against unwarranted invasion of personal privacy. Centuries of Anglo-Saxon history have shown that when such essential qualities of fair procedure are missing, sooner or later men become the victims of arbitrary rule.

THUS, The ACLU fights against unfair discharges of workers under various government security programs.

The ACLU seeks to end police abuse of citizens.

The ACLU opposes legislation that seeks to block freedom of travel.

The ACLU defends aliens from summary deportation.

The ACLU opposes "electronic eavesdropping."

The ACLU strives to obtain legal counsel for Negroes in the South, where fear of reprisal has intimidated many lawyers.

Equality Before the Law

The Bill of Rights and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments require that the law deal with all Americans as one class. The ACLU believes that individual merit alone, not sex, color, religion, national origin, income, or political opinion, is the basis on which people should be judged and treated.

It is difficult to apply this standard because of conflicting opinions and regional customs. But what's right for Christians or Jews is right for Buddhists or atheists. What's right for men is right for women. What's right for whites is right for Negroes—and for American-Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Asian-Americans, no matter where they live in the United States. The law is the law—for everybody.

THUS, The ACLU defends the rights of labor unions, and of members within labor unions, and the rights of employers, too.

The ACLU supports non-discrimination in schools, housing, public accommodations, and employment —South, North, East, or West.

The ACLU seeks to win fully protected voting rights for Negroes.

The ACLU backs fairer apportionment of voting districts.

The ACLU opposes discriminatory quotas in our immigration laws.

The ACLU's campaign for civil liberties is not confined to the geographical boundaries of the United States. It is concerned with defending civil liberties in all areas under U. S. control: it works

"The A.C.L.U. . . . has been indispensable in investigating violations of civil liberties, in publicizing them and in working through the channels of public opinion and of the law to see that our constitutional principles as expressed in the Bill of Rights remain a living force."

The New York Times

for self-rule and more freedom for the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa, and the Pacific Trust Territories, and also in Okinawa, the last foreign area under U. S. military jurisdiction. The ACLU also works through the United Nations to give effect to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

it is action

EVERY DAY since 1920 the ACLU, nationally and locally, has warred against violations of human freedom. The New Era 20's, the New Deal 30's, the hot-war 40's, the cold-war 50's and the civil rights revolution 60's, all created their own intricate civil-liberties problems. Many of the ACLU cases have become landmarks of American history. Some are known mainly to lawyers, who have seen ACLU's principles growingly embodied in a long list of Supreme Court decisions. Other cases echoed to the most remote parts of the earth. In every case—big or small, about eccentrics or just ordinary people—the target was the same: defense of a constitutional right.

A school teacher named Scopes was placed on trial in Tennessee for explaining Charles Darwin's ideas to his students.

Two Italian immigrants named Sacco and Vanzetti who held anarchist beliefs were put to death in Boston after a robbery-murder trial.

The nine-year old son of Jehovah's Witnesses was taken from his parents and put into a children's home because his religious belief required that he not salute the flag.

During a New Jersey textile strike a group of workers was not allowed to speak in public.

The Ford Motor Company was denied the right to speak against unionization to its employees.

Military force was used to drive away the men, women, and children of the Bonus Army assembled in Washington, D. C.

In a trial tainted by racial prejudice, nine Negro boys were convicted of rape in Scottsboro, Alabama.

The James Joyce classic, "Ulysses," had to battle Customs Bureau censorship to be admitted into the country.

A Senate committee sought to seize private telegrams sent by Hearst newspapers.

A whole family of Seventh-day Adventists was committed to an asylum for their "crazy" pacifist ideas.

A Catholic parish was barred from building a new church in San Francisco because of zoning regulations later held to have been discriminatorily applied.

A man was arrested by Louisville police eight times for "nuisance" offenses after an ACLU attorney defended him in a vagrancy case.

Anti-Stalinist Trotskyites and Stalinist Communists both were convicted of advocating violent overthrow of the government.

One hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were taken from their homes and businesses and interned in special relocation camps.

Negro school children were segregated in South Carolina public schools.

Discriminatory housing practices in New York City barred Negro children from all-white schools.

Papers disclosing the personal political views of Jones-Laughlin Steel Company officials were subpoenaed by a congressional committee.

American Indians in Arizona and New Mexico were not permitted to vote.

An alleged Communist was forbidden to speak publicly because anti-Communists who disagreed with him would riot.

Meetings and parades of the German-American Bund were cancelled in New Jersey.

During a loyalty investigation the FBI violated the secrecy of its files by disclosing information to a congressional committee.

A political blacklist in Hollywood and New York denied employment to actors, writers, and directors.

Labor unions, whose rights to speech and assembly are still sometimes thwarted, deprived their own members of civil liberties.

An American reporter was denied a passport unless he promised to travel only to State Department-approved areas.

A New York City license commissioner banned the film, "The Miracle."

In Connecticut, a doctor was not allowed to prescribe contraception for a patient even when her health might be jeopardized by pregnancy.

Twenty thousand people were detained in Chicago for illegal lengths of time in one year.

An atheist was not given his notary-public commission because Maryland's public employees have to swear to a belief in God.

Southern Negroes were encouraged to buy in stores, but were refused service at the stores' lunch counters.

An anti-Communist picket protesting Premier Khrushchev's visit was arrested.

Thousands were fired from or denied government and private employment as loyalty or security risks, without a chance to confront and cross-examine their accusers.

Jewish synagogues and ministers' homes were bombed in southern communities.

Equal rights for women were challenged when a Texas all-male, state supported college refused admission to two women.

"The rights of an American citizen are not chance tidbits, to be given or seized. These rights are fundamental. Deny them to one citizen and they are denied to all citizens. The ACLU upholds that proposition when it defends a communist or a General Walker. . . ."

The Houston Chronicle (Tex.)

The right to counsel was denied indigents in Florida and other southern states in non-capital felony cases.

Children in public schools were required to participate in daily religious ceremonies.

In Pennsylvania, a man acquitted of a crime was ordered to pay the costs of prosecuting him.

THE YEARS HAVE BEEN CROWDED with headlines, victories — temporary defeats. In the course of forty-four years and thousands of cases, the ACLU has carried on a crusade for personal liberty. Its main arena has been the courts, where constitutional issues are argued out. But many techniques are used.

Sometimes, ACLU supplies counsel for the person whose civil liberties have been denied.

Sometimes, ACLU submits a "friend of the court" brief, which argues the constitutional question.

Sometimes, ACLU points out how a law or regulation infringes on a constitutional right, by discussion with government administrators or members of the federal and state legislatures.

Sometimes, ACLU fires off a telegram or sends a full and reasoned letter to government officials, protesting a violation.

Sometimes, ACLU takes a part in popular education in the form of newspaper publicity, radio-TV appearances, meetings, pamphlets, magazine articles.

Always, *the ACLU acts with vigor and thoughtful reasoning rather than demagoguery and name-calling.*

How does the ACLU get into a case or issue? Many ways. Lawyers, or their clients, may seek aid on points of constitutional law. ACLU members are prolific letter writers; their communications about problems in their home communities are often the beginning of action. Newspapers and magazines and publications of other organizations are carefully

read, for the tiniest clipping may develop eventually into a major supreme-court case. The Washington, D. C. office keeps a close watch on bills that would deny or advance civil liberties and ACLU branches across the country keep close tabs on the work of their State legislatures. And, always, people stop in at the national headquarters or an affiliate office to present a civil-liberties problem personally.

Many people have wondered what America would have been like if there had not been an ACLU or its counterpart during these past four decades. A partial answer is found in the words of the late Zechariah Chafee, the leading civil-liberties scholar: *"It happens that the life span of the ACLU and its predecessors has coincided with 'the whole constitutional development of freedom of speech.'"*

it is organization

FROM A CORPORAL'S GUARD the ACLU has grown into an army of almost seventy thousand members, who serve as "watchdogs" by reporting civil-liberties violations and by carrying the ACLU message into their communities. The membership includes writers, business executives, teachers, lawyers, labor unions, housewives, white-collar employees, legislators, clergymen, students—young and old, men and women. They range over the whole political spectrum. But they all share a deep belief in, and concern for, the ideas expressed in the Bill of Rights.

A private organization involved in public affairs, the ACLU is a membership corporation chartered by the State of New York. Its everyday work is conducted by a National Board of Directors, a National Committee, and 30 affiliates in 30 states and the District of Columbia, with their chapters in over 100 local communities. In states not represented by an affiliate, a State Correspondent, under national ACLU guidance, keeps abreast of and reports on civil liberties developments.

As an action organization, the ACLU needs the prompt decisions of its thirty-five board members. This group, unlike most national boards, meets every two weeks, in New York City, site of the ACLU headquarters. Board members also serve on specialized committees, which analyze problems and recommend policies. They also prepare legal briefs, appear in court, testify before legislative hearings and executive agencies, address meetings, and help publicize the ACLU.

The National Committee of eighty members spread throughout the nation is mainly an advisory body. Of many different professions, these nationally known men and women bring expert experience and knowledge to civil-liberties matters.

State and community affiliates and chapters parallel on a local level the national ACLU's work. Frequently the affiliates are asked by the national to join in a national legislative drive, or to combine forces in a U. S. Supreme Court case. ACLU members are members automatically of the affiliate or chapter in their communities.

As in the American governmental structure, the ACLU and its affiliates constitute a federal system —each self-governing except for problems common to all. An affiliate's board of directors may decide on its own which cases the affiliate's cooperating attorneys will handle, what issues it will deal with, how it will act in specific situations, and what kind of membership recruitment campaign it will conduct. On matters of countrywide significance, the national ACLU sets policy and takes action. It also advises local affiliates. Every two years the National Board, the National Committee, and the representatives of affiliates hold a biennial conference to review and discuss major substantive and organizational problems.

Staff members—executive and clerical, national and affiliate—number only about ninety for the whole country. In addition, there is a battalion of volunteers, without whose services the ACLU's large and rapidly growing work could not be done. At the forefront is the group of more than one thousand lawyers located in three hundred cities. Known as "cooperating attorneys," they represent the ACLU without fee, contributing service that would cost

millions of dollars a year. While the ACLU as an organization does not practice law, it is able, by means of these cooperating attorneys, to urge a constitutional concern from the lowest police court to the U. S. Supreme Court. The ACLU also draws upon experts from radio-TV, publishing, newspaper, labor, academic, and business fields to serve on its committees.

To inform itself and to advance its program, the ACLU is a member of several national organizations, including the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. On the international scene, the ACLU is one affiliate of the International League for the Rights of Man, representing groups in some thirty nations.

it is people

WHATEVER THE FORM of an *organization*, in the last analysis it is composed of *people*. The present leaders of the ACLU are people who share the founders' idea that eternal vigilance really is the price of liberty. They share the belief that no one's liberty is secure unless everyone's liberty is defended. They are experienced practitioners of action in civil-liberties defense.

ERNEST ANGELL, chairman of the Board of Directors and of the corporation — attorney admitted to the bar in Cleveland in 1914, and has practiced in New York City since 1920; regional administrator for the U. S. Securities and Exchange Commission, 1936-38; chairman, regional Loyalty Review Board, 1947-50; chairman, American Bar Association's Committee to Cooperate with the International Commission of Jurists, which works to advance the rule of law throughout the world.

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Membership includes the ACLU's authoritative Annual Report, *Civil Liberties* ten times a year, and your choice of ACLU pamphlets. Student members at $3 receive *Civil Liberties* and the Annual Report. The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrine.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION is a private *organization of people* who put their *ideas* — and time, money and energy — into *action* to give effect to their *beliefs*. The Union exists for the sole purpose of defending and advancing free speech, fair procedure, and equal protection of the laws. It works in courts, in legislatures, in executive agencies, and in the wide field of public opinion. Our struggle for every man's right to be his own man in a free self-governing society is never finished.

The American Civil Liberties Union wants you — the weight of your support, your voice, your strength. It needs you to stand up and be counted. *Join now.*

JOHN DEJ. PEMBERTON, JR., *Executive Director*

The 33 State and City Affiliates of the ACLU

By joining the national ACLU, you will join the affiliate in your area, and the larger your check, the more it will receive. (Except in Northern California where separate membership is maintained. However, the national ACLU also welcomes support from members in Northern California.)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
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City..... Zone..... State.....

Occupation.....

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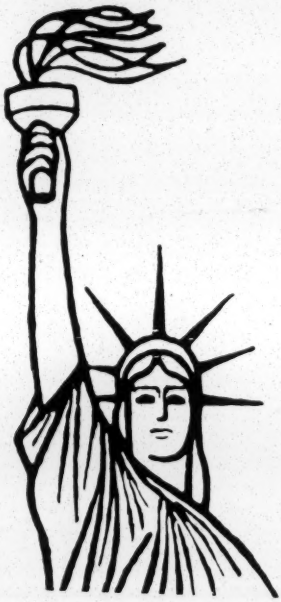
See Amer. Civil Liberties Union



Know Your RIGHTS

AS AN AMERICAN, YOU HAVE RIGHTS

This book tells you what they are.

It shows you what you can do, and what you cannot do if you are questioned or arrested.

POLICEMEN HAVE RIGHTS, TOO

A policeman's job is to protect you from crime.

When he is doing this, he has the right to your help.

The pictures on the next pages show what rights you have, and what rights policemen have.

You may want to share this book with your neighbors and friends.

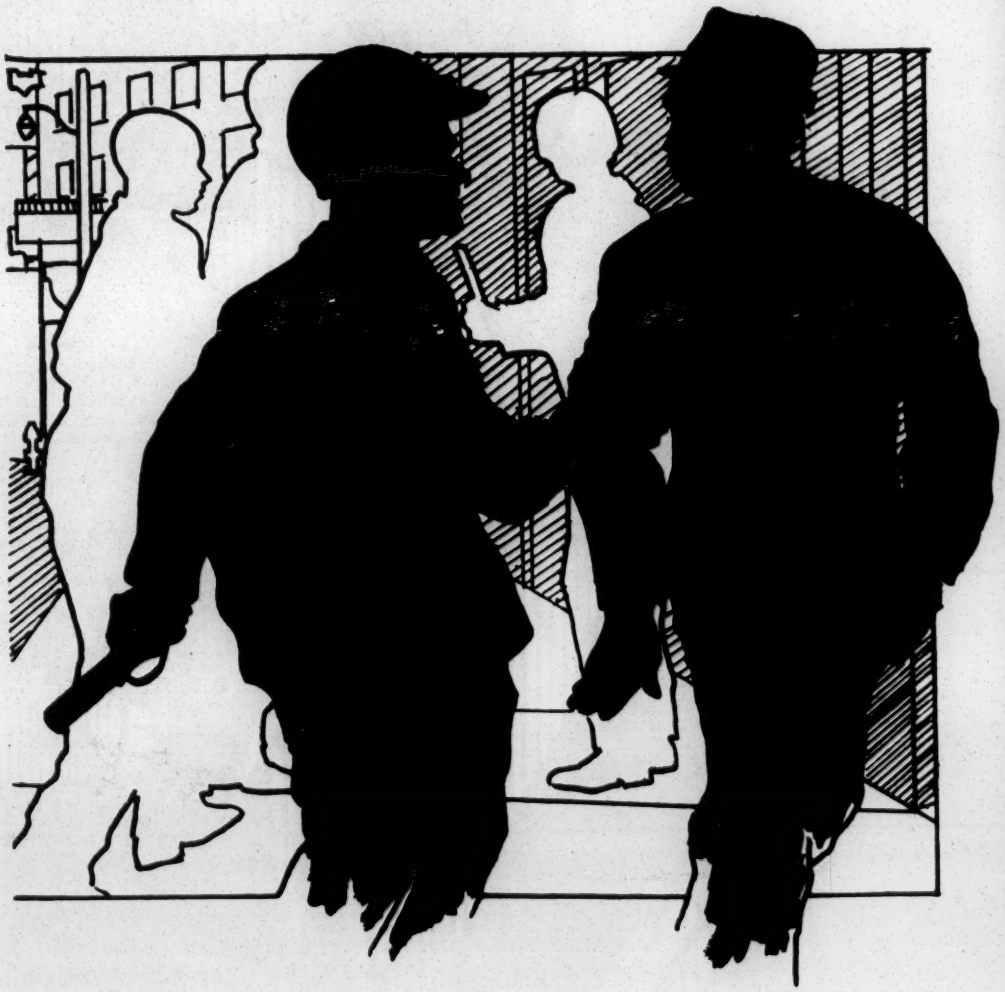
"Say, did you see what happened?"

"Do you know Joe Jones?"

If a policeman asks you a question like this - about something that does not have to do with you personally - it is your job to help him.

But suppose he asks you: "What are you doing around here?" or other questions about <u>you</u> personally.

If you want to, you can tell him what you are doing there, but all you need to tell him is your name and your address.



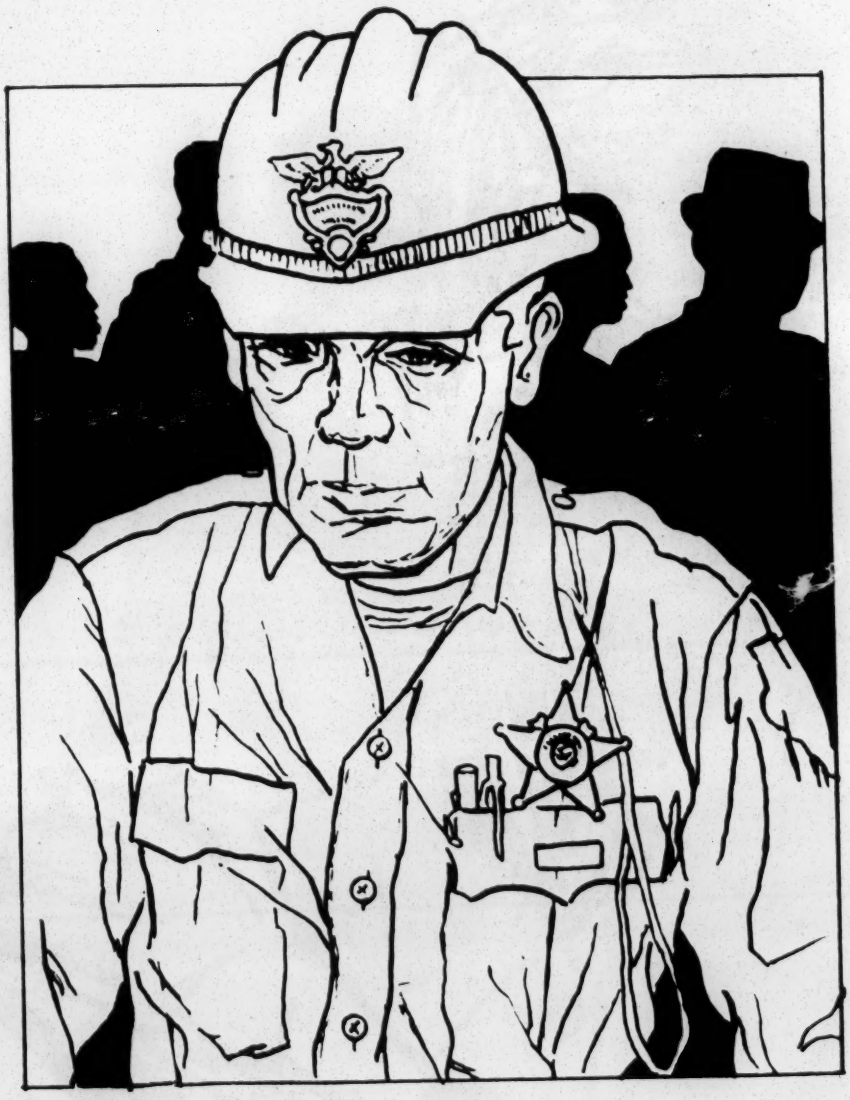
If it sounds like the policeman thinks you did something against the law, ask him: "Am I under arrest?" If he says yes, ask him: "What for?"

If you are under arrest, you do not have to answer any more questions. Whatever you tell the policeman could be held against you.

WATCH WHAT YOU SAY!

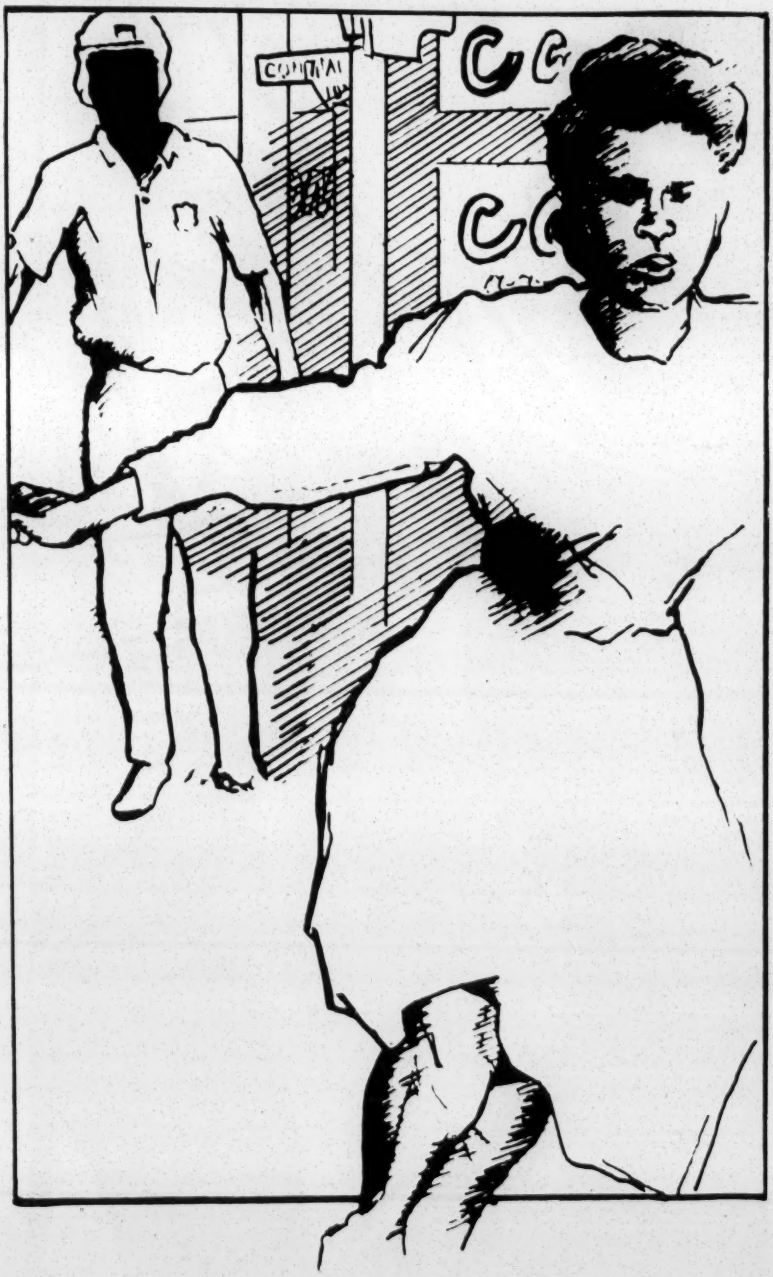
If he says "No, you are not under arrest," you may ask "May I go?"

If he says NO to that, you ARE under arrest, and do not have to answer any more questions.



Try to remember the badge number of the policeman and what he looks like. Also remember what he says and what you say. The same goes for any other people who are there.

Later, this could help your lawyer to help you.



If you were in trouble before, running away won't help you.

Even if you feel you are being wrongly arrested, DO NOT RUN AWAY.

Fighting with a policeman is a serious crime.

It will only make things worse. Go with him quietly.

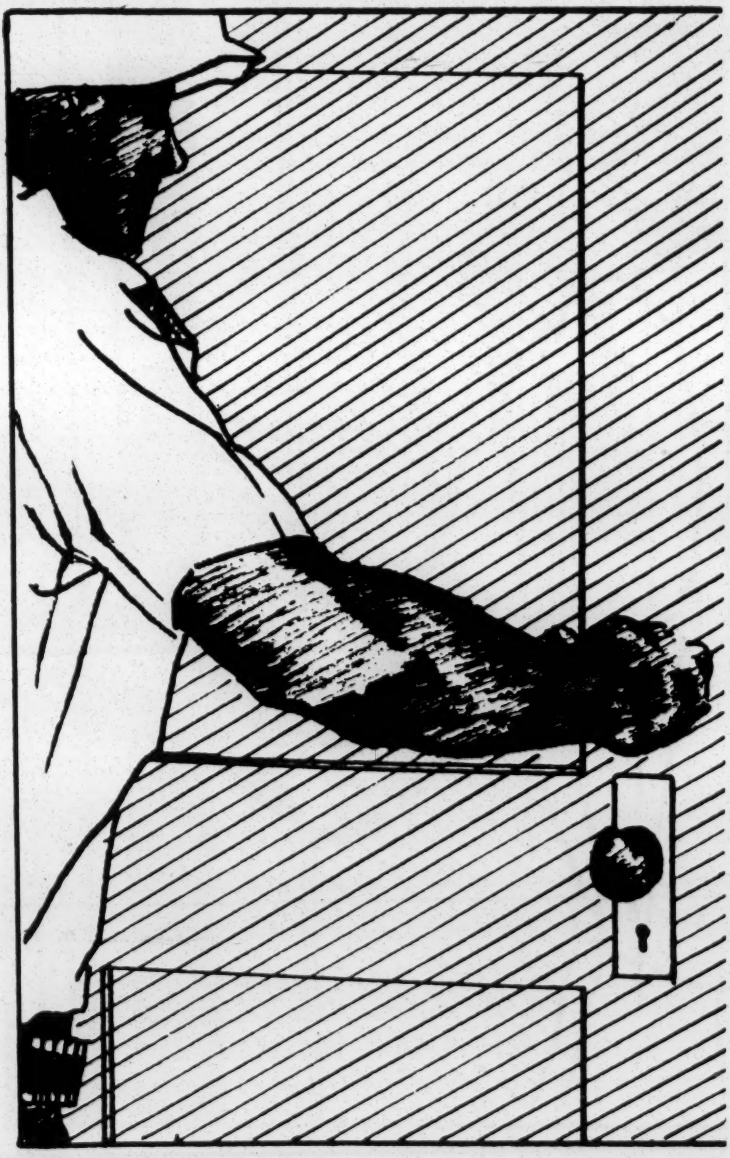
A policeman does not have the right to search you unless you are being arrested or he has a search warrant.

But even if he searches you when you do not think he has the right, do not try to stop him.

You may tell him: "I do not give you permission to search me."

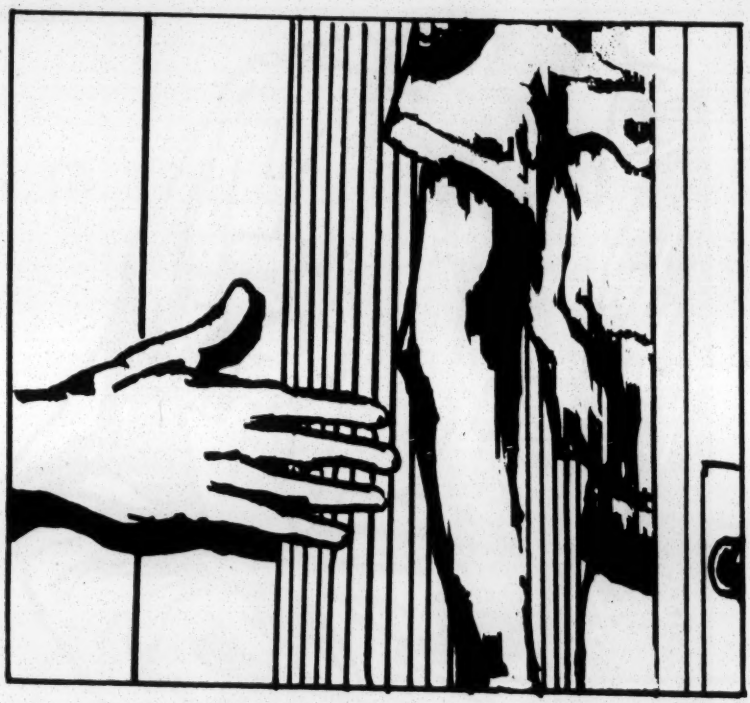
If you are driving a car, a policeman has the right to see your driver's license and car registration. Show them to him if he stops your car.

Get out of the car right away. Do not give him the idea you are about to run away, run him down, or harm him.



If a policeman asks to come into your home, you do not have to let him in. The law says: "Your home is your castle."

If the policeman has a search warrant, ask for a copy of it. Make sure the warrant talks about <u>your</u> home.



If he insists on coming in without a warrant, do not try to stop him. You may say: "I do not give permission for you to search my home."

The same thing goes for searching your car.

If the police take anything of yours - from your house or your car or from you - you may ask for a written receipt if they do not offer you one.

This receipt must be given to you by the policeman taking the property.

If the policeman has a warrant for your home, the landlady must let him in.

But without a warrant, your landlady has no right to say it is okay to search your home without your permission.

If you don't already know, ask the policeman who arrested you what the charge is.

Other policemen may ask you more questions. All you need to tell them is your name and your address. You may say: "I want a lawyer."

Do not answer questions until the lawyer comes.

If you can afford it, it is best to have your own lawyer.

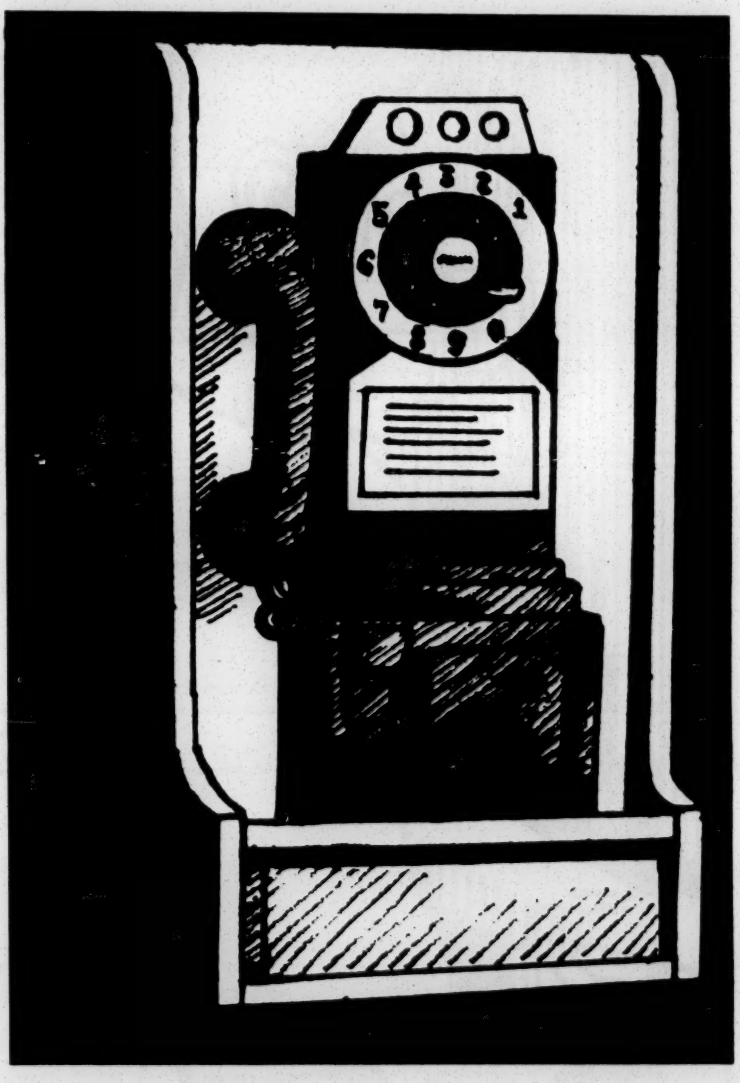
But, if you don't have the money, you have the right to a free lawyer when you are charged with a crime that might send you to jail.

Even though this free lawyer may not see you until just before court, this is better than being your own lawyer.

If you ask for a free lawyer right away, the police cannot ask you any more questions until your lawyer is there.

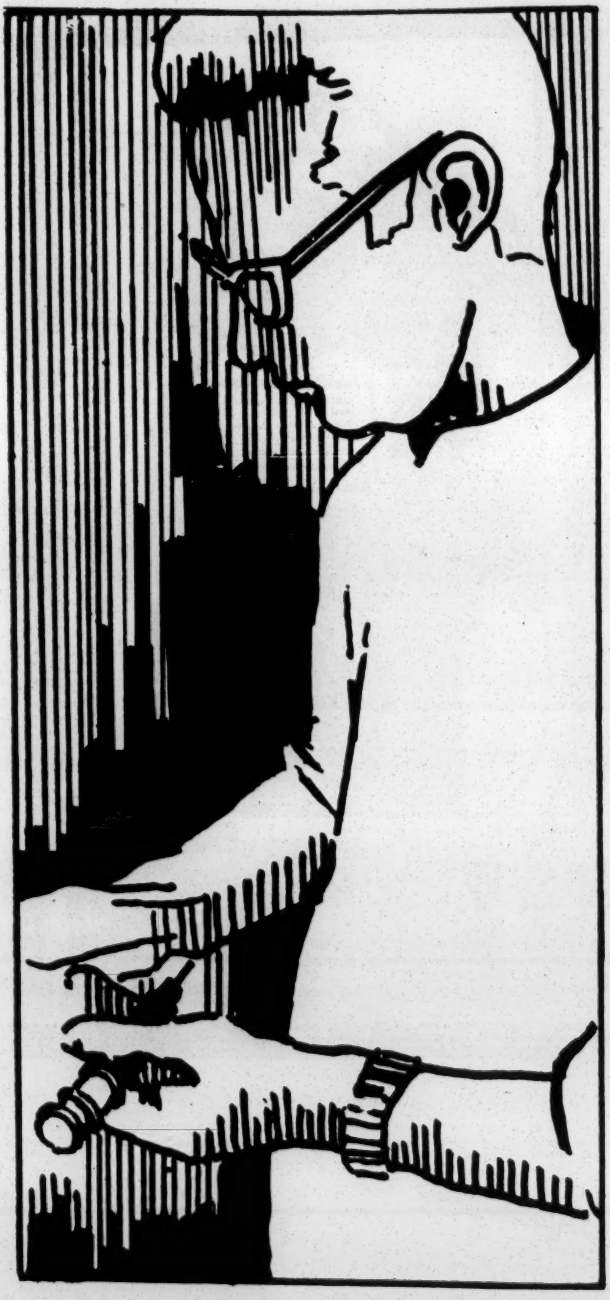
The police may only let you make one completed telephone call. If you do not have the right change, or you do not know the lawyer's number, ask the police to make change for you and to give you a telephone book.

If they do not want to, ask and keep asking until they do.



If you do not know the number of a lawyer, or are afraid you won't find him in, it might be better to call a friend or a member of your family, who could then telephone a lawyer for you.

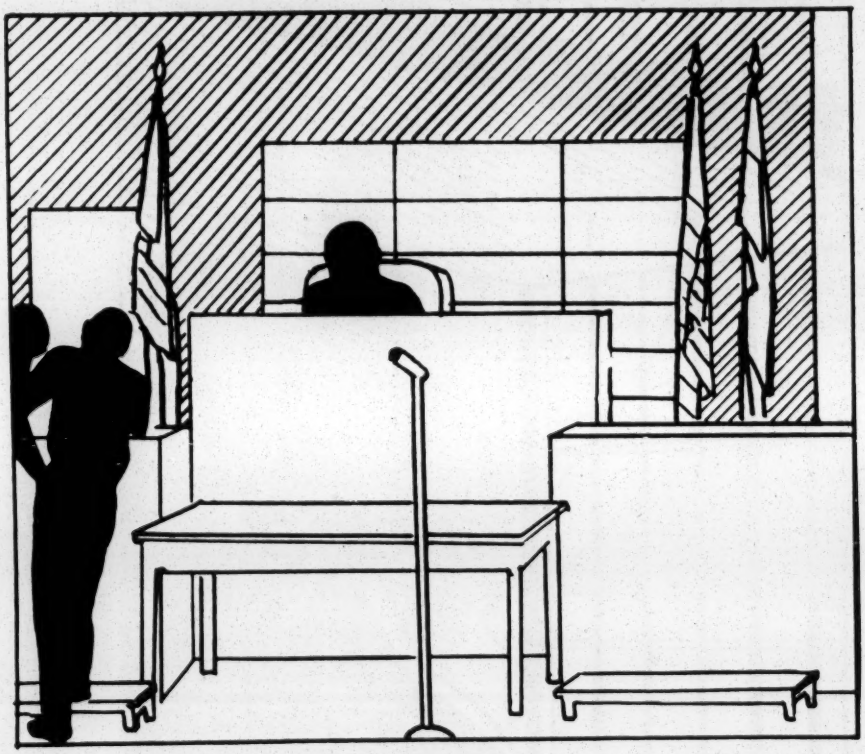
You need not answer questions or sign anything until the lawyer is there.



If you are arrested for drunk driving, you may ask for a blood test.

If you have not been drinking, the test will be in your favor. But if you have, it can be used against you.

You may ask for this test or you may refuse it. It cannot be given without your permission.



U.S. Law says that you should be taken before a judge right away to find out what the charges against you are, and whether there is enough evidence to hold you.

At this hearing - a commitment hearing - the judge will also tell you what your bail is. Ask to have a lawyer for this hearing.

If the police hold you in jail and do not take you before the judge without delay, you may remind them of your right to a prompt hearing.

Just as important as not saying anything is your right not to sign any statement. If you do not understand legal talk, you may not know what you are signing.

You may say that you will not sign anything until you talk with your lawyer.

You have a right to meet privately with your lawyer. What you tell him is just between you and him. It cannot be used against you.

So remember, whatever you want to tell - tell your lawyer and no one else.

You also have a right to have your lawyer with you during questioning.

The lawyer will take your side and try to help you.

Your lawyer is like a doctor or a dentist. You don't take out your own appendix or fix your own teeth.

Don't try to be your own lawyer, either.

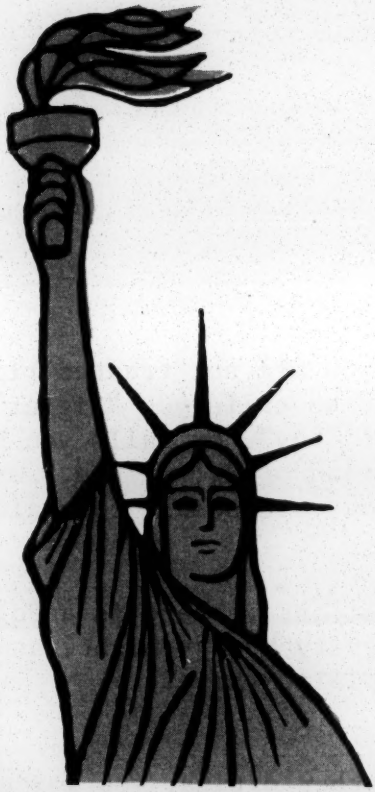
If you are not treated right by a policeman -- if he calls you "nigger" or "nigger-lover" or "boy", or calls you by your first name instead of Mr. or Mrs., or curses you or abuses you, you should complain about him.

In Atlanta, there is a Police Committee meeting every Monday night, and you can take your complaint there.

In other cities, you may complain to the Mayor, or the City Council and to the Police Chief.

Your complaint will not help or hurt your own case. But maybe it will help the Police Department find out about those few policemen who cannot learn to be fair and polite.

If you have a real complaint, it is being a good citizen to let the right people know about it.



What you have just read may sound like a lot of rules to remember.

But the important things can be said over again in three sentences:

- You have the right not to answer questions.
- You have the right not to sign anything.
- You have the right to have a lawyer if you are arrested.

These rights, and others, belong to every American. They come to us from the United States Constitution.

They apply to everyone, regardless of race, color, religion or age.

This booklet is prepared jointly by:

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
Hugh W. Gibert, President

The Georgia Council on Human Relations
Joseph Hendricks, President

Legal Advisory Committee:

Michael DeVito
Stephen Hester
Richard Hubert
Warren Fortson
Glenn Zell

Artist:

Marge Manderson

Quantity Prices Upon Request

File ACLU

CANDIDATES FOR THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION TO SERVE FOR 1958-61 TERM

Under the constitution of the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Committee is elected by the members of the ACLU (persons or organizations each paying dues of two dollars or more annually to the national ACLU or one of its affiliates).

"The National Committee," in the words of the constitution, "shall have an authorized membership of eighty persons who are members of the Union (apportioned roughly according to the population of the main geographical sections of the United States and its possessions) . . . approximately one-third of that authorized membership shall be elected each year for three-year terms. . . . The electors shall be the members of the Union, voting on ballots mailed to them by the national office and returned by them to the national office."

The National Committee and the national Board of Directors and the members of the boards of the affiliates (voting individually) elect the national Board of Directors and vote in referendums. In all such elections and referendums each member of the National Committee and of the national Board of Directors casts as many votes as there are members (now about 45,000) of the Union divided by the combined actual membership of the National Committee and the national Board of Directors, and each member of an affiliate board, voting individually, casts as many votes as there are members of his affiliate divided by that affiliate's actual board membership.

The 29 candidates listed below have agreed to stand for election, and the 27 receiving the largest number of votes will be elected. All nominations were made by the Nominating Commission (composed of Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, chairman, and August Heckscher, of the national Board; John Cowles, Jr., of Minnesota, and John Henry Merryman, of Northern California, representing the affiliates; and Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, of the National Committee). All paid-up members of the American Civil Liberties Union are authorized and urged to cast their ballots in this election.

CLARENCE E. AYRES
Texas

Professor of Economics, University of Texas; director, San Antonio Branch, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas; member, Committee on the Southwest Economy, 1953; author; ACLU Texas State Correspondent since 1940.

JAMES CHAMBERLAIN BAKER
California

Methodist Bishop; chairman, Division of Educational Institutions, Methodist Board of Education; trustee, University of Southern California; ACLU National Committee member since 1943.

ALAN BARTH
Washington, D.C.

Editorial writer, *Washington Post;* author, "The Loyalty of Free Men," "Government by Investigation"; ACLU National Committee member since 1952.

SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
New York

President, Vassar College; director, Fund for Adult Education; member, National Advisory Council, Girl Scouts U.S.A.; ACLU National Committee member since 1955.

JULIAN P. BOYD
New Jersey

Professor of History and former Librarian, Princeton University; author; editor, "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson"; ACLU National Committee member since 1952.

VAN WYCK BROOKS
Connecticut

Author, "The Flowering of New England," etc.; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Royal Society of Literature (London); ACLU National Committee member since 1949.

PEARL S. BUCK
Pennsylvania

Author; winner of Pulitzer Prize and Nobel Award; Vice-Chairman, ACLU National Committee, member since 1940.

HOWARD F. BURNS
Ohio

Attorney; Fellow, American Bar Foundation; trustee, Mt. Holyoke College; former chairman, A.B.A. Committee on Federal Judiciary. Vice-Chairman, ACLU National Committee, member since 1955.

STUART CHASE
Connecticut

Writer, "Democracy Under Pressure," "Guides to Straight Thinking," etc.; ACLU National Committee member since 1952.

(OVER)

DETACH ALONG THIS DOTTED LINE

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN
Washington, D.C.

Educator; former Professor of Government, Cornell University; now Editor, National Historical Publications Commission's documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights; former director, Cornell Studies in Civil Liberties; ACLU National Committee member since 1950.

RALPH F. FUCHS
Indiana

Professor of Law, Indiana University; former General Secretary, American Association of University Professors; former Chairman, Indiana Civil Liberties Union; ACLU National Committee member since 1955.

WILLARD E. GOSLIN
Tennessee

Professor of School Administration, George Peabody College; member, U.S. National Committee on UNESCO; former superintendent of schools in Webster Groves, Mo., Minneapolis, and Pasadena; ACLU National Committee member since 1952.

QUINCY HOWE
New York

Journalist; radio-TV news analyst, American Broadcasting Company; ACLU Board member 1947-49, 1954-55; National Committee member 1949-54, 1955 to present.

MORDECAI W. JOHNSON
Washington, D.C.

President, Howard University; member, Advisory Council for the Virgin Islands; director, National Council, United Negro College Fund; ACLU National Committee member since 1943.

AGNES BROWN LEACH
New York

Trustee and secretary of the Board, Bryn Mawr College; director, Foreign Policy Association; director, Public Education Association; ACLU National Committee member since 1920.

ROBERT S. LYND
New York

Professor of Sociology, Columbia University; trustee, Twentieth Century Fund; author; ACLU National Committee member since 1943.

SYLVAN MEYER
Georgia

Editor and publisher, *The Gainesville Daily Times;* president, Southern Association of Nieman Fellows; former president, Gainesville Junior Chamber of Commerce; former chairman, Georgia Press Association Freedom of Information Committee; Nieman Fellow, Harvard University, 1950-51; *The Daily Times* has won several state and national awards for public service and general excellence.

LOREN MILLER
California

Attorney; active in segregation cases that led to Supreme Court's historic 1954 and 1955 decisions; member, national board of NAACP; director, National Urban League; member, Southern California ACLU Board of Directors; Vice-Chairman, ACLU National Committee, member since 1955.

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER
New Jersey

Physicist; director, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University; chairman, General Advisory Committee, Atomic Energy Commission 1947-53; ACLU National Committee member since 1948.

JOHN B. ORR, JR.
Florida

Representative, Florida State Legislature; selected by press as second most effective Representative in Florida House, 1957 session; received Fund for the Republic award as individual best exemplifying American traditions, 1957; only Florida lawmaker to stand up against a series of bills designed to prevent school desegregation and stop the work of the NAACP; Board member, Greater Miami ACLU.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM
Washington, D.C.

Methodist Bishop; one of six presidents, World Council of Churches; author; ACLU National Committee member since 1940.

JAMES G. PATTON
Colorado

President, National Farmers Union; member, National Labor-Management Policy Commission; trustee, National Planning Association; ACLU National Committee member since 1943.

MORRIS RUBIN
Wisconsin

Editor, *The Progressive;* chairman, Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union; Vice-Chairman, ACLU National Committee, member since 1952.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
California

Former Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; former trustee, College of the City of New York; ACLU National Committee member since 1931.

EDWARD J. SPARLING
Illinois

President, Roosevelt University; member, advisory board, Chicago Council Against Discrimination; ACLU National Committee member since 1949.

DOROTHY TILLY
Georgia

Past president, Southern Conference of Church Women; former member, President's Committee on Civil Rights; ACLU National Committee member since 1949.

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Alabama

Editor, publisher, *Southern Farm and Home;* president, Southern Conference Educational Fund; ACLU National Committee member since 1946.

MARION A. WRIGHT
South Carolina

Attorney; former president, University of South Carolina Alumni Association, South Carolina Conference of Social Workers, South Carolina Citizens Library Movement; former chairman, South Carolina Library Board and Commission on Adult Education; president, Southern Regional Council, 1953-57; now vice-president and Executive Committee member, Southern Regional Council.

BENJAMIN YOUNGDAHL
Missouri

Dean, Washington University School of Social Work, St. Louis; director, American Association of Social Workers; ACLU National Committee member since 1952.

DETACH ALONG THIS DOTTED LINE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

STATEMENT ON CENSORSHIP ACTIVITY BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR DECENT LITERATURE

THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES, private organizations concerned with the morality of literature are increasingly going beyond their legitimate function of offering to their members, and calling to public attention, opinion or instruction about books, and are in effect imposing censorship upon the general public. And since any kind of censorship infringes the principle of that constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press which protects the free exchange of ideas in our country, it is imperative that the American people be warned of the danger in which their freedom stands. In discussing this kind of censorship, we make a clear distinction between the right of all organizations to express their opinion, which we defend, and acting in such a manner as to deny those who do not agree with their opinion an opportunity to read the literature themselves.*

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

1. *The constitutional guarantee.* The First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, and the constitutions of the several states, prohibit governmental abridgment of freedom of the press. If one may read, one must be able to buy; if one may buy, others must be able to print and sell.

2. *Legal basis for limiting freedom of the press.* If curbs are to be placed on freedom of the press, and these curbs must be based on a clear and present danger of a substantive evil from the publication, they can be imposed only by our courts, through full legal process. And the courts, not private literature-reviewing organizations, are the proper tribunals for determining the existence of such danger.

3. *Existing pressures for further limitation of freedom of the press.* It is an historical fact that the travail and tension of our time has adversely affected our society and raised particular problems of juvenile delinquency. We share with other Americans deep concern about this problem, which has been a problem in other ages as well, but we do not believe that it is desirable to try to cure the evil by unwise or unlawful abridgment of our civil liberties.

4. *The form now assumed by further, improper limitation of freedom of the press.* First, some state legislatures, after vigorous demands by religious and other private organizations, have passed laws so sweeping as to permit censorship of any publication which administrators of the law may disapprove of. Rhode Island and New York now prohibit the display, sale or circulation to any person under 18 of any book dealing with "illicit sex or sexual immorality." This ban could affect the *Odyssey,* half of Shakespeare, the *Divine Comedy;* the *Scarlet Letter* and parts of the Bible; Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* was cited by the Rhode Island commission as an example of a book thought harmful to minors. In South Carolina, the legislature passed a resolution directing the removal from public libraries of "books that are inimical to the traditions of South Carolina."

Second, less formal governmental censorship is illustrated by the fact that the Detroit Police Department has made such representations to the only two wholesalers of paperbound books and magazines in Detroit that they have agreed not to offer any magazine or paperbound book for sale in that city until it has been submitted to the police and cleared by them or in doubtful cases by the prosecuting attorney. The list of books disapproved by the prosecuting attorney for that jurisdiction has been frequently sent to the police in other cities and used as a quasi-official "banned" list. This situation displays the particularly abhorrent practice of pre-publication censorship, because, although the books have been printed, publication is not completed if there is a barrier to distribution.

Such formal and informal censorship actions by official authority violates the First Amendment. In nearly every instance where it has been possible to test the constitutional issue in a court, censorship has been defeated.

Third, a number of private groups, particularly church-related organizations have prepared blacklists, threatened and imposed general boycotts, and awarded unofficial certificates of compliance. The most active of these groups is the National Organization for Decent Literature, a group within the Roman Catholic Church established in 1938 by the Catholic bishops of the United States. In 1955, the bishops set up a National Office for Decent Literature in Chicago, in order to coordinate the work nationally. There are other religious organizations, as well as racial, labor, parent-teachers and women's groups, who also engage in censorship activity, but our attention in this statement is focused on the NODL because of the prominence it has achieved and the great influence it has wielded in removing books from circulation.

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR DECENT LITERATURE

The NODL is a nationwide organization whose membership is largely made up of Roman Catholic laymen; it has active units in several towns and cities. The national and local membership receives guidance from officers and priests of the Roman Catholic church. The purpose of the NODL, as enunciated by the Bishops' Episcopal Committee, was "to organize and set in motion the moral forces of the entire country . . . against the lascivious type of literature which threatens moral, social, and national life;" it has emphasized its efforts to protect youth. The NODL Code, in addition to the negative pledge of removal of "objectionable" literature, also contains the positive pledge to "encourage publishing and

* The ACLU's official policy statement on pressure-group censorship, adopted in 1951, states: "The ACLU defends, as being within both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, any simple expression by any individual or group of disapproval of the contents of any book, etc., or any attempt simply to dissuade others from buying it. It recognizes as far as legal right is concerned, the use of such orderly and lawful means as peaceful and unobstructive picketing and the organization of a specific and primary boycott even when they imply some degree of coercion. However, in view of the fact that the field of communication differs significantly from the general field of industry and commerce, the Union actively opposes, as being especially contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the use of such means in the following ways :(1) as pressure, or explicit threat thereof, at any time prior to the actual offering of a motion picture, etc. to the public; and (2) even after the actual offering to the public, in the form of a general or secondary boycott—designed, for example, to close a theatre entirely or to close other theatres whose proprietors ally themselves with the proprietor of the first theatre."

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distribution of good literature" and "to promote plans to develop worthwhile reading habits during the formative years." To evaluate the literature of our day in terms of its suitability for youth, the NODL, at last report, uses a reading committee of mothers of the Roman Catholic faith in the Chicago area. The NODL's focus has been on magazines, comic books, and paperbound books. It should be noted that the founders of the NODL sought from the beginning to enroll non-Catholics in their efforts. The NODL, says the Bishops' Committee, "appealed to all moral forces to combat the plague of indecent literature. The NODL office was, and is, merely a service organization to coordinate activities and supply information to all interested groups regardless of race, color or creed." The NODL's instruction manual, while listing procedures for individual committees to conduct Parish Decency Crusades, invites the cooperation of non-Catholic groups in the organization of local Decent Literature Committees to carry on the NODL work; such cooperation has not thus far been widespread.

It should be emphasized beyond the possibility of misunderstanding that the ACLU does not presume to object to the NODL's advising communicants of the Roman Catholic Church about any publication. Nor does the Union see any element of censorship in the NODL's informing the general public of its opinion that certain writings are immoral. Such criticism is a right of private freedom, and must immediately be protected when threatened.

From many towns and cities, come reports of extended NODL action which constitutes nothing less than censorship of what the American people as such may read. For example:

1. Roman Catholic parish groups, armed with the NODL list, call upon booksellers (bookstores, drug stores, tobacconists, etc.) and ask that the condemned titles not be offered for sale.

2. The NODL group informs a non-complying bookseller that they will refuse to buy any goods from him, in flagrant contradiction of its own assertion that its list is "merely an expression of a publication's non-conformity with the NODL Code, and that the list is not being used for purposes of boycott or coercion."

3. Newsdealers, druggists, and others who agree in advance not to sell anything to which the NODL objects are given monthly certificates of compliance.

4. Lists of complying, and often of non-complying, dealers are widely publicized, and parishoners are strongly urged to confine their purchases of all commodities to complying dealers. Check-ups are suggested at fortnightly intervals, i.e., a private morals-police force is encouraged to come into being.

5. In many cases police, prosecuting attorneys, and military commanders on Army posts have issued instructions or orders that no books or magazines on the NODL list shall be sold within their jurisdiction, thus putting the authority of the state in the service of a private sectarian group. However, in a recent newspaper article, the Very Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. Fitzgerald, who directs the NODL work, stated, "We request government officials not to use the list. . . . It is up to the courts to decide if a book is obscene."

If these were the acts of government officials, they would at once be challenged in court.** That they are the acts of a non-official group makes them more difficult to attack, but they are nonetheless seriously violative of the principle of freedom.

A fundamental objection to these extended activities of the NODL is that the judgment of a particular group is being imposed upon the freedom of choice of the whole community. The novel which may be thought by a committee of Catholic mothers to be unsuitable for a Roman Catholic adolescent is thus made unavailable to the non-Catholic. It is plainly necessary to challenge the NODL as keeper, by self-election, of the conscience of the whole country.

THE NODL BOOK LIST

The argument against censorship applies to all lawfully published books, but it is important to note that many of the authors and titles on the NODL list are considered among the most distinguished in literature. (See the appendix to this statement.)

Books by recipients of the Nobel Prize, the Pulitzer Prize, and the National Book Award have been made markedly less available to the reading public by the censorship of a private and anonymous jury acting under its own standards of morality and taste. And these are books which have been the object of responsible literary criticism and studied in hundreds of literature courses throughout the country.

The ACLU is gratified to record that Roman Catholic opinion is by no means unanimous in support of the activities of the NODL. Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., in recent public statements admirably setting the tone for national discussion of the problem, observes that: ". . . in a pluralist society no minority group has the right to impose its own religious or moral views on other groups, through the methods of force, coercion or violence." (The ACLU emphasizes that this prescription applies as well to majority groups.) Father Murray adds: "Society has an interest in the artist's freedom of expression which is not necessarily shared by the family. If adult standards of literature would be dangerous for children, a child's standard of literature is rather appalling to an adult." He questions, as we do, the use to which the NODL list is put, particularly by public authorities and local zealots who substitute "coercion for cooperation."

The American Civil Liberties Union, which has prepared this statement and solicited signatures in support, is opposed to censorship, official or private, by police authority or by the NODL or any other group. It is our conviction that the people of this country should enjoy to the fullest extent the freedom embodied in the principle of the First Amendment. Specifically, the Union intends to expose in every way it can the use of lists of books as tools of general boycott, and to intervene on behalf of writers, publishers, vendors and purchasers who have the will to explore legal avenues for the maintenance of their freedom. We reiterate, meanwhile, that we will at all times defend the right of such an organization as the NODL to express its views.

This statement is signed by the officers of the American Civil Liberties Union who thereby indicate the intention of the Union to thwart censorship. Other persons who will not necessarily take part in the action of the ACLU have appended their signatures, because of their concern with the freedom of the press and literature and their general agreement with the principles herein set forth.

ERNEST ANGELL
Chairman, Board of Directors

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
Executive Director

** The October 1, 1956 issue of *Publisher's Weekly* notes that the prosecutor of St. Clair County, Michigan, has officially recognized the NODL list as the guide to what publications cannot be sold in his jurisdiction. A suit has been filed in the Federal court by five publishers of paperbound books to enjoin the prosecutor from ordering two wholesale news distributors not to handle books or magazines listed by NODL. Police action may be curbed by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Butler case holding invalid one section of Michigan's anti-obscenity law, under which Detroit police had banned the sale of John O'Hara's *Ten North Frederick*.

Authors, Playwrights, Composers*

F. P. Adams
Agnes Rogers Allen
Cleveland Amory
Roger Angell
Robert Alan Aurthur
George Axelrod
Alan Barth
Jacques Barzun
S. N. Behrman
Saul Bellow
Dr. Smiley Blanton
Marc Blitzstein
Richard Bissell
Louise Bogan
Guy Bolton
Anthony Boucher
Julian P. Boyd
Berton Braley
John Brick
Gwen Bristow
John Mason Brown
Van Wyck Brooks
Irving Caesar
James M. Cain
Ernestine Gilbreth Carey
Carl Carmer
Stuart Chase
Jerome Chodorov
B. J. Chute
Marchette Chute
Walter Van Tilburg Clark
Marc Connelly
Malcolm Cowley
Luther Davis
Patrick Dennis
Albert Deutsch
Edward Eliscu
Walter D. Edmonds
James T. Farrell
Joseph Fields
Frances Goodrich
Davis Grubb
A. B. Guthrie, Jr.
Albert Hackett
Marion Hargrove
Moss Hart
Joseph Hayes
Robert L. Heilbroner
F. Hugh Herbert
Laura Z. Hobson
Richard Hofstadter
John Cecil Holm
Mark DeWolfe Howe
William Inge
Elizabeth Janeway
Robinson Jeffers
Nunnally Johnson
E. J. Kahn, Jr.
Harold Karr
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Louis Kronenberger
Joseph Wood Krutch
Oliver LaFarge
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Frances Lockridge
Richard Lockridge
Kenneth MacGowan
John Masters
Arthur Miller
Llewellyn Miller
Merle Miller
Allan Nevins
Reinhold Niebuhr
John O'Hara
H. A. Overstreet
Ann Petry
Harriet F. Pilpel
Bentz Plagemann
Katherine Anne Porter
Elmer Rice
Howard Rigsby
Donald Robinson
Eleanor Roosevelt
Richard H. Rovere
Budd Schulberg
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Upton Sinclair
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Louis Untermeyer
Maurice Valency
Mark Van Doren
Robert Penn Warren
Lael Wertenbaker
Margaret Widdemer
William Carlos Williams
Edmund Wilson
Morton Wishengrad
Victor Wolfson
Michael Young
Stark Young

Critics, Professors of Literature, Museum Officials

George Arms
Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Herbert Ross Brown, *Professor of Literature, Bowdoin College*
Oscar Cargill, *Head, Graduate Department of English, N.Y.U.*
Lewis Galantiere
Lewis Gannett
Lloyd Goodrich, *Associate Director, Whitney Museum of American Art*
Howard Mumford Jones
Lewis Leary, *Professor of English, Columbia University*
Perry Miller, *Professor of American Literature, Harvard Univ.*
Norman Holmes Pearson, *Associate Professor of English, Yale University*
Henry Nash Smith
Lawrance Thompson, *Professor of English, Princeton University*
Willard Thorp
Lionel Trilling
Arlin Turner, *Professor of English, Duke University*
Stephen E. Whicher, *Associate Professor, Swarthmore College*

Editors and Publishers

Simon Michael Bessie
Thomas A. Bledsoe, *Director, Beacon Press*
Sevellon Brown 3rd
Arthur A. Cohen, *President, Meridian Books, Inc.*
Robert L. Crowell, *President & Treasurer, Thomas Y. Crowell Company*
Jonathan Daniels, *Editor, The Raleigh News & Observer*
C. Halliwell Duell
Oscar Dystel
Kurt Enoch, *President, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc.*
Mark Ethridge
William J. Farson, *Executive Vice President, American Newspaper Guild AFL-CIO*
John Fischer
Monroe Froehlich, Jr., *Business Manager, Magazine Management Company*
Max Gissen, *Book Review Editor, Time Magazine*
Clarence Gohdes
Harold K. Guinzburg, *President, The Viking Press, Inc.*
Hiram Haydn
Thayer Hobson, *President, William Morrow & Company, Inc.*

* The persons signing this statement have been grouped according to their usual identification in the public mind. Some individuals of course function in more than one capacity: as author, critic and teacher, as author and editor, or as editor and publisher. Listings of position or corporate connection are for purpose of identification only.

William Hogan, *Literary Editor, San Francisco Chronicle*
B. W. Huebsch, *Viking Press, Inc.*
Joan Kahn
Donald S. Klopfer, *Executive Vice President, Random House, Inc.*
Alfred A. Knopf, *Chairman of Board, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.*
Dan Lacy, *Managing Director, American Book Publishers Council, Inc.*
James Laughlin, *publisher, New Directions books*
Storer B. Lunt, *President, W. W. Norton & Company*
Horace S. Manges, *Counsel, American Book Publishers Council, Inc.*
Frederic G. Melcher, *President, R. R. Bowker Company*
Lewis Miller, *Vice President, Random House, Inc.*
James Reach, *Executive Vice President, Mystery Writers of America, Inc.*
W. M. Read, *Director, University of Washington Press*
Stanley M. Rinehart, Jr., *President, Rinehart & Company*
Arthur J. Rosenthal, *President, Basic Books, Inc.*
M. Lincoln Schuster, *President, Simon & Schuster, Inc.*
Thomas B. Sherman, *Arts Editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
Herbert Sklar
William Sloane
Ordway Tead, *Vice President, Harper & Brothers*
Arthur H. Thornhill, *President, Little, Brown & Company*
Alvin Tresselt, *Managing Editor, Parents Institute*
Franklin Watts
C. A. Wimpfheimer, *Secretary, Random House, Inc.*
Victor Weybright, *Chairman & Editor, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc.*
Ben D. Zevin, *President, The World Publishing Company*

APPENDIX: NODL BANNED BOOKS*

Nelson Algren
The Man With the Golden Arm
Louis Auchincloss
A Law for the Lion
Vicki Baum
Grand Hotel
Paul Hyde Bonner
Hotel Talleyrand
Paul Bowles
The Sheltering Sky
John Horne Burns
A Cry of Children
James M. Cain
The Butterfly; Serenade
Erskine Caldwell
God's Little Acre; Tobacco Road; A House in the Uplands; Tragic Ground; Trouble in July
Joyce Cary
Herself Surprised
James T. Farrell
Father and Son; My Days of Anger; A World I Never Made
William Faulkner
Sanctuary; Soldier's Pay
Radclyffe Hall
The Well of Loneliness
Thomas Heggen
Mr. Roberts
Ernest Hemingway
To Have and Have Not
Aldous Huxley
Antic Hay
Christopher Isherwood
The World in the Evening
James Jones
From Here to Eternity
Arthur Koestler
The Age of Longing
D. H. Lawrence
The First Lady Chatterly; Women in Love
Norman Mailer
Barbary Shore
F. Van Wyck Mason
Three Harbours
John Masters
Bhowani Junction; Nightrunners of Bengal
Albert Moravia
The Time of Indifference
John O'Hara
Butterfield 8; The Farmer's Hotel; A Rage to Live
Will Oursler
N.Y., N.Y.
John Dos Passos
1919; 42nd Parallel
Ann Petry
The Narrows
Harold Robbins
Never Love a Stranger; A Stone for Danny Fisher
J. D. Salinger
The Catcher in the Rye
Budd Schulberg
What Makes Sammy Run
Margery Sharp
The Stone of Chastity
Irwin Shaw
The Young Lions
William Styron
Lie Down in Darkness
Leon Uris
Battle Cry
Gore Vidal
The City and the Pillar
Nathanael West
The Day of the Locust
Kathleen Winsor
Forever Amber
Ira Wolfert
Act of Love
Richard Wright
Native Son
Frank Yerby
Pride's Castle
Emile Zola
Nana

* A partial list prepared by the American Book Publishers Council of authors whose works have been or are included on the list of magazines and paperbound books listed as "objectionable" by the National Organization for Decent Literature since 1952.

NODL LIST AUTHORS WHO ARE LITERARY PRIZE WINNERS**

Nelson Algren
National Book Award, 1950
William Faulkner
1949 *Nobel Prize; National Book Award*, 1951 *and* 1955; *O. Henry Short Story Award*, 1949; *Limited Editions Club (Silver Jubilee Medal)*, 1954; *Joines Award, Award for Merit for the Novel*, 1954; 1955 *Pulitzer Prize*
James Jones
National Book Award, 1952
John O'Hara
National Book Award, 1956
Leon Uris
California Award (Silver Medal, unclassified), 1955
Ernest Hemingway
Pulitzer Prize, 1953; *Nobel Prize*, 1954

** From the annual roundups in January *Publisher's Weekly* and *Literary Prizes and Their Winners*, 1956, R. R. Bowker Co.

File ACLU.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

GUIDE TO ACLU COOPERATING ATTORNEYS

The national network of volunteer cooperating attorneys is a principal support of the American Civil Liberties Union's action. In areas where there is no affiliate organization, you often constitute the only ear and voice of the Union. Your aggregate contribution is incalculable; the monetary value of your services certainly runs into the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

It is important, therefore, that you have a clear understanding of what the Union is and is not in the legal field and the manner in which it operates.

The American Civil Liberties Union

Briefly, the ACLU is a non-profit, membership corporation, incorporated under the laws of New York State in 1929. It has been functioning as an organization since 1920. Its stated purposes are: "To maintain throughout the United States and its possessions, the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage and other civil rights, and to take all legitimate action in furtherance of such purposes."

In carrying out this program, it supports in the courts, either directly by counsel supplied by the ACLU or as amicus, cases where such rights have been infringed.

Two things the ACLU does not do:

1. It does not practice law or instigate litigation to which it is not a party.
2. It does not publish or otherwise divulge the names of its cooperating attorneys without their consent.

ACLU Direct Support of a Case

The ACLU gives direct support only in response to an appeal to us for help made by or on behalf of the party directly at interest. There must be a genuine civil liberties question already at issue; the ACLU does not, as a matter of policy, instigate or create test cases.

Because our program is concerned exclusively with civil liberties, we give such direct help only where our investigation convinces us that the matter at issue is solely or predominantly an important civil liberties question. Therefore, we do not ordinarily supply counsel at the administrative hearing or trial level if the fact of the commission or omission of the acts alleged is at issue; we are not a legal aid bureau.

In determining whether or not we should help, we rely largely on the investigation, local knowledge, and judgment of our cooperating attorneys on the scene. When we consult you on a particular case in this manner, you, of course,

are free to reject the particular assignment for any or no reason; all that we ask is that you let us know promptly.

If you do undertake this investigation and report, you are not committing yourself to handling the case even though you determine that it is worthy of our support. You are representing the ACLU; we are your clients, albeit non-paying ones. In this capacity, you can interview the person who has appealed for our help and anyone else who may have pertinent information or useful opinions. When you complete your investigation, which we hope will be done with reasonable promptness, you report to the ACLU, not to the parties directly involved in the case.

Ideally, this report will summarize all of the facts and all the issues, your opinion as to the merits and importance of the civil liberties issues involved, and your recommendation of further ACLU action in the matter. If you recommend ACLU support, you should also indicate the extent to which you can participate.

Your report is reviewed by the national legal staff and our decision is transmitted by us to the person who appealed to us. (Of necessity, our financial resources are one factor that enters into the decision.) If it is determined that the ACLU should support the case and you have agreed to consider undertaking it, the party directly at interest is so informed and it is his responsibility to arrange to see you if he so desires. If he does and you decide to undertake the case, you are then representing the party and are in exclusive control of the case. The ACLU legal staff will not intrude its judgment on the manner in which the case should be handled or otherwise interfere with your attorney-client relationship. The ACLU legal staff will be available, however, to assist you on request with legal research, consultation, co-counsel, etc. The ACLU will also, if the circumstances warrant and your state's laws do not prohibit, reimburse you for your actual out-of-pocket expenses and the actual costs of the proceedings. It is understood, however, that you will continue to contribute your time and talent, and your normal office overhead.

ACLU Amicus Support

Traditionally, the bulk of ACLU legal commitments have been through appearance amicus curiae, usually in the top appellate court of the particular jurisdiction. This has been true because most criminal cases involve the establishment of the facts by evidence and the resolution of issues not involving civil liberties matters. By appearing amicus on appeal, the ACLU can address itself exclusively to - and emphasize - the civil liberties aspects of the case.

The role of the cooperating attorney in investigating and reporting is the same as for a case in which we are considering direct support. Indeed, the eventual amicus appearance often grows out of the attorney's recommendation when direct support was being considered.

In the actual representation, however, there is a basic distinction. In an amicus appearance, the American Civil Liberties Union continues as the "client". The ACLU, therefore, participates in the direction and control of our appearance. The local cooperating attorney works in much closer cooperation with the national legal staff and the Union's General Counsel. However, the local attorney has a major, often decisive, voice in the case.

Other Functions of Cooperating Attorneys

Except when authorized in a specific situation, a cooperating attorney is not the general legal representative of the American Civil Liberties Union in his area and has neither the duty nor the authority to speak on its behalf. We hope that he will want to keep us informed of civil liberties matters arising locally, and we are likely to seek his advice from time to time even though the matter does not involve legal action.

Conclusion

Our effectiveness in protecting and promoting the health of civil liberties locally depends on you. Often, years go by before there is a need to call on a particular attorney, but having each one available on a "standby" basis is essential to our nationwide functioning. We will keep you informed from time to time on the progress of our work, especially in the legal field. We look forward to continuing work with you.

Rowland Watts
Staff Counsel, ACLU

February, 1958

SPECIAL RELEASE

from the **AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**

PULL

to

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Nw, #201
Atlanta 3. Ga.

Do w your name

← Mail this envelope today!

The peace movement is the latest example of non-conformist opinion to be investigated by the Un-American Activities Committee -- an attack on free expression more subtle but of the same cloth as the jailing of hundreds in Albany, Georgia, for praying, singing, and marching in support of the non-conformist notion that all men are inherently equal.

Textbook censorship in Texas, Indiana, and other parts of the country threatens to purge public school teaching of all controversy and many of the great ideas of world history.

"The ACLU," said Washington Post editorial writer Alan Barth recently, "will be obliged, as always, to protect civil liberty for its own sake, whether on behalf of the right, the left, or the center... It is in the democratic process that our faith lies. If we keep it working -- if we give truth a fair chance against ignorance and error -- we need have no doubt of the outcome. I BELIEVE THE ACLU HAS NEVER BEEN MORE NEEDED THAN NOW."

As Mr. Barth was speaking of the great need for the ACLU, the Union's national office had to reduce its staff from 29 to 21!

While membership is at an all-time high, the formation of ten new affiliates in the past few years resulted in a squeeze on the national office that forced retrenchment. Each new affiliate, as you know, immediately shares in contributions from members in its area. Today, members in eleven other areas -- three of them in the South -- wish to set up new affiliates. We applaud this, but, fearfully, we see our own slender resources again whittled down. The ACLU will require additional funds to realize upon this potential.

The Union has unusual assets, although they do not include buckets of money. They are the extraordinary talent of its members and their capacity to comprehend and act upon complex civil liberties and organizational problems. I am sure you are convinced we must remain solvent and yet maintain our momentum of growth in areas where we are most needed.

To meet our "crisis of growth," I plead with you and every ACLU member to help. Send a sum equal to your regular dues, less if you must, more if you can. In this way a principle of the Union since its founding in 1920 -- from each according to his means -- will be maintained.

Do not waste the envelope above. It needs no signature, no postage, only your check -- but if you have a stamp handy, paste it on. Every nickel saved is a nickel earned!

Sincerely,

Ernest Angell

Ernest Angell
Chairman, Board of Directors

ERNEST ANGELL, *Chairman, Board of Directors* · RALPH S. BROWN, JR., MRS. SOPHIA YARNALL JACOBS, *Vice-Chairmen, Board of Directors* · EDWARD J. ENNIS, OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, *General Counsel* · B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer* · DOROTHY KENYON, *Secretary* · MORRIS L. ERNST, JOHN F. FINERTY, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, NORMAN THOMAS, *Directors Emeritus* · FRANCIS BIDDLE, *Chairman, National Committee* · PEARL S. BUCK, HOWARD F. BURNS, ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, J. FRANK DOBIE, LLOYD K. GARRISON, FRANK P. GRAHAM, PALMER HOYT, KARL MENNINGER, LOREN MILLER, MORRIS RUBIN, LILLIAN SMITH, *Vice-Chairmen, National Committee* · ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Adviser, International Work* · JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR., *Executive Director*

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American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Draft of a Statement of ACLU policy on Conscription, Prepared by Roger Baldwin

Compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, cannot be opposed on constitutional grounds. The principle has been accepted since earliest colonial times in the requirement of service in the militia. The Constitution imposes no bar, since as Madison said "it is in vain to impose constitutional barriers to the impulse of self-preservation." The Supreme Court has sustained that view. The Union has never sought to challenge it in the courts.

But it may be said that the power of government to take citizens from their homes and occupations for military duty is so grave a departure from the concept of voluntary service to the country as to be justified only for compelling reasons of national security. The Union has recognized those reasons by not opposing the draft act in time of war or a state of national emergency threatening war.

But it has always insisted on the recognition of those conscientiously opposed to participation in war or preparations for it, whether on religious or other grounds. It has done so by representations to Congress, the Administration and by organized defense of conscientious objectors.

The Union has also opposed compulsory peace-time military training apart from the draft act, whether in the community or as a condition for a college education, on the ground that no compelling reason of national security justified so sweeping a departure from the voluntary principle.

In the present review by Congress and the Administration of the draft act, the Union, while maintaining its traditional position of not opposing it or expressing any view on its necessity, will be alert to oppose any discrimination or inequality among citizens, and to protect as in the past the rights of conscience.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Original copy to V. Gage 4/15/68 per pa's. the page of this date

ACLU STUDY ON: POLICE PROCEDURES IN ATLANTA

Scope of the Study: We will examine several areas of police procedure: search and seizure including "stop and frisk"; the method of advising arrested persons of their right to counsel and their right against self-incrimination; incidents of police brutality; treatment accorded to civil rights demonstrators and Viet Nam war protestors; round-up techniques employed against special groups such as homosexuals, prostitutes and alcoholics.

The material already collected demonstrates that a dual standard of police procedure exists: For those who are white-collar, white, middle class citizens, adherence to the constitutional protections governing police procedure is the general practice. For those who are poor, Negro, and without legal counsel, the rules are frequently violated or ignored. The treatment accorded the special groups mentioned above involves the dragnet approach with no respect whatever for legal protections.

Source Material: Data is being collected in four ways:

1. From our own files -- Complaints we have received and cases we have taken to court.

2. From an analysis of court records and police files being conducted by law students from the Emory Civil Liberties Research Council, who have volunteered to undertake this research as an extra-curricular project.

3. From interviews with judges, police officers and defendants conducted by a non-legal adult volunteer.

4. From an analysis of newspaper files and the files of human relations agencies for the past two years being done by an undergraduate volunteer.

MR. HUGH GIBERT, PRESIDENT

MRS. FREDERICK ROBIN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. HOWARD MOORE, JR., SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. LEON GOLDBERG, RECORDING SECRETARY

MRS. FRANK SPENCER, CORRESP. SECRETARY

MR. JOHN GLUSTROM, TREASURER

Status of the Study: The office files are already in order; the court records and police files section is barely under way; the interviews are about half completed; the newspaper and agency files are a little over half completed. The study has been under way for almost three weeks; it should take four weeks more to complete collecting the data, and another three weeks to put it together.

What will the Study Accomplish? Its purpose is to call the attention of Atlanta citizens and officials to the routine exercise of arbitrary police authority against those who cannot defend themselves, and by so doing, to effect certain changes in police procedures and attitudes:

1. To call for a course to be given to patrolmen, arresting officers and special details, such as the Vice-Squad, on what is constitutionally permissible police procedure.

2. To ask the Atlanta Aldermanic Police Committee to adopt a code of standards for police procedures.

3. To ask the legislative delegations of Fulton and DeKalb counties to introduce bills into the State Legislature calling for a uniform standard of acceptable police procedure.

4. To take the first step toward establishing a Civilian Review Board for Police Departments.

It will be made perfectly clear in this study that our aim is not to single out the Atlanta Police Department for special criticism; that the Atlanta Police Force is a well-trained, well-disciplined group which may in fact be the best in Georgia. The purpose, on the contrary, is to show that this dual standard exists even in a good department, and that if it exists in Atlanta, it is far worse in other Southern cities of comparable size.

Cost of the Study: There are no salary costs, since the material is being collected by volunteers and put together by the ACLU Director as part of her regular duties. Expenses for the volunteers will involve carfare or parking fees, reproduction of certain court documents, purchase of the report of the Atlanta Crime Commission and other literature, and on occasion, purchasing lunch for defendants being interviewed.

The total expenses for all four volunteers should be adequately covered by $50.

Reproduction and distribution of the report will be the major expense. Last summer the ACLU produced a study on capital punishment in the state, The Death Penalty in Georgia, which was written by volunteer faculty members from the University of Georgia. The length of the study -- 50 pages -- was comparable to what is contemplated here, and the number of copies mimeographed and mailed out -- about 750 -- should be about the same. The cost of the reproduction and distribution came to $325, and I think that is what we should count on for this study, thus making a total cost of $375.

This application to Southern Regional Council is prompted by the fact that although $375 is not a formidable sum, it is impossible for us. Our $950 monthly budget covers only salary, rent and office expenses. The Death Penalty Study, because of the legislative hearings on the subject, created an emotional climate which permitted raising the money in individual contributions of one or two dollars. That is not possible here.

We are hopeful, therefore, that you will recognize both the good use we have made of our slender resources in the past, and the value of this particular study, and extend us the aid needed for its completion.

Respectfully submitted,

Florence B. Robin

Mrs. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Director

4/12/66

COPY

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

COPY

To: Board of Directors, ACLUNC

From: Herbert L. Packer

Re: Further Consideration of Dirksen Amendment

I welcome the opportunity afforded by Clarence Rust's protest and the office's re-scheduling of the matter to restate my reasons for concluding that this is not an appropriate issue for an ACLU stand.

Let me start by directing your attention to the memorandum dated May 14, 1965, from Leanne Katz of the national office to Ernie Besig which was distributed with the agenda for this meeting. This memorandum makes it crystal-clear that the national office's position is not based on any supposed side-effects of the Dirksen Amendment such as impairment of Negro voting rights, which weighed so heavily in the arguments of those who at the last meeting spoke in favor of our taking a position on this issue. The national office's position is simply one of opposition to "the Dirksen Amendment or any other proposed constitutional amendment which would nullify the one-man, one-vote principle." If we are not prepared to endorse this position, as I think we should not be, the matter should be dropped from our agenda, since it would be a futile gesture to go on record opposing "the Dirksen Amendment" which, as Leanne Katz points out, is fairly certain to be modified from its present form.

With the issue thus isolated, it seems patent that the "one-man, one-vote principle," without which this country has managed perfectly well for all but the last twelve months of its existence, does not call for our endorsement unless we are prepared to say that voters whose votes for any public office are not counted in accordance with it are thereby deprived of their civil liberties. I have yet to hear any persuasive argument for that position.

At the outset, let us be clear that the mere fact that this "principle" has been given constitutional status by the Supreme Court does not make it a civil liberties issue. A corporation doing an interstate business has a constitutional right not to be subjected to multiple taxation by two or more states if the result is a "burden" on interstate commerce, but I take it that nobody would suggest that the constitutionality of, say, California's corporate franchise tax presents a civil liberties issue. This organization has traditionally required much more of a showing about the impingement of government action on personal freedom than the mere conclusory statement that a "constitutional right" is involved.

It is significant, I think, that no one ever pressed a civil liberties argument on this issue until after the Supreme Court had first indicated that it was prepared to find in the broad mandate of the Equal Protection Clause a constitutional peg on which to hang the principle of "one-man, one-vote." Usually this organization is alert to invasions of civil liberties long before our highest court gets around to dealing with them. I can recall no other instance in which the civil liberties hue

and cry has been raised only after the Supreme Court acted.

The Supreme Court had a number of alternatives open to it after its 1961 decision in Baker v. Carr opened the door to judicial scrutiny of legislative apportionments. It could have held, for instance, that state legislative apportionments must be reviewed, or reviewable, at frequent intervals by the voters of the state. Or it could have held that some measure of rationality must be found, or findable, in any apportionment plan if it is to survive judicial inspection. Or, less defensibly, it could have stopped with an application of the federal analogy and required that at least one house of a state legislature be apportioned on a population basis. Any of these alternatives would have sufficed to deal with the evil that the Court faced in Baker v. Carr: a deadlock in the democratic process caused by the fact that the only remedy for a mal-apportioned legislature lay in the hands of the beneficiaries of the malapportionment -- the members of the legislature. If this widely-recognized evil had been remedied in any of the other ways open to the Court to remedy it, I very much doubt that we would now be hearing the claim that anyone's civil liberties were being thereby violated. Or, if the Court had applied the federal analogy and the Senate had thereupon proposed a constitutional amendment declarative of what would then have been existing law, I doubt that we now would be concerning ourselves with the problem.

I remain profoundly unconvinced that a legislative apportionment commanding the assent of a majority of the voters affected by it violates anyone's civil liberties. The argument that a majority of voters cannot vote away their constitutional rights is, of course, a mere begging of the question in this context when what is at stake is precisely the issue of whether voters may choose among competing modes of representation. The Fifteenth Amendment and legislation enacted in pursuance of it, such as the pending Voting Rights bill, are adequate to protect against discriminations practiced against particular voters or groups of voters against their will. If a majority of the voters in the state of California do not wish, as they have three times voted they do not, to have both houses of their legislature dominated by Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego Counties, I do not see why the ACLU should say them nay.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

ACLU NATIONAL BOARD

May 12, 1965

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PRESENT BOARD MEMBERSHIP: 67

TERMS EXPIRING:

1965	1966	1967
Barshak	Achtenberg	Angell
Bierstedt	Balcomb	Bondurant
Black	Brown	Carliner
Clayton	Buchalter	Dorsen
Crowell	Hacker	Frank
Emerson	Haiman	Goldberg
Ennis	Karlin	Harrington
Evans	Kunstler	P. Harris
Farmer	Lacy	Jacobs
Fraenkel	Lipsitz	Kling
Friedman	Losos	Lovely
Galantiere	Millis	Miller
Gettner	O'Hare	Murray
Gillilan	Piel	Phillips
E. Harris	Rice	Pilpel
Heckscher	Schroeter	Prashker
Kenyon	Slaff	Rankin
Maslow	Visher	Rubin
Meserve	Vladeck	Seyler
Noun	Westin	Soll
Papandrew	Whiteside	Steiner
Risk	Whitmore	Waring
Stark		

CONNECTICUT CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
(Circulated following a discussion at Board Meeting)

TO: MEMBERS OF THE STATE BOARD:

DIRECTIONS FOR BALLOTING

In order to obtain the fullest range of views concerning the shared time issue, kindly enter your opinion with regard to the issue of shared time as is recommended by the Church-State Committee of the national ACLU's Board of Directors. It should be noted that you are not to concern yourself with any of the pending bills before Congress at the present time, but only to the issue of shared time and its administration.

Note that if you check Number 1, you need check no other items, since if you are of the opinion that shared time is inherently unconstitutional, there is no reason to become concerned with administrative problems of the program.

Item Number 3 allows for a conclusion of constitutionality for shared time, but allows for choice of various reservations concerning the administration of such program.

There is room also for a comment section explaining reasons for your choice and for expressing other possible choices.

Enclosed with this Ballot is the copy of the report.

B A L L O T

Votes

4 1. I believe that shared time programs are inherently unconstitutional as they violate the First Amendment's guarantee of mutual independence between religion and government.

3 2. I am in agreement with the national ACLU's Church-State Committee recommendation, that is that shared time programs do not inherently result in violation of the First Amendment, and with its conclusions concerning administration of such program.

3. I believe that the shared time programs do not inherently result in First Amendment violations; but

0 (a) believe that in a dual enrollment plan, there shall be no discrimination against a child who attends any private school; there should not be a distinction between profit-making and non-profit-making private schools, that is, the aid must be for the child and not for the school;

1 (b) only if the child is enrolled directly in the public school by the parent -- not by the private school, for courses offered by the public school and entirely controlled by the public school;

1 (c) that based upon broader issues which were not considered in the national Church-State Committee, i.e., the history, motivation, current practices, purposes, and foreseeable results of dual enrollment program, that the shared time would be unconstitutional, (basically agreeing with Byron S. Miller's position as outlined in the enclosed materials).

COMMENTS:

3 No ballot returned

12 Total members

1965

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

OPERATING STATEMENT

	ACTUAL 1/1-3/31/65	PROJECTION 1/1-3/31/65
INCOME		
Membership Contributions	$517,429.59	$548,000
Less transfers to Integr. Affil.	269,282.77	288,800
National Share	$248,146.82	$259,200
Contributions -- restricted		
Southern Regional Office		
Affiliates	21,539.53	
Other	3,619.00	
	25,158.53	
Grants from Special Funds		
Roger N. Baldwin Escrow Fund	900.00	
Other Income		
Dividends	614.40	
Literature Sales	1,989.58	
Honorariums	875.00	
	3,478.98	
Total Operating Income	$277,684.33	$259,200
EXPENDITURES		
Executive & Functional Operations		
Legal Dept.	$15,219.15	$14,136
Education & Action	49,102.31	42,416
Southern Regional Office	8,516.77	9,329
Washington Office	7,351.39	8,125
Executive Dept.	23,914.10	18,746
Membership & Devel. Dept.	33,426.40	51,691
Unallocated Expenses	16,908.17	18,000
	$154,438.29	$162,443
Operating Net Income	$123,246.04	$96,757

EXTRAORDINARY RECEIPTS

Bequest Receipts	$16,322.73

NET WORTH

	12/31/64	3/31/65
General Fund	$1,582.55	$124,828.59
Vigilance Funds	74,804.51	91,127.24
Robert Marshall Fund	21,078.85	21,414.36
Endowment Fund	48,706.28	48,706.28
Edmund C. Evans Memorial Fund	7,946.22	8,091.05
Fund "B"	5,125.00	7,047.25
	$159,243.41	$301,214.77

Excerpts From Text of 'Goldfarb' Ruling

Following are excerpts from the opinion of State Supreme Court Justice Henry Clay Greenberg granting a temporary injunction sought by the University of Notre Dame to bar distribution and showing of the 20th Century-Fox film "John Goldfarb, Please Come Home," and the distribution of the novel bearing the same name:

The gravamen of the legal wrong allegedly perpetrated against Notre Dame consists of the unathorized appropriation and commercial exploitation of that private institution's name, and symbols and reputation, in a manner which inflicts irreparable injury upon the high prestige of the university and to the value of its name and symbols—all to the end that defendants might privately profit from such misappropriation and use. Wrongful acts of the same ilk form the basis for the president of Notre Dame, Father Hesburgh's, contention, that the unauthorized use of his name for advertising and for trade purposes violates his rights of privacy pursuant to the New York Civil Rights Law, Section 51, and this statutory proscription and mandate serve as the prime basis for his personal cause of action against defendants.

Plaintiff Notre Dame thus postulates, as an indispensable element of its cause of action, a legally protected property right in its name, symbols and reputation with the attendant dominion and control over the exercise of that right.

Man"s Name Is His Property

"Political, social and economic changes entail the recognition of new rights, and the common law, in its eternal youth, grows to meet the demands of society . . . [Thus] the term 'property' has grown to comprise every form of possession—intangible, as well as tangible." (Warren and Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy") That the legal concept of property comprehends an interest in one's name, symbols, and all that they connote, can no longer be seriously disputed.

"A man's name is his own property, and he has the same right to its use and enjoyment as he has to that of any other species of property." (Brown Chem. Co. v. Meyer). The law affords the same status and protective aegis to the rights of an entity like Notre Dame. "An educational institution which has won large public prestige by hard effort and at high cost ought not, against its will, have that prestige diluted by a commercial use of its name . . ." (Cornell University v. Messing Bakeries, Inc.)

The property right so enunciated, however, is not an absolute one. "A legal system attains its end by recognizing certain interests—individual, public, and social—by defining the limits within which these interests shall be recognized legally . . . and by endeavoring to secure the interests so recognized within the defined limits." (Pound, "Interests of Personality.")

The paramount interest which circumscribes and hence defines the scope of the property right in one's name, symbols and reputation is embodied in the public's "Right to Know" and vindicated by the constitutionally protected twins of freedom of speech and of the press. This court is acutely mindful that this competing public interest which thus limits the property right of Notre Dame is one to which our system of government is profoundly committed.

'Struck a Balance'

Judicial precedents, in harmonizing these conflicting rights, have rightly struck a balance in favor of permitting the dissemination of information about public figures and institutions with the concomitant unauthorized use of their names, symbols, portraits and the like. Insofar as these decisions restrict the prerogatives of property, the private right must yield to the public interest. In this context, the public's "Right to Know," as pragmatically secured by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, attains a supreme ascendancy, and many of the usual attributes of the concept of property are placed in a subordinate position, and their exercise curtailed.

To the extent that the public has an interest in the dissemination of current events and informative and educational matter, the individual or institution is divested of the power to determine the use, i.e., the extent of exposure to or withdrawal from publicity, of its name and symbols; nor is the manner or form in which the legitimate public interest is vindicated of juridical significance. So long as the artist, writer, comedian, motion picture producer, etc., acts within the bounds of the permissible license afforded the public, there is no illegal trespass upon or taking of the property of the subject portrayed — and any financial benefit flowing therefrom is deemed irrelevant to the paramount issue.

While the cases necessarily reveal an extraordinary liberality in defining the latitude of the public interest, there can be no doubt that the indispensable predicate for the judicially sanctioned use, without consent, of another's name, symbols or other property is that such utilization of the property of another be confined within the scope of the public's "Right to Know." A private individual or entity may, without permission, commercially capitalize upon the name or other property of another private individual or entity only insofar as the former serves as the instrument whereby the public's "Right to Know" is vindicated.

Where, however, the use exceeds the bounds of the legitimate public interest, and the marketing of another's name, symbol or goodwill, in conjunction with the sale of one's product, constitutes the sole evident purpose *and* effect of the appropriation, the law will enjoin such exploitation.

Why then did defendants superimpose the name "Notre Dame" and the symbols of the university upon the story and screen version? By their own urgings, and the Court agrees upon a reading of the book and picture script, neither the book nor the motion picture is a satire, burlesque or any other form of literary portrayal or criticism of the University of Notre Dame or its team; nor does it represent an educational, cultural, moral or sociological crusade in the public welfare. Thus, the name Notre Dame and the university's symbols stand distinct and separate from the subject literary creations, and their use can in no way be classified as any form of art or literature, or a part thereof. It must be noted that in this connection it is of no relevance that the effect of the use might be deemed critical of, or even injurious to, the reputation of the University of Notre Dame.

Evident Purpose

The glaringly evident purpose and effect of defendants' "tacking on" of the name and symbols of Notre Dame were to capitalize on the commercial value such name and symbols had acquired in the minds of the consuming public.

This is a clear case of commercial piracy, and in no way is this decision intended to, nor does it restricts the legitimate conduct of the press or the expression of free speech. This holding is strictly confined to judicial precedents which command the Chancellor to extend his arm to strike down the blatant marketing of another's property. The determination reached here falls easily within the limits of the principles laid down by the courts in successive decisions structured upon its capacity to grow in the light of the changing and developing conditions. If the boundaries or frontiers require further extension, this is precisely the kind of case that cries out for judicial quarantining. Legalistic legerdemain is not equal to the prophylaxis which the Chancellor may employ to excise the malignancy.

'Rights of Privacy'

Twentieth Century-Fox emphasizes that it has spent some $4 million to produce "John Goldfarb, Please Come Home." The answer to this is two-fold. Firstly, the public's interest in upholding the principles of the rights of property and of privacy far outweigh any financial considerations. Secondly, Twentieth Century-Fox, as an organization of long standing in the motion picture industry, should have known that it could not appropriate another's property, created as the result of years of sacrifice and endeavor.

The "consideration of irreparable harm to the plaintiffs must necessarily outweigh the financial loss to defendants . . . Such injury as may be inflicted on the defendants is the direct result of their unconscionable business practices and their invasion of the moral standards of the market place . . . Cast in its proper environment, we have here a business venture purposed to gather in the harvest the seeds of which were planted and nurtured by others at great expense and with consummate skill."

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON LIBEL - AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA

This Ad Hoc Committee was appointed in late November, 1964, and consisted of five members: Miss Helen Bullard, a former administrative assistant to Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield; Mr. Henry Bowden, a practicing attorney, Legal Counsel for Emory University, and member of the Emory Board of Trustees; Mr. Harold Abrams, an attorney; Mr. Louis Regenstein, an attorney; and Dr. Henry J. Pratt, assistant professor of Political Science at Emory University, and the committee's rapparteur. Committee members were sent advance copies, through Mr. Pratt, of the materials on libel prepared by the A.C.L.U.'s national office, and these were discussed at a luncheon meeting in mid-December. The present summary of that discussion has been read and approved by those present.

* * * * * *

We began with attemptong to clarify the major issues raised in the dialogue between Samuel Hendel and George Soll. (see enclosed A.C.L.U. statements) It appeared to us that these included: (1) whether the A.C.L.U. should, in cases involving libel judgments, object to both general damages (often lumped together with "punitive damages") and special damages, or whether it should object to the former, but accept the special damages as long as the usual legal safeguards are provided; (2) should public officials be permitted to sue for damages for false and allegedly libelous accusations made against them by private individuals if malice can be proved with convincing clarity? (Soll answers in the affirmative, whereas Hendel would absolutely exclude libel actions in such cases irrespective of whether malice was involved); (3) should the A.C.L.U. take a stand on the issue alluded to in a footnote but not decided in Times vs. Sullivan, namely whether the exclusion of libel actions by public officials as held in Sullivan should be broadened to include private individuals who are in "public life"? (Soll favors such a broadening; Hendel favors confining the doctrine strictly to public officials and candidates for public office). If nothing else, our discussion served to underline the complexity of these issues and the need for sober, reflection before deciding on policy.

A cautious approach was urged with particular force by Mr. Bowden. Instead of endorsing the Times v. Sullivan decision and considering a possible extension of it, Bowden was troubled by the holding, and urged that it be construed as narrowly as possible. Civil libertarians, instead of being so solicitous of those probing the outer limits of free speech, should, in his judgment, concern themselves more with protecting public officials from ill-informed and irresponsible accusations. (He cited the example of a candidate for governor of Georgia touring the state and accusing the incumbent governor of being a "communist".) While he did not put it in these terms, Bowden appeared to be siding with Hendel on confining the Times doctrine to "public officials" and with Soll in permitting officials to bring libel actions where malic was clearly a factor.

The other members were more favorably disposed to the Timesreasoning and were prepared to discuss whether (and to what degree) it might be extended. The obligation provided for in Times that public officials must prove not only falsehood, but deliberate malice, and that malice cannot simply be presumed as it formerly could be under Alabama law, was warmly approved. Assuming that the Times decision now excludes awarding general and punitive damages to public officials, the others discussed whether special damages to compensate for specific monetary losses might still be awarded. While reaching no definite concensus on the matter, the drift of the discussion seemed to approve "special damages", assuming the term is strictly defined and not used as a subterfuge.

No members of the committee appeared quite prepared to side with Hendel in urging the adoption of the dissenting opinions of Justices Black, Douglas and Goldberg that "the Constitution affords to the citizen an absolute, unconditional privilege to criticize public official conduct," (Times v. Sullivan), although it was not clear that all would object strongly to such a position if adopted by the A.C.L.U.

Those in the committee who seemed to side with Soll in favoring an extension of the libel prohibition beyond the "public official" discussed how far this doctrine might be carried. Mr. Abrams, who has had a good deal of legal experience in connection with the libel action by Wally Butts against the Curtis Publishing Company, suggested that the old "fair comment" rule be applied in defining what is a public figure. The theory is that "public" people are those who are of sufficient prominence in the community to enjoy a ready means of counter-attack through the media of communication. This would presumably exclude many people on government payrolls and the less prominent public officials, yet include many non-governmental civic leaders. Mr. Bowden insisted, on the other hand, that a person has a right to legal redress regardless of whether or not he is a public official.

While the names "Hendel" and "Soll" were seldom explicitly mentioned, their conflicting views were nevertheless the focus of the discussion. The committee was not prepared to come down decisively on one side or the other of the debate. The possibility of further meetings was discussed as a possible means of achieving greater explicitness. In retrospect, however, it did appear (at least to the rapporteur) that the group leaned rather strongly toward the views authored by George Soll and away from those enunciated by Samuel Hendel, namely (1) that malice and falsehood, if proved with convincing clarity, should still be allowed as the basis for a libel suit by a public official against a private individual; and (2) that "public official" should be extended to include individuals in "public life", yet at the same time, narrowed as to exclude lower ranking civil servants who are not in the public eye. Among people in the latter category the customary law of libel would still apply.

Respectfully submitted,
Henry J. Pratt, January 23, 1965

* * * * * *

STATEMENT SUPPORTING SOLL POSITION - By Herbert Channick - September, 1964

The statements on Free Speech and the Libel Law drafted by George Soll and Professor Hendel agree substantively except with respect to the area of libel actions by "public officials" (and certain others) based on false statements about such persons in their public capacity.

Both statements agree that free discussion of matters of public importance is inhibited if the ordinary rules of recovery in libel cases are to operate in this area. However, they disagree as to the persons who should be placed under special disability in seeking to recover damages for libel and as to the extent of that disability. Professor Hendel restricts the operation of his proposed rule to public officials, former public officials and candidates for public office. The Soll position adds the broad category of persons "in public life" leaving it to the courts to determine whether a particular person meets that description or not.

Keeping in mind the agreed goal of promoting a maximum of free discussion about matters of public importance, it seems clear that the strict categorization of Professor Hendel's approach would produce some questionable results. Many persons who are not public officials ~~and do not run for~~ office nevertheless play auch a prominent role in public affairs that statements about them may very well relate to matters of considerable importance to society. Martin Luther King, Robert Welch, H.L. Hunt, and James Reston are names whibh come to mind of persons whose activities have made them a more important subject for public discussion than, say, the former Deputy Sheriff of Suffolk County. It is essential, therefore, to include "persons in public life" among those who right to sue for libel shall be restricted.

With respect to the second question - whether the right to sue for libel shall be absolutely barred to such persons or merely limited, the position taken by the Soll paper is that taken by the majority in the recent New York Times case while Professor Hendel supports the position of Justices Black, Douglas, and Goldberg. The Soll statement would permit a public official, candidate for office, former public official or other person in public life to recover for libel when a false statement, made about him in his public capacity, is proved with convincing clarity to have been made with malice. Malice, for this purpose, means actual knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard of whether or not a statement is false. Professor Hendel's position is that the persons within the operation of the rule whould be absolutely barred from recovering damages for libel on the basis of any statement made about such person in his public capacity.

No friend of civil liberties will quarrel with the statement that "where public matters are involved, the doubts should be resolved in favor of freedom of expression rather than against it." But this kind of statement, reassuring as it may be to our own feeling of righteousness, does not really help to solve difficult problems.

The Times decision itself represents an historic step forward in the evolution of free speech in the United States. Previously, a public official's right to sue for libel was not substantially different than that of any private citizen. The Times case places on the public official the burden of proving with convincing clarity that the defendant made a statement which he knew to be false or which was made in reckless disregard of whether or not it was false. The Court made it clear that ordinary negligence on the part of the Times would not support a finding of malice. Properly applied, the rule of the Times case represents a rational accomodation between the need for free discussion of public issues and the right of public figures to have some measure of protection against willful or reckless character assassination.

We disagree strongly with two assumptions which seem to underlie Professor Hendel's position. The first is that the requirement of malice will not be enforced.

The A.C.L.U. should formulate its position on libel on the basis of cound policy rather than on a pre-judgment as to how courts and juries will behave. Nor should it be assumed that appellate courts will not be capable of dealing with civil court findings which are not supported by the evidence. The second assumption is that we are dealing with a regional problem - libel actions by Southern public officials in Southern courts against Northern newspapers. In fact, we are trying to formulate a rule which will apply with equal validity to all libel actions by public figures in every part of the country. We are concerned not just with the New York Times as defendant, but with candidate Newmark as plaintiff.

If plaintiffs must prove actual malice with convincing clarity, and if juries cannot award punitive damages, libel actions by public figures will present no substantial threat to free discussion of political and social issues. And willful or reckless lies make no contribution of value to that public discussion of such issues which we seek to encourage and which the First Amendment is designed to protect. Careful consideration of the present problem leads us to conclude that the ACLU should vigorously endorse the position taken by the majority in the Times case and should add to that endorsement the further constructive steps suggested with respect to criminal libel, group libel, punitive damages and the imputation of unpopular, political or social views.

* * ** * **

STATEMENT SUPPORTING HENDEL POSITION - By Samuel Hendel - September, 1964

Apart from variations in organization and phrasing, there is, I believe, only one important difference between the "Soll" and the "Hendel" formulations. (Such reference is for convenience. Actually, each statement is the result of considerable discussion involving a number of persons and each builds upon the 1947 ACLU statement.) That difference relates to libel actions against a special group, I.E., "present or former public officials, candidates for public office and persons in public life" (paragraph 5 of the "Soll" statement), or (as put in Paragraph 3 of the "Hendel" statement) "a public official, former public official, or a candidate for public office, in his capacity as such." The difference in the language describing the group while not insignificant is, I believe, accidental and unintentional. The substantive difference is that in the "Soll" statement false statements against such persons would "not be deemed defamatory unless proven with convincing clarity to have been made with malice," while in the "Hendel" version, the First Amendment would be construed "to leave 'the public and the press free to criticize officials and discuss public affairs with impunity,' and, in these circumstances, to give immunity against actions in libel.

To a substantial extent arguments in support of the "Soll" position will be found in the reasoning of Justice Brennan in New York Times v. L.B. Sullivan, decided March 9, 1964, and those in support of the "Hendel" position in the reasoning of Justice Black and Justice Goldberg.

The weakness of the "Soll" position, in my opinion, is that in circumstances in which the public interest in free and open discussion is compelling and should be transcendent, it would tend to self-censorship or timidity. Thus, even Justice Brennan, in rejecting the argument that the constitutional guarantees are met if truth may be offered in complete defense, stated that:

> "A rule compelling the critic of official conduct to guarantee the truth of all his factual assertions - and to do so on pain of libel judgments virtually unlimited in amount - leads to a comparable 'self-censorship.' Allowance of the defense of truth, with the burden of proving it on the defendant, does not mean that only false speech will be deterred... Under such a rule, would-be critics of official conduct may be deterred from voicing their criticism, even though it is believed to be true and even though it is in fact true, because of doubt whether it can be proved in court or fear of the expense of having to do so... The rule thus dampens the vigor and limits the variety of lublic debate."

It seems to me, although Justice Brennan did not carry the argument so far, that freedom of expression will be in similar jeopardy if the critic of public officials must depend upon the finding of a jury that the false statements had not been "proven with convincing clarity to have been made with malice." As Justice Black pointed out in this connection:

> "This record certainly does not indicate that any different verdict would have been rendered here whatever the Court had charges the jury about 'malice', 'truth', 'good mitives', 'justifiable ends', or any other legal formulas which in theory would protect the press. Nor does the record indicate that any of these legalistic words ould have caused the courts below to set aside or to reduce the half-million-dollar verdict in any amount."

The New York Times on April 2, 1964, reported that "at least 17 libel actions brought by public officials in three Southern states against newspapers, magazines and a television network are pending in state and Federal courts."

If less than complete immunity is granted in the realm of public discussion, freedom of speech will be greatly inhibited because few are the individuals or organizations who will risk the burden and expense of litigation in the hope that the Supreme Court will ultimately review the evidence and find a lack of malice.

As is pointed out (in paragraph 3 of the "hendel" statement) such immunity is no greater than that enjoyed by all members of Congress, and many other legislators, judges, and executive officers, and proceeds on the premise of a transcendent public interest in free and untrammeled discussion of public affairs. As Justice Goldberg has said:

> "If the government official should be immune from libel actions so that his ardor to serve the public will not be dampened ...then the citizen and press should likewise be immune from libel actions for their criticism of official conduct. Their ardor as citizens will this not be dampened..."

It has been suggested that the ACLU ought not to focus on the perversions of justice in the South without regard to the national implications of its recommendations regarding defamation. One must bear in mind, to be sure, the damage that has been and might be done to public officials or others in public life, by an uninhibited McCarthyite journal. This is a valid consideration but, on balance, I would agree with Justice Goldberg that "where public matters are concerned, the doubts should be resolved in favor of freedom of expression rather than against it." Certainly, this should be true for the American Civil Liberties Union.

3

88th Congress
2d Session

S. _____

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HART _____

_____

introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

A B I L L

To establish the Commission on Constitutional Liberties.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION ON CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

Section 1. (a) There is created in the executive branch of the Government a Commission on Constitutional Liberties (hereinafter called the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of six members who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than three of the members shall at any one time be of the same political party.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman, or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(d) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers and shall be filled in the same manner, and subject to the same limitation with respect to party affiliations as the original appointment was made.

(e) Four members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS

Section 2. (a) At least thirty days prior to the commencement of any hearing, the Commission shall cause to be published in the Federal Register notice of the date on which such hearing is to commence, the place at which it is to be held and the subject of the hearing. The Chairman, or one designated by him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made available to any witness before the Commission.

(c) Witnesses at the hearings shall be accorded the right to be accompanied and advised by counsel, who shall have the right to subject their clients to reasonable examination, and to make objections on the record and to argue briefly the basis for such objections. The Commission shall proceed with reasonable dispatch to conclude any hearing in which it is engaged. Due regard shall be had for the convenience and necessity of witnesses.

(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman many punish breaches of order and decorum by censure and exclusion from the hearings.

(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in executive session. The Commission shall afford any person defamed, degraded, or incriminated by such evidence or testimony an opportunity to appear and be heard in executive session, with a reasonable number of additional witnesses requested by him, before deciding to use such evidence or testimony. In the event the Commission determines to release or use such evidence or testimony in such manner as to reveal publicly the identity of the person defamed, degraded, or incriminated, such evidence or testimony, prior to such public release or use, shall be given at a public session, and the Commission shall afford such person an opportunity to appear as a voluntary witness or to file a sworn statement in his behalf and to submit brief and pertinent sworn statements of others. The Commission shall receive and dispose of requests from such person to have the Commission request the appearance of additional witnesses.

(f) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year.

(g) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The Commission shall determine the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearings.

(h) Every person who submits data or evidence shall be entitled to retain or, on payment of lawfully prescribed costs, procure a copy or transcript thereof, except that a witness in a hearing held in executive session may for good cause be limited to inspection of the official transcript of his testimony. Transcript copies of public sessions may be obtained by the public upon the payment of the cost thereof. An accurate transcript shall be made of the testimony of all witnesses at all hearings, either public or executive sessions, of the Commission or of any subcommittee thereof.

(i) The Commission shall separately state and currently publish in the Federal Register (1) descriptions of its central and field organization including the established places at which, and methods whereby, the public may secure information or make requests; (2) statements of the general course and method by which its functions are channeled and determined, and (3) rules adopted as authorized by law. No person shall in any manner be subject to or required to resort to rules, organization, or procedure not so published.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 3 (a) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall receive the sum of 75 per day for each day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b-2; 60 Stat. 808).

(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for such other service, but while engaged in the work of the Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of

subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions of the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 835-42; 63 Stat. 166).

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 4 (a) The Commission shall--

(1) Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of the fundamental liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, including, but not limited to, the freedom of religion, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances, the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures, and the right to be free from the deprivation of life, liberty, and property without due process of law;

(2) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government and State governments with respect to the securing and protection of the fundamental liberties of citizens of the United States under the Constitution; and

(3) serve as a national clearing-house for information with respect to denials of the fundamental liberties of citizens of the United States under the Constitution.

(b) The Commission shall submit such interim reports to the President and to the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable, and shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final report of its activities, findings, and recommendations not later than three years after the organization of the Commission for the performance of its duties.

(c) Sixty days after the submission of its final report and recommendations the Commission shall cease to exist.

(d) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize the Commission, its advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to undertake any action with respect to denials of rights guaranteed under the Constitution which may be the subject of inquiry or investigation by the Commission on Civil Rights.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 5 (a) There shall be a full-time staff director for the Commission who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and who shall receive compensation at a rate, to be fixed by the President, not in excess of $22,500 a year. The President shall consult with the Commission before submitting the nomination of any person for appointment to the position of staff director. Within the limitations of its appropriations, the Commission may appoint such other personnel as it deems advisable, in accordance with the civil service and classification laws, and may procure services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates for individuals not in excess of 75 per diem.

(b) The Commission shall not accept or utilize services of voluntary or uncompensated personnel, and the term "whoever" as used in subsection (f) of section 2 hereof shall be construed to mean a person whose services are compensated by the United States.

(c) The Commission may constitute such advisory committees within states composed of citizens of that State and may consult with governors, attorneys general, and other representatives of State and local governments, and private organizations, as it deems advisable.

(d) In the application of chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code, service of an individual as a member of the Commission, as a staff director of the Commission, or as an attorney or expert employed by the Commission, shall be considered to be service as a special Government employee.

(e) All Federal agencies shall cooperate fully with the Commission to the end that it may effectively carry out its functions and duties.

(f) The Commission, or on the authorization of the Commission and subcommittee of two or more members, at least one of whom shall be of each major political party, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings and act at such times and places as the Commission or such authorized subcommittee may deem advisable. The holding

of hearings by theCommission, or the appointment of a subcommittee to hold hearings pursuant to this subsection, must be approved by a majority of the Commission, or by a majority of the members present at a meeting at which at least a quorum of four members is present.

(g) Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, each member of the Commission shall have the power and authority to administer oaths or take statements of witnesses under affirmation.

(h) The Commission shall have the power to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Working Papers - Not For Public Distribution

Policy Considerations Relevant

To

Hatch Act Repeal or Modification

By Thomas B. Marvell

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I. INTRODUCTION

A) Federal law restrictions on the political activity of government employees.

1) Restrictions on non-corrupt political activity.

Section 9 of the Hatch Act says that no employee in the executive branch of the Federal Government "shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns."[1] Section 15 of the Act explains that the quoted language refers to activities which the Civil Service Commission previously had prohibited employees in the classified civil service to engage in.[2] Exempted from some or all of the restrictions are some government employees, including some of the higher officials[3] and employees who live near the District of Columbia.[4] But included in the coverage are most state employees who work on projects supported by federal funds.[5]

The Hatch Act restricts the political activities of the government employees to a minimum. Appendix A is the "Notice" which informs federal employees of their restrictions and freedoms under Section 9 of the Hatch Act. The text of the Act permits government employees to take an active part in any cause which is not connected with party politics,[6] and Civil Service Commission rules reflected in the notice permit certain kinds of partisan activity, but there is considerable evidence that many government employees are afraid to do anything but vote because they do not know of these

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1. 5 USC 118i
2. 5 USC 118-1 See the enclosed Notice by the Civil Service Commission.
3. 5 USC 118i
4. 5 USC 118m
5. 5 USC 118h
6. 5 USC 118k-1

permitted activities.[1]

The restrictions are enforced by the Civil Service Commission if the employee is in the competitive civil service; otherwise the agency which employs the offender enforces the restrictions. Penalties include a 30 day suspension and removal from government employment.[2]

2) Other federal restrictions.

Section 9 of the Hatch Act also prohibits a federal employee from using "his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election."[3]

Under the provisions of the regular Federal Criminal Code, a federal employee cannot give a political contribution to another federal employee.[4] Nor can anyone solicit or receive a political contribution in any federal building.[5] A federal employee cannot change the rank of another federal employee, or promise or threaten to change his rank, for giving or not giving a political contribution.[6] Also in the code are a number of restrictions on the use of relief funds and jobs to secure political support. A violation of any of these criminal code restrictions can result in a stiff criminal penalty.

B) A note on the organization and scope of this paper.

Only the restrictions on government employees non-corrupt political activities are discussed here. For

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1. See Report of the Special Committee to Investigate and Study the Operation and Enforcement of the Hatch Political Activity Act; House, 85th Cong. 2d Sess., pursuant to H. Res. 706; House Report No. 2707, Dec. 31, 1958, see also Nelson, Palmus, Political Expression under the HA and the Problem of Statutory Ambiguity, 2 Midwest Journal of Pol. Sci. 76 (1958) at 85-87.
2. 5 USC 118i (b)
3. 5 USC 118i
4. 18 USC 607
5. 18 USC 603
6. 18 USC 606

convenience's sake, these restrictions will be called "section 9 restrictions". Three reactions to these restrictions will be discussed: 1) the section 9 restrictions should remain as they are now; 2) all section 9 restrictions should be lifted completely, and the laws restricting corrupt political activity should be relied on to prevent abuses; 3) the restrictions should be lifted from certain of the lower ranking government employees, but not from the rest. As to this third possible course, it is very difficult to draw a line between those who would and those who would not remain subject to the restrictions, and no attempt to draw such a line is made here. The line could be drawn in slightly different ways, depending on the particular policy arguments, discussed below, accepted as valid. The English experience in drawing such a line will be discussed later. The writers who suggest this third course of action generally state in broad language that restrictions should be continued for those government employees who are in a position to influence the policies of their agencies. Some of these writers also suggest restrictions on government employees who come into frequent contact with the public. Another possible group to keep regulated are employees who are in a position to influence the hiring, firing, or promotion of other employees.

The only policy arguments which are discussed are those frequently mentioned or those which the writer believes to have some merit. No attempt is made to discuss the value of particular existing or proposed restrictions, such as a prohibition against partisan publications, restrictions against public attacks by an employee on

the policy of his agency or department, or a ban on employees campaigning for office while employed actively.

Attention is drawn to a severe problem which is outside the scope of this paper. As mentioned before, section 15 of the Hatch Act incorporates the old Civil Service Commission rulings into the section 9 restrictions. However, these old decisions are not available to the public. Indeed, the new decisions are not indexed. Therefore it is extremely expensive, if possible at all, to find out what the law is. This problem is discussed in the very good article, A Critical Look at the Hatch Act, by Rose in 75 Harv. L. R. 195. See also Irwin, Hatch Act Decisions, 1939-41, U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1949.

In the following arguments for and against the section 9 restrictions the first paragraph after the section title contains an elaboration of the argument, the next paragraph or two contain a critical discussion of the argument, and the last paragraph discusses the bearing of the argument on proposals to lift the restrictions from certain employees.

II. SOCIAL AND LIBERTARIAN COSTS OF THE HATCH ACT

A) Competent people may be deterred from working for the government because of the section 9 restrictions.

Many of those opposed to the section 9 restrictions contend that a large number of people will not work for the government because they want to be politically active. This contention is sometimes reinforced by an idea that those who have strong political interests would be particularly good government employees because of their public spirit, imagination, or other assets. The

government does compete with private business for capable employees, thus any handicap attached to government jobs might very well mean a loss to the government of capable employees.

The writer has seen no facts cited to support any of these contentions. A survey of college seniors did not mention restrictions on political activity among the top ten reasons why they might favor employment in industry rather than with the government.[1] Whether politically active people would make better government employees is another unknown fact. Lacking figures on how removal of the restrictions would help recruitment of different kinds of government employees (or if it would help at all), it is impossible to use this policy to suggest where the line should be drawn between those covered and those exempted.

B) <u>The section 9 restrictions prevent the employees from using an effective means of airing their opinions and knowledge</u>.

Since government employees constitute a large segment of the population, a segment whose views and information may be particularly valuable in public discussions of what government should and should not be doing, it is contended that government employees should not be deprived of effective means for getting the ideas and facts of this segment of the population out to the public.

There are two factual assumptions here. First, it is assumed that the views of these employees are different and/or more valuable than the views of non-employees of government. Of course it is impossible to verify or disprove this hypothesis. Second, it is assumed that the

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1. Hattery, L. <u>The Prestige of Federal Employment</u>, 15 Pub. Ad. Rev. 182 (1955)

existing section 9 restrictions -- as they are construed by those affected by them -- prevent effective dissemination of these notions peculiar to this part of the electorate. The literal text of the regulations, while depriving employees of the campaign platform, do not deprive them of the ability to speak and write on partisan matters. And, of course, the employee is free to tell the politician who may then take to the platform with the facts and ideas. However, it is possible that employees now hesitate to transmit their ideas to politicians more than they would if the restrictions were lifted.

This argument applies across the board to all employees, but probably has the most force as regards employees in higher posts, where they are more likely to have access to information of broad public significance.

C) <u>The government employees subject to section 9 restrictions are deprived of conventional political liberties</u>.

If we change viewpoint from that of social engineer to that of moralist, regarding the individual employee rather than the segment of the population that all such employees constitute, two costs emerge: (a) the section 9 restrictions deprive the employee of a large part of the power of self-expression on political matters enjoyed by the rest of the population; (b) the employee is to some extent powerless to defend his peculiar interests in the society because he is cut off from the normal channels of power -- he is only a few steps from disfranchisement.

The extent of political sterilization achieved by the regulations is unknown; as mentioned earlier, for many employees the activities from which these men and women are deterred are more numerous than those which are proscribed officially. There is a "penumbra of deterrence" surrounding the activities sought to be

deterred. The extent to which employees would engage in politics if the restrictions were ended is unknown. Complicating any such study is the fact that the present employees accepted employment knowing of the restrictions and perhaps the most fervid partisans were eliminated before recruitment for this reason.

To some extent the political sterilization (and perhaps the personal sense of loss at being deprived of a measure of self-expression) is relieved by the federal employee labor unions. These unions take a wide range of positions concerning the section 9 restrictions.

Some are very much opposed to the restrictions, some support them, but most have no strong feeling one way or the other. It appears that few union members complain about the restrictions to their unions.[1] Also relevant to the question of extent of employee dissatisfaction with the Hatch Act is the fact that the Civil Service Commission finds relatively few violations of section 9. From the time the Act became law in August of 1939 to the middle of 1962 the Commission only found 541 violations by Federal Government employees out of over three thousand complaints. For the five years beginning in 1958 an average of six violations a year have been found.[2] However, this small number may be due to inadequate

1. See Pamela Ford, Political Activities and the Public Service: A Continuing Problem (1963) pp. 48-50. In answer to letters by the writer the IAM and United Federation of Postal Clerks said that the section 9 restrictions should be taken away; the National Association of Postal Supervisors took no stand on the issue; and the American Federation of Government Employees, the National Federation of Federal Employees, and the National Association of Letter Carriers supported only minor changes or preferred that the restrictions remain as they are now. In answer to a question as to how many complaints about the section 9 restrictions the union had received from its members, the latter four unions answered that they received few complaints; the first two unions did not answer the question.
2. Civil Service Commission Annual Report (1962) p. 65.

enforcement, (which is based on complaints sent to the Commission) or perhaps the government employees are law-abiding, despite their wishes. This argument applies equally to all classes of employees and does not suggest any line between those who should and those who should not be restricted; unless, perhaps, those ineligible for union membership have a stronger claim to be unrestricted.

III. ARGUMENTS FOR THE SECTION 9 RESTRICTIONS

A) If a government employee is politically active for a party or cause which is at odds with the policy or cause of his employer, he may be half-hearted in his work, or he may conduct espionage for the political foes.

If an employee is politically active for a policy opposed to the policy of the employee's department or agency, his opposition to his agency's policy may be intensified. As a result, he may be even more half-hearted in carrying out agency policy than if he were not allowed to be politically active. Indeed, he may whip up his partisanship to the point where he sabotages his department or spies upon it for its political foes. Also if the section 9 restrictions are removed more intense people may enter government employment: these people might be more likely to be half-hearted or conduct sabotage or espionage than the present employees.

Many government employees undoubtedly have political leanings and therefore may be half-hearted, but the extent to which political activity will stimulate half-heartedness above the present level is very uncertain. Of course there are many other factors which may make the government employees unsatisfied with their jobs resulting in half-heartedness working conditions, friction with other employees, and the like. Sabotage most likely is very rare; the writer knows of no examples of it.

Espionage also probably is rare; and it is not at all clear that espionage should be discouraged, because mistakes and corruption which should not be hidden would come to light more frequently. The disadvantage of espionage is that the superiors will not trust the employees, a point which will be taken up later. If there actually is a high degree of half-heartedness, espionage, or sabotage among politically oriented employees, the fact that political activity might make such employees more conspicuous so that they can be guarded against may outweigh disadvantages due to the extra political fervor of the employees and disadvantages due to the fact that more politically minded employees may become government employees.

These arguments are dominated by unknown and unknowable facts, thus it is difficult to tell which of the arguments if any, have much merit. The whole argument that political activity may cause more half-heartedness, sabotage, or espionage is often discounted by contending that there has been an increase in the professional ethics of the civil service.

Lifting the restrictions from the employees below the line is less likely to result in damaging half-heartedness, espionage, and sabotage. These employee's jobs are less directly connected with the framing of the policies with which they might disagree, therefore they are less likely to be half-hearted. Also because their jobs are less important than those of employees above the line, any half-heartedness or sabotage, is less likely to be harmful and those below the line are in positions where they would know less of the facts concerning the workings of the agencies, thus the superiors would not be as afraid

of espionage. This argument has no bearing on the suggested line between employees who come into frequent contact with the public and those whose jobs do not involve such contact.

B) <u>The restrictions are needed if the superiors are to trust the government employees under them.</u>

If a government employee is politically active for a party or a cause resulting in the appearance that the employee might not sympathize with the policies of his superior, it is likely that the superior will not trust the employee and thus not make full use of his talents. Moreover the superior may place responsibility in the hands of those who seem to agree with the superior's policies rather than in the hands of more competent employees whom the superior does not trust. Such a practice would undermine the merit system. This possibility becomes particularly dangerous when there is a change in administration: the new superiors may believe that the old administration took the political activity of the employees into account, and thus he may believe that many of the higher ranking employees under him are politically hostile to him and possibly not as competent as they could be.

The important facts here are what superiors believe will happen if trust is given to those who do not agree with him, and whether the section 9 restrictions really present an obstacle to the superiors' learning about the thoughts of the employees. As to the superior's treatment of those who disagree with him, it is possible that political activity by an employee on behalf of a party or cause at odds with the superior's policies may lead the superior to fear half-heartendess, sabotage, or espionage to a greater extent than if the employee was not politically active: thus the section 9 restrictions may be needed.

However superiors may believe in the integrity and neutrality of the civil service to such an extent that they would trust and promote the employees no matter what their policies are.

It is questionable whether the section 9 restrictions actually present a barrier to a superior's knowledge of the policies of the employees under him. Those employees whose trust the superior would care the most about would be the employees which come into close contact with the superior, and it is likely that the superior could ascertain the views of those employees without trouble in any case.

The argument that superiors may not trust politically active employees who disagree with the superiors' policies loses much of its force when one only considers lifting the section 9 restrictions from those employees which do not influence in the policy-making of the department or agency. Those superiors which change with administrations would not know of the policies of most of those below the line no matter how politically active those employees are, and the superiors probably would not care much about their politics because the damage those below the line could do by means of half-heartedness or sabotage would be small. Less important superiors than the ones which change with administrations might know of the political feelings of those below the line; however it is doubtful whether they would fear any harm to the department or agency because of these feelings. This argument does not seem to be affected disproportionately by keeping the restrictions on the employees who come into frequent contact with the public in the course of their employment.

Moreover, high government officials generally are respected and have access to news media. If they are politically active they may influence many people.

These contentions, which are frequently mentioned, seem to be based on little evidence. If postmen were to be politically active, there is no sign that the great majority of them would support the same party, as is implied in the argument. They may take a common stand on issues having to do with their own work conditions or pay, but these issues probably are not considered partisan. Moreover, it is doubtful whether these employees however numerous they are have a great enough persuasive power to influence a large segment of the public.

The high public officials may or may not be able to influence the votes of others. In any event they are not subject to section 9 restrictions now. It sometimes is pointed out that such influence should not be considered harmful since others in high positions, such as labor and industry leaders, are allowed to influence votes by being politically active. This argument leads to exempting from section 9 all employees who do not meet the public or the news media by virtue of their jobs. And it leads to bring high level officials under section 9.

C) <u>If the section 9 restrictions are removed promotion and hiring will not be geared to merit but will be a reward for partisan political activity</u>.

Promotion based on political activity rather than on merit would undermine the merit system and lessen the efficiency of the civil service. This argument is based on the one fact that if the superiors are connected with party politics they will in fact consider political activity in their hiring, firing and promotion practices. This would damage the efficiency of the civil service, and cause dissatisfaction among the employees who knew about the practice.

It is often argued that the spoils system has

pretty much disappeared at least in the federal government and there is no sign that it would appear again if employees were allowed to be politically active. Of course it is a crime for a federal employee to promote or hire another because of political activity and under the civil service laws promotion and hiring are supposed to be based on merit; however, these laws might be hard to enforce.

If the restrictions are continued on those in a position to influence policy this argument possibly loses some force. Those who can influence policy probably also have a say in hiring and promotion practices, and if they were not politically active they probably would be less likely to consider the politics of those below them in their hiring and promoting. However, as things stand now many of the higher officials are not subject to the section 9 restrictions anyway and these officials are probably politically active. If restrictions are left on those employees who have some say in hiring, firing, or promotions practice, this argument vanishes.

D) <u>If the section 9 restrictions are removed employees will believe that promotions are not due to merit but to the political activities of those promoted, and thus the morale of the civil service will suffer</u>.

The question here is whether the additional political activity made possible by lifting the section 9 restraints would lessen morale to any significant extent. As things stand now employees can make their views known and donate money to political parties; therefore there may be some loss of morale already when an employee who outspokenly agrees with the policies of his superiors is promoted. Some employees would believe others promotions are due to political activity even if all political activity were prohibited; these jealous rationalizers can not be satisfied by changes in the real world.

The idea of the merit system may be so firmly rooted that most employees normally do not suspect political activities lie behind promotions.

This loss of morale argument does not suggest where the line should be drawn between restricted and unrestricted employees: all employees are eligible for promotion and all promotions might be rewards for political favors.

E) <u>If the section 9 restrictions are removed there will be a tendency for superiors to coerce employees into political activity in support of the superiors' party</u>.

There are many examples of superiors forcing an employee to donate money to the party or to spend time working for the party under the threat of dismissal or demotion or with a promise of promotion. There is much evidence that this practice is still common, especially in state governments.[1] The section 9 restrictions prevent most of the superiors from being politically active, perhaps reducing their incentive to coerce inferior grade employees.[2] The most often cited reason why the restrictions prevent coercion is that when the superiors approach the employees for political purposes the employees can give the section 9 restrictions as a reason for not complying. It is felt that without such an excuse many employees would feel that they must contribute to protect their positions. Fear frequently is expressed that this kind of coercion results in permanent domination of the government by an incumbent party that builds a huge political machine of government employees.

This was the main argument for the section 9 restrictions when the Hatch Act was passed. At that time there was

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1. Alexander Heard, <u>The Costs of Democracy</u> (1960) pp 148-153
2. However, many of the highest positions are not subject to the section 9 restrictions.

considerable evidence that relief workers were being coerced into working for the Democratic Party.

To answer the argument that section 9 rules reduce coercion of employees, it is noted that there are criminal laws, in addition to section 9, forbidding such coercion. However, it has been said that these criminal laws are hard to enforce because most people involved in the coercion are friends of the coercer, making it difficult to gather evidence for a conviction. Moreover, the criminal statute does not cover the indirect coercion that may result when a superior is politically active and those under him believe that they must also be politically active for the same party to gain promotion.

The argument that the employees can cite the section 9 restrictions as a defense against superiors' requests for political aid can be discounted because the section 9 restrictions do not prevent money donations to political parties -- the most prevalent version of this evil.[1] However, an employee can contend that he believes he cannot make such donations, and apparently many believe just that.[2]

There is little doubt that many attitudinal and economic changes since the Hatch Act was passed weaken this coercion argument. The idea of advancement by merit probably has become more firmly rooted in government and in the public mind; civil servants possibly are more aware of their rights; the threat of being fired is not as forceful today as it was during the Depression; and apparently most of the coercion then was in the hastily organized relief projects, which are no longer common.

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1. Heard, op. cit.
2. Repeat of Special Committee, op. cit.

The coercion argument does not suggest which employees should be restricted and which left free; all are potential coercers and potential victims.

F) <u>If civil servants are allowed to be politically active the public will lose confidence in the framers of the civil service.</u>

It is generally assumed that the public must believe that the civil service is honest and efficient. It is likely that the idea of neutrality is closely associated in many people's minds with honest and efficient government. These people suspect party-active employees' decisions and activities are based on party considerations, not the public good. If the section 9 restrictions were lifted the idea of neutrality would be lost.

Again there are many unknown facts in the argument. Perhaps the public would not notice the increased political activity of the civil servants. Probably most people outside government employment do not know about the section 9 restrictions anyway; lifting the restrictions would not change their attitudes toward Government.

If the restrictions are retained on those employees who have influence in policy-making, this argument loses much of its force. These employees are the ones whom the public is most likely to suspect of making decisions on political grounds. However, the relevant line here is not between those employees who actually have a say in decision-making and those who do not, but between those employees whom the public would suspect of being influential in the decision-making and those who do not appear to have an influence.

G) <u>Government employees will use their positions to influence the voting of other people if the section 9 restrictions are lifted.</u>

Many government employees, such as postmen, frequently meet the public. If most of them were politically

active for the same party they might persuade a substantial amount of the population to vote for that party.

IV. TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEM IN ENGLAND

Most of the writers who have discussed the policies behind the section 9 restrictions have looked to England for possible alternatives. There are some historical facts which should be known before the English system is discussed: The English government did not suffer under the spoils system as the United States government did; there has been a long tradition of political neutrality in the English civil service; and the restrictions against political activity originated long before they did in this country. England for the past 20 years has been loosening up on the restrictions, while the federal government here has made only very minor changes. Because the tradition of neutrality the English writers have not been concerned with the possibility of coercion by superiors or the possibility of employment or promotion as a reward for political activity. The arguments most frequently mentioned to support the restrictions in England are that the morale of the civil service and the confidence of the public would deteriorate.

The English civil service is divided for these purposes into three groups which are given varying degrees of political freedom. The first group, called the free group, consists of two-thirds of the civil service. In the free group are all industrial government employees and other government employees in minor and manipulative grades, messengers, cleaners, and post office manipulative staff, excluding supervisors.

The next group is called the intermediate group

and it contains about one-fourth of the civil service. In this group are the typists, clerks, assistant clerks, post office supervisors, and some scientific and technical employees. The rest of the civil service is in the restricted group, and these employees are the executives, scientists, and administrators.

The employees in the free group are not subject to any restrictions with the minor exception that they must resign before they are nominated to become a candidate for Parliament; however, if they lose the election they will be reinstated. There are no restrictions on their holding a local elected office. The restricted group is subject to restrictions which are very similar to the section 9 restrictions. One important exception is that they can participate in local politics if they stay away from national issues and obtain the permission of their department heads. The intermediate group are barred from candidacy for Parliament, but all other political activities may be engaged in at the discretion of their departments. In the exercise of this large area of discretion the departments have set up their own rules. The departments were officially advised to grant or refuse permission to enter politics according to two factors: 1) the degree and nature of their official contact with the public, and 2) the extent to which the public would believe that a civil servant in a position to make decisions affecting the well-being of his department's clients is being politically active. The employees in the intermediate and restricted groups are urged to act with moderation in discussing issues related to their department. Lastly, the departments are advised to grant permission to be politically active in as many cases as possible.

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3. McAuliffee v. Mayor of New Bedford, 155 Mass. 216, N.E. 517 (1892). An often quoted opinion by Justice Holmes, upholding restrictions on the political activity of a government employee.

4. In the case notes on Mitchell which discusses the policy arguments:

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BULLETIN #2255 January 31, 1966

ACLU URGES RELEASE FROM MILITARY PRISON OF OFFICER PROTESTING VIETNAM WAR

The American Civil Liberties Union called on January 16 for the immediate release from a military prison of an Army lieutenant who is appealing his court martial conviction for demonstrating against United States policy in Vietnam. The civil liberties organization disclosed that it is assuming the legal defense of Lt. Henry H. Howe, Jr., of Denver, who is confined to the Fort Bliss, Texas stockade pending his appeal from the conviction.

The Union's position was made known in a letter sent by its legal director, Melvin L. Wulf, to Major General George Powers, III, Commanding General of the U.S. Army Air Defense Center at Fort Bliss, requesting Lt. Howe's release and his restoration to normal duties until the conviction is reviewed. Mr. Wulf, aided by ACLU assistant legal director Eleanor Holmes Norton, will act as Lt. Howe's counsel in the appeal.

Lt. Howe was convicted of disrespect and conduct unbecoming an officer and sentenced to two years imprisonment at hard labor, a dishonorable discharge, and forfeiture of all pay and allowances, following his participation last November 6 in an El Paso demonstration protesting United States conduct in the Vietnam war. The protest was conducted during his off-duty hours and in civilian dress. One charge against him, that he promoted disloyalty and disaffection among his troops, was dropped at the court martial.

The five-man court martial sentenced Lt. Howe under Articles 88 and 133 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The former provides for court martial punishment of "[any] officer who uses contemptuous words against the President, Vice President, Congress, the Secretary of Defense... in which he is on duty or present...," and the latter calls for similar punishment for conduct unbecoming an officer. The placard that Lt. Howe was carrying, on which the charges were based, said on one side, "LET'S HAVE MORE THAN A CHOICE BETWEEN PETTY IGNORANT CHOICES IN 1968," and on the other side, "END JOHNSON'S FASCIST AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM."

The imprisonment of Lt. Howe pending his appeal "is a clear abuse of discretion and is wholly unwarranted even by the broadest interpretation of your authority," the ACLU declared in its letter to General Powers. "[The] imposition of this harsh sanction mocks the principles upon which our free society is based," the ACLU said, adding, "Your action can only be interpreted as saying that a man who enters the armed forces leaves the Bill of Rights at home."

Arguing that the articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, under which Lt. Howe was convicted, violate freedom of speech and assembly and are unconstitutionally vague, the ACLU letter said Lt. Howe's conduct "is the very essence of activity intended to be unqualifiedly protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Were Lieutenant Howe not a member of the armed forces there would not be the slightest doubt about his right freely to picket and announce his opposition to the Vietnam war, or to peaceably express his opinion on any public issue. Though the Army will argue that there are different considerations involved where a member of the armed forces is concerned, it is that very question which will be at the heart of Lt. Howe's appeal; and without undertaking to argue the appeal in this letter, it is perfectly plain that that contention is highly debatable. Indeed, there is a substantial basis from which to argue that the armed forces may not, as in this case, capriciously suspend the operation of the First Amendment notwithstanding the different status of an individual subject to military authority as compared to that of a civilian."

ACLU SUPPORTS PACIFIST LEGISLATOR OUSTED BY GEORGIA HOUSE

The Georgia legislature's ouster of Representative-elect Julian Bond from his seat in the state House of Representatives because of his pacifist position on the Vietnam War is being

challenged in the courts by the American Civil Liberties Union as a major free speech issue.

A three-man federal court held a hearing on January 28 to decide if the ouster violates constitutional rights. Charles Morgan, Jr., director of the ACLU's Southern Regional Office, represents Mr. Bond; the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who is a registered voter in the 136th legislative district which Bond was elected to represent; and Mrs. Arel Keyes, also a voter in that district, against James "Sloppy" Floyd, W. Jones Lane, and David J. Newton, members and officers of the Georgia House.

After hearings were held by a special House committee, the Georgia legislature voted on January 10 (184-12) to expel Mr. Bond, a Negro pacifist, from its membership because of his criticism of U.S. military action in Vietnam. Rep. Lane, who initiated the move to bar Bond, stated: "Anyone who gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States or the enemies of the State of Georgia is guilty of treason." Bond, who is communications director of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, has supported a SNCC statement denouncing U.S. action in Vietnam and expressing sympathy with those "unwilling to respond to a military draft." Mr. Bond said that as a pacifist he opposed the draft and thought others who felt the same way should seek legal alternatives, such as Red Cross or civil rights work. He said that he did not consider his position to be advocacy of draft evasion.

Speaking at the House hearing as Mr. Bond's counsel, Mr. Morgan vigorously denounced the body's action, telling the state legislators that "[if] Mr. Bond has committed treason, then the proper place for Mr. Bond to be tried is in a court of law. But that is not what this is all about. The issue here is the right of every Georgian to speak."

The ACLU is basing its case on eight different grounds, rooted in the provisions of both the United States Constitution and the Georgia Constitution. Contending that Mr. Bond was penalized for his expression of opinion and for his membership in SNCC, the Union said the legislative move infringed on the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly. And, asserts the civil liberties group, Bond's trial by a legislative body violated the Fifth Amendment, providing that "[no] person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury," and the Sixth Amendment, guaranteeing a trial by jury to the accused.

The Union's argument alleged the breach of four further provisions of the U.S. Constitution: the 13th Amendment, barring slavery; the 14th Amendment, protecting the individual from abridgement of his rights by the state; and the 15th and 19th Amendments, prohibiting denial of the vote for reasons of race (15th) or sex (19th). (The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mrs. Arel Keyes, have entered the suit on these last two grounds, since they were both effectually denied their vote by the ouster of their elected representative.) In addition to its arguments on the basis of the U.S. Constitution, the Union is arguing that Article 3, Section 7, paragraph 1 of the Georgia Constitution, which was used against Bond, is unconstitutionally void for vagueness, both on its face and in its application to Bond. That provision states that each House of the state legislature shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of members, and that it "shall have the power to punish for disorderly behavior or misconduct by censure, fine, imprisonment, or expulsion." (emphasis added)

A strong protest against the barring of Bond from his House seat was issued by the ACLU of Georgia which stated: "Disagreement over U.S. laws or policy cannot be made the basis for ousting a duly elected public officer from office. We would have precious few legislators if this were the case, since many of them shouted defiance of the constitutional decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court only a few years ago. Individual members of the ACLU may not agree with Mr. Bond's characterization of our policy in Vietnam as aggression. However, this is not a relevant consideration, since what is at stake is the free speech guarantee of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution...."

Georgia Governor Carl Sanders has called a special election for February 23 to fill the vacant legislative seat. Bond, who is now applying for conscientious objector status under the Selective Service law, plans to run again. But he noted that even if re-elected, he will lose his chance to sit in the House, since the election last June which originally put him in office was for a one-year term.

ACLU SCORES PUNITIVE DAMAGE AWARD IN LIBEL SUITS ON PUBLIC ISSUES

The American Civil Liberties Union criticized on January 19 the award of punitive damages in libel suits where the libel dealt with public issues, as a threat to freedom of speech and the press.

The civil liberties organization announced an amendment to its over-all libel position adopted last Spring by its Board of Directors which referred the punitive damage question for further study. At that time the ACLU said that no civil liberties question is raised in libel cases where an individual seeks to recover compensatory damages because of false statements about his character. Compensatory damages was defined as including so-called special damages, for actual provable monetary loss, and general damages, awardable in actions of libel per se where actual loss cannot be proved when the false statement charges dishonesty, immorality, criminality or professional unreliability or misconduct.

Following further study of the punitive damages question, the ACLU's Board of Directors decided that the award of such damages is "inconsistent with the First Amendment principles since they are intended not to compensate the plaintiff for any loss he has suffered, however general in character, but to punish the defendant. In the interest of protecting free press and free speech punitive damages should not be allowed in any libel case even in cases where malice can be proven."

The Civil Liberties Union limited its condemnation of punitive damages to suits which involve issues of public discussion on political, governmental, economic, religious or social matters. The policy would not cover suits of a private nature. This recognizes the fact that while the award of punitive damages in the first area could limit public discussion of vital issues, this might not arise in cases where no such discussion is concerned.

The civil liberties organization also approved an amendment to its libel position by adding "persons in public life" to the kinds of public figures about whom false statements should not be actionable, unless it could be proven "with convincing clarity that such comments were made with the purpose of malice." By "malice" the ACLU means "actual knowledge of the falsity of the statement by reckless disregard of whether or not it is false."

In seeking to permit the widest scope of criticism and free discussion, up to now the ACLU had included in the category of persons who could not recover for false statements made against them unless they could show malice, those who presently or in the past have held political office, public or party, elective or appointed, and candidates for political office. In adding to these two categories "persons in public life," the civil liberties group said these might be defined as persons who entered the arena of public discussion with respect to political, governmental, religious, social or economic matters.

"FREEDOM PATROLS" KEEP WATCH OVER SEATTLE POLICE

The long-standing reputation of the Seattle police force for repressive behavior, and of Seattle authorities for unresponsiveness to complaints by the citizenry, have given rise to a unique experiment in application of lawful pressure to persuade police to behave lawfully. A killing last June by an off-duty policeman mixed up in a barroom brawl triggered off a program sponsored by several citizens' groups, to have "Freedom Patrols" quietly trail police on the night beat in five of Seattle's poorer areas.

Except for a change to a policy that policemen be unarmed when engaged in off-duty social activities, the city's police department barely responded to the storm aroused by the killing. The killer himself and another patrolman involved in the brawl were suspended for thirty days each, following a coroner's-inquest finding of "excusable homicide." An assistant police chief and a sergeant, found to have withheld the names and statements of four witnesses to the tavern altercation at the time of the ensuing trial of the citizens involved, were demoted one level or less, but were neither criticized for misconduct nor accused of violating the law. The trial, however, found the four accused citizens (Negroes, like the victim) to have been guilty of assault, for which they have since been sentenced.

A meeting of Seattle's Central Area Council on Civil Rights -- a nine-man team of civil-rights leaders -- brought forth the concept of Freedom Patrols as a means of documenting police

misconduct through observation of police on their beats and a check on bookings and charges at the city jail, in an effort to bring about official action to correct discriminatory practices. The breadth of support for the program was reflected by the first group of "Freedom Patrols" to walk their beats, which included such figures as the ministers of the two leading Negro congregations, the president of the Seattle NAACP, the vice president of the Seattle CORE, the executive secretary of the Seattle Urban League, the recent director of the Washington State Board Against Discrimination, and the executive minister of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches.

Relations between "Freedom Patrols" and the policemen to whom they have been assigned have been amicable from the first. Patrollers have reported incidents of policemen attempting to give them the slip and of being led by police through extraordinary terrain, but have not reported overt challenge by the police. A police-department employee told a "Freedom Patrol" acquaintance that, for the first time in a near-decade of service, he had heard a police captain cautioning police about abusive language and behavior toward minority-race citizens. There were reports that the number of arrests had declined in the neighborhoods watched by "Freedom Patrols." There were also rumors that alleged police-protected illegal business operators had been told to "cool it for awhile," with a consequent falling off in such trades.

Without clear precedent in the annals of nonviolent direct action, the "Freedom Patrol" in Seattle originally numbered some 55 trained "regulars." Although this has been halved over the past five months, due to the familiar processes of erosion, a nucleus of volunteers continues to appear on the streets two or three nights a week. Meanwhile, the organization of "Freedom Patrols" in Los Angeles and New Orleans has been reported.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC OFFICE FOR MOTION PICTURES (formerly the Legion of Decency) will award prizes in several categories to motion pictures of outstanding merit. "This public recognition of achievement, perhaps long overdue, is intended to assure filmmakers that their efforts are genuinely appreciated by the Church," commented NCOMP executive director Msgr. Thomas Little. (12.8.65) *** UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND president, Dr. Francis Horn, has stated that outside speakers from either the Communist Party or the John Birch Society would be tolerated on his campus. He also declared his approval of the right of students to hold protest demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam. (11.30.65) *** THE GREATER PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, ACLU has applauded the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare's adoption of the policy on the dissemination of birth control information which the affiliate first urged in 1958. The new policy states that Department workers will leave it to the conscience and wishes of the welfare recipients whether they ask for birth control information. (12.18.65) *** AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA the regents have been worried about losing some of the Nobel Prize laureates on the faculty. Some of the laureates have threatened to leave the University if the regents crack down on professors who participated in last year's free speech movement on the Berkeley campus. (12.4.65)

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MINUTES

SRC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE MEETING

April 29, 1966

- : -

The Development Committee met at the Atlanta Biltmore on April 29, with an informal meeting from 10:00 - 11:00 for those who arrived early, and with the formal meeting beginning at 11:00 a.m., and luncheon served at 1:00.

Those present were: Fred Alexander, North Carolina; Paul Christopher, Tennessee; Ralph Dreger, Louisiana; David Scull, Virginia; Lee Thomas, Kentucky; Nat Welch, Alabama; Josephine Wilkins, Georgia; James McBride Dabbs, former member of the Committee; Executive Director Paul Anthony; and Executive Assistant Edwyn Lewis. Absent: Herbert Davidson, Florida, due to absence from the country; Clarie C. Harvey, Mississippi, due to illness; and C. H. Thomas, South Carolina, due to a longstanding conflicting commitment.

Following adoption of the proposed agenda, the minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

The first business was election of officers for 1966. Josephine Wilkins was elected to continue in office as Chairman and Herbert Davidson as Vice-Chairman.

The Chair announced that Mrs. Rayzor, Texas, who initially had accepted appointment to the Committee with some reticence, had regretfully declined re-appointment; and that Mr. Dabbs, South Carolina, had also declined, but she cited his presence at the meeting as the greatly valued evidence of his continued interest. She further announced that Charles H. Thomas, Jr., of Orangeburg, had been appointed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee to fill the South Carolina vacancy; and that the Texas vacancy had not been filled. Referring further to the Committee

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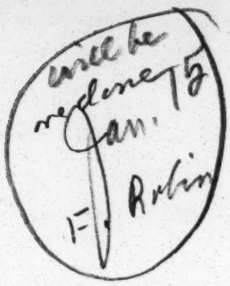

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Fine
ACLU - New York

January 5, 1967

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Jack:

I and others here have given considerable thought to a suitable person for the position of Executive Director of the Roger Baldwin Foundation. Given everything from qualifications to availability, we have not been able to come up with a single candidate. We will keep trying, however. The job sounds demanding and exciting.

ACLU had an excellent year in 1966 and we here extend to you and your staff all good wishes for the new one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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December 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The American Civil Liberties Union seeks to recruit the right individual to fill the position of Executive Director of its new Roger Baldwin Foundation, a research, legal and educational arm designed to add an entirely new dimension to its work for individual liberty in the United States.

I write in the hope that you know among persons of your acquaintance one or more to whom you would refer us in the search for the person who should this position.

The opportunity to head the development of this new program warrants, I think, our extra effort to bring the opening to the attention of the man who may prove best equipped to meet its challenge.

Enclosed is a copy of our current announcement of the position. I will welcome any recommendation you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

Jack

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP:cb
Enclosure

Washington Office: 1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Lawrence Speiser, Director;
Southern Regional Office: 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., Director
With organized affiliates in 34 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

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December 1, 1966

ANNOUNCEMENT

concerning the position
of

Executive Director of
The Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU

The American Civil Liberties Union seeks to add to its staff a second Associate Director who will have the principle responsibility for, and be the Executive Director of, its new Roger Baldwin Foundation. (The existing Associate Director retains full responsibility in the program of the ACLU itself.)

The purposes of the Foundation are to provide an added dimension to the defense of civil liberties in America by developing major research, educational and litigational programs which fall within the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code and regulations for organizations enjoying donor tax-deductibility. The Foundation anticipates raising funds from relatively substantial contributors--private individuals, foundations and corporations.

Immediate objectives: to raise substantial funds for on-going programs; to develop a structure and program for a multi-million dollar campaign for 1968-70 to mark the Union's 50th anniversary.

1. Developing an Organizational Structure.

Under general guide-lines laid down by the ACLU Board of Directors (who are the members of the Foundation and elect its Board), and under the direction of the Executive Vice-President (who will be the Executive Director of the ACLU), the Executive Director will be responsible for the development of an organizational structure for the Foundation.

He will be responsible for setting up and maintaining professional administrative standards in the organization, including accounting and reporting procedures and fiscal controls over all income and expenditures.

Initially the Executive Director, as the sole professional on the Foundation's staff, will have to recruit, motivate and coordinate volunteers in the fund-raising and program functions of the Foundation. Ultimately he will be responsible for recruiting both professional and clerical personnel to his staff, and supervising them as required by the Foundation's growth and development.

2. Program Development and Coordination.

The Executive Director will have the primary responsibility for program, acting within policy guidelines laid down by the ACLU Board of Directors and under the direction of the Executive Vice President. With assistance from the ACLU staff, he will be expected to stimulate program proposals from individuals and units within the ACLU family and volunteers who may develop a principal interest in the work of the Foundation. These proposals must be coordinated and made consistent with the on-going programs and objectives of ACLU and its affiliates. The Executive Director will then reduce broad program outlines into concrete research, litigational and educational projects, specifying the personnel expenditures and time-tables required for each. Coordinating such requirements with his judgment

of the availability of personnel and funds, he will be responsible for proposing annual program goals and budgets to the Foundation and ACLU Boards.

The Executive Director will be responsible for the recruitment and coordination of volunteer experts, advisory bodies, committees and task forces used in developing programs and outlining projects.

3. Communications.

In cooperation with the ACLU staff the Executive Director will be responsible for interpreting the purposes of the Foundation and of its projects (including their relationship to the program of ACLU) to the general public, to community and professional leaders, and to ACLU leadership on national and affiliate levels.

This will include writing or editorial and technical supervision of printed and audio-visual materials; establishing relations with all communications media; and arranging and speaking at meetings and conferences.

4. Fund Raising.

The Executive Director will be responsible for the planning, interpretation and execution of all fund-raising programs for the Foundation.

Fund-raising responsibilities will include:

a. Recruitment to the fund-raising projects of the Foundation of persons with civil liberties expertise and reputations as well as individuals who combine a devotion to civil liberties with personal means and a high potential for philanthropic giving and solicitation. The Executive Director will be expected to coordinate the fund-raising activities of the Foundation with those of ACLU in such a way as to maximize the resources of the Foundation without undercutting the ACLU's sources of income.

b. Establishing relations with the leadership and staffs of established foundations who have, or who, upon cultivation may develop, interests in the Foundation or any of its projects. He will be responsible

for preparing and presenting applications, project designs and budgets for such foundations.

c. Writing, or editorial and technical supervision of brochures, pamphlets, fund-raising letters and other materials designed to inform selected groups of the purposes of the Foundation and its projects and to elicit their support.

Location, travel, salary, benefits.

The Executive Director will work out of the Foundation headquarters in New York. During the early stages of the Foundation's development, most of his time will be spent in that city. However, he must be prepared to travel to all major metropolitan areas to set up metropolitan fund-raising structures, and to interpret the Foundation and its projects to ACLU and other leadership in those areas.

Salary: $20,000. While this salary may be subject to negotiation for unusually qualified applicants, it conforms to the general level of top executive salaries in ACLU. Travel and living expenses in the field will be reimbursed. Employment benefits include a liberal vacation policy, a non-contributory pension plan, group term life insurance plan, major medical and health plan and disability income insurance plan. Relocation expenses will be reimbursed if necessary.

Requirements for Applicants.

Experience at a high level in organizational administration and fund-raising is a prime requisite for this position. Experience in the non-profit field would appear to be most relevant. Special attention will be given to applicants with experience in political, "cause" or educational work, or in the social-action departments of religious organizations.

In addition to proven executive ability, the Executive Director must be imbued with a passion for civil liberties, as well as with the capacity to master and interpret the program of ACLU, and to relate the special functions of the Foundation to it.

Application.

Applicants are requested to submit personal biographical resumes in duplicate, outlining qualifications, salary requirements, education and experience and listing references. On the basis of the information supplied, well qualified applicants will be called for interviews. Applications should be addressed to:

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

File
Amer. Civil Liberties Union New York

June 11, 1968

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Jack:

Relative to your inquiry concerning racial and other designations for the 1970 Census we, here, believe the designations and the data collected by race are absolutely essential.

Incidentally, several of us here have worked to some degree with Dr. Eckler and others of the Census Bureau, and we are convinced of their integrity and competence.

Our own work, particularly with voter registration and welfare programs, has been severely hampered by the difficulties in obtaining statistics by race. There is no doubt

in my mind that the exclusion of this information, sometimes gleefully done by the persons responsible, has become a deliberate tool of discrimination.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

bc: Dr. Ross Eckler
U. S. Dept. of ~~Labor~~ Commerce
Bureau of the Census

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May 29, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
54 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Anthony:

The American Civil Liberties Union has been reconsidering its policy on racial questions in the 1970 Census.

Previously, the ACLU has taken the position that such questions are an invasion of privacy and therefore should not be included in Census questionnaires.

But many of our members, especially those in the field of sociological research, feel strongly that racial data is absolutely essential to government and private programs seeking to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, employment and education, and other areas of American life. Without statistical racial data, programs will be seriously handicapped in the planning stages.

Proponents of including racial questions in the Census point to the absolute confidentiality of Census Bureau records, and to the divorcement of any individual's name from the statistical information. They cite the good use already being made of racial data in existing programs.

The change in policy would apply only to the Census, and not to circumstances which clearly raise the danger of discriminatory use, such as employment applications.

Some members have suggested that the way to solve the problem is to allow answers to racial questions to be voluntary. The ACLU raised this possibility in an interview with Dr. Ross Eckler, chief of the Census Bureau. Dr. Eckler replied that controlled studies following the 1960 Census showed that voluntary answers resulted in whole segments of slum populations not being identified. It should be noted that in practice a person may identify himself however he pleases, and that the Census Bureau does not prosecute for refusal to answer unless the person himself wishes to initiate a test case.

Washington Office: 1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Lawrence Speiser, Director;
Southern Regional Office: 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., Director
With organized affiliates in 38 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

We write to solicit the advice of your organization on these important questions. Your involvement in the field of civil rights and human relations makes your opinion especially pertinent. And, of course, your reply will be kept absolutely confidential and will not be circulated publicly or made known in any public document. It will be used solely as a private guide in formulating our own policy.

Can you tell us then, whether your organization would favor the inclusion of racial designations on the 1970 Census?

Should answers to racial questions be compulsory or should an exception be made for this category to make them voluntary?

What is your opinion of such categories as "white", "non-white", "Puerto Rican", "Oriental", "American Indian"?

If you approve of the general idea of racial questions, but not the categories mentioned above, how would you list the categories?

We do hope you will take the time to counsel us and we look forward to your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

Alan F. Westin

Alan F. Westin
Chairman
Privacy Committee

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LAWRENCE SPEISER
Director

file

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July 23, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful comments in response to our inquiry about racial questions on the 1970 Census.

We are including your remarks in a report on the views of voluntary agencies, and shall circulate it confidentially to members of the ACLU Privacy Committee, which is working to formulate new policy on this question.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Alan F. Westin

Alan F. Westin
Chairman
Privacy Committee

August 20, 1968

Mr. Lauren Selden
Executive Director
Virginia American Civil Liberties Union
1205 West Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Mr. Selden:

It was a pleasure chatting with you last week.

Thanks for the subscription to our magazine and our publication service. Both are entered.

I hope we will have frequent opportunities to work together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia

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August 16, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was a great pleasure meeting you this past Wednesday. I am tremendously impressed with the work of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Boone was most helpful finding material dealing with the penal system.

Enclosed is a check for a subscription to the New South and the Publications Subscription Service. Please enter both in the name of the ACLU of VIRGINIA, 1205 West Main Street, Richmond, Virginia 23220.

8.00
8-19-68
Km

I look forward to close contact with the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Lauren Selden

Lauren Selden, (Mr)
Executive Director, Va. ACLU

LS:mzs
enc.

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American Civil Liberties Union

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 523-2721

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director

file

Dear Staff of SRC —

Thank you very much for the fruit you sent me in the hospital. He was very nice as was the package he delivered, the contents of which we distilled into a thermometer sterilizer which caused survival.

Thanks, very much.

Kindest regards,

Chuck

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LWDL

April 1, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Ruth Alexander
From: Jean Levine

Since February 24, 1965, I have been keeping a running record of the amount of xeroxing we are doing on the SRC machine. I have used 128 sheets of xerox paper since that date and am attaching the ACLU check in the amount of $12.80 to cover the cost of the paper I have used.

Thank you.

jl
cc: Vernon Jordan, Esq.

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American Civil Liberties Union

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 523-2721

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director

Jean Levine
Executive Assistant

June 2, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Leslie W. Dunbar
From: Charles Morgan, Jr.

Les, regarding Nat Welch's idea of providing the United States District Courts with names of qualified Negroes from the counties contained in those districts I think the idea is good. I do think that we should be cautious about the suggestion of names of other than people from a cross-section of the Negro community. For instance, women and men in roughly equal numbers should be suggested, they should not be from a single economic group, and they should be provided in large numbers.

When I say large numbers I mean numbers sufficient to make certain that if they are selected the names of federal court jurors from Frank Johnson's district would be roughly equivalent to the percentage of Negro population in the district. For instance, if we knew how many names of whites were utilized for jury duty from Macon County then we should submit approximately four times that many names of Negroes from Macon County.

In no instance should too few names be suggested so that they might be placed upon the jury rolls in merely a token number, albeit larger than the token number presently contained there.

CM:jl

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This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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LDB7 MB DH ATLANTA GA JUL 14 1965

LESLIE W DUNBAR

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YOUR TELEGRAM JULY 14 TO CHARLES MORGAN CARE STEVE H SCHENER CHILMARK MARTHA VINEYARD MASS IS UNDELIVERED. NO PHONE LISTED

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To CHARLES MORGAN, C/O MR. STEVE H. SCHNER JULY 14 1965

Street and No. CHILMARK

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* MARTHA'S VINEYARD, MASS.

WILL CAN YOU COME TO MY RESCUE? CAN YOU TEACH SOUTHERN POLITICS FOR HAYES MIZELL'S SEMINAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, AUGUST 4 &5? EXPENSES PLUS TINY HONORARIUM. YOUR CHAPTER IN LOUISVILLE NEEDS YOU.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

mJ

REGISTERED

August 19th, 1966

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MRS. FRANK SPENCER

MRS. FREDERICK E. ROBIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Supt. Walter Matthews
Georgia Industrial Institute
Box 194
Alto, Georgia

Dear Supt. Matthews:

You will recall that when I visited with you about the Kirby McCoy case, I mentioned that we might raise the question of the unsuitability of someone of his youth being assigned to Alto.

Before going ahead on this point, we would like to have it investigated by an impartial expert, rather than put anyone associated with the Institute on the spot.

We have been fortunate enough to secure as a consultant for this purpose Mr. John O. Boone, who was for many years Chief of Classification and Parole at both the Atlanta and Terre Haute institutions. He is currently on loan from the federal system as Director of the Crime, Delinquency and Criminal Rehabilitation Project for the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Boone would like to visit Georgia Industrial Institute on Friday, August 26th. His background and experience assure that you will find him sympathetic and knowledgeable about the problems of administration entailed by the special needs of youthful inmates.

I trust that the August 26th date is convenient for you, or whoever is designated to be his guide — especially since his out-of-town schedule is extremely tight. If it is not convenient, would you be kind enough to telephone me, collect, on Monday, August 22nd?

It was an unexpected pleasure seeing you at Jekyll. I do hope you and Mrs. Matthews enjoyed your stay there as much as we did.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Frederick E. Robin
Executive Director

P.S. I called your office today to inquire about the test papers which you asked your secretary to send me. We are most anxious to have a copy of them.

file
~~Dolan~~
A.C.L.U. 2 Yr.

May 15, 1967

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Suite 1422
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Kehrer:

Your letter of May 11th regarding the 1967 Annual Meeting of the ACLU has been received while Mr. Anthony is away on vacation. He will therefore not be in attendance on the 27th.

I am sure Mr. Anthony will be especially sorry not to be able to wish Mrs. Robin farewell before she leaves, and I know he would want you to pass on to her his best wishes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMH

Recd 5/15/67

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MRS. FRANK SPENCER

MRS. FREDERICK E. ROBIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 11th, 1967

Dear A. C. L. U. Member:

The Annual Meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia will take place on Saturday, May 27th at 2 p.m., at the new Atlanta Press Club, 230 Spring Street, N. W., Atlanta.

You can see from the attached program that it will be a working session. Its goal is two-fold:

o To engage our members more actively in every phase of ACLU activity: policy-making, program and ACLU growth and development. This meeting will be a first, giant step forward in that direction.

o To plan next year's program — where we should be going and how to get there.

But although you should come prepared to roll up your sleeves and work, we hope you will stay for some fellowship and fun. After the working session, we shall have a reception for Florence Robin, our Executive Director, who is moving to Baltimore at the end of the month.

The bar will be opened for members to buy drinks and socialize for about an hour and a half. I know Florence is looking forward to greeting you personally and I am sure you want this last opportunity to say hail and farewell.

As your new President, I, too, am anticipating meeting our new members and introducing you to Rusty Kitfield, our new Executive Director, and to Charles Morgan, Jr., the ACLU's Southern Regional Director.

I look forward to seeing you on May 27th.

Sincerely,

E T Kehrer

E. T. Kehrer
President

1967 ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA

2:00 P.M. - PLENARY MEETING

Introduction of new President, ACLU officers and new Executive Director by outgoing President, Hugh W. Gibert

The American Civil Liberties Union:

In the South - Charles Morgan, Jr.
In Georgia - Florence Robin
Looking Ahead - E. T. Kehrer

3:00 P.M. - WORKSHOPS

1. Civil Liberties Education

   Chairman: Ed Ladd
   Resource: Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Sylvan Meyer, Florence Robin
   Reporter: J. Otis Cochran

2. Children Behind Bars

   Chairman: Grace Hamilton
   Resource: Rusty Kitfield, Jean Zorn, Dorothy Gibson
   Reporter: Dr. John Ball

3. Rights of Welfare Recipients

   Chairman: John Glustrom
   Resource: Howard Moore, Karen McCleary, Bill Randall
   Reporter: Patsy Morris

4. Due Process of Law

   Chairman: William Alexander
   Resource: Albert Horn, Charles Morgan, Jr., Hector Black
   Reporter: Alan Bonser

5. Death Penalty

   Chairman: Rev. Oscar McCloud
   Resource: Faye Goldberg, William Stroud, Mike Mahoney
   Reporter: Rev. Milner Ball

4:30 P.M. - PLENARY SESSION REPORTS

Five minute report and recommendations from each of the five workshops

5:00 - 6:30 P.M. - RECEPTION

WORKSHOP ASSIGNMENTS

We have taken the liberty of inviting the members we know something about -- either through an expressed interest or from their professional backgrounds -- to participate in a particular workshop. They will find their names, listed alphabetically below. If you find yourself so listed, but would prefer assignment to another workshop, please indicate this on the enclosed coupon.

We ask those members we have not yet had the pleasure of knowing to fill out the coupon and indicate which workshop they prefer. Please give us a second choice, too.

Civil Liberties Education

Paul Anthony
George Beiswanger
Helen Bullard
Milton Chaiken
David Comer
Constance Curry
Al Dale
Abram Eisenman
Bruce Galphin
William George
Hugh Gibert
Mrs. J.C. Harris
Margaret Hurst
Leah Janus
Tobe Johnson
Vernon Jordan
Marilyn Kindrick
Kieve Landesberg
John Lawton
Margaret Long
Thayer Martin
Martin J. Morand
Robert Moscow
Ralf Munster
Judy Neiman
Eliza Paschall
Henry Pratt
Arlie Schardt
Emory Via
Marvin Wall

Abolition of the Death Penalty

L. B. Abbey
Thomas Altizer
Harvey Beal
Franziska Boas
Frances Breeden
H. Stuart Dulpepper
Mrs. F. B. Drake
Clarence Elsas
Elaine Feig
Ted Fisher
Phoebe Franklin
Vincent Harding
Dr. Margaret Heinz
Dr. V. W. Henderson
Butler Henderson
Jeannette Hume
Kay Hocking
Dr. Sidney Isenberg
Rev.Clifton Hoffman
P. Walter Jones
Mrs. M.L.King, Jr.
Dr. Alex McPhedran
Charlotte Moran
Frances Newman
Rev. Frank M. Ross
James O'H. Sanders
Dale M. Schwartz
Mrs. Philip Shulhafer
George Wheeler
Josephine Wilkins

Children Behind Bars

Ronald B. Bailey
Rev.Harwood Bartlett
Alpha A. Bond
Dean B.R.Brazeal
Beryl D. Burns
Mrs. James Boyd
Paul Farmer
Mrs. Sara Flint
Mrs. Rossie Gilmore
Mrs. Harry Gershon
H. Eugene Hall
Dr.Henry Harsch
Mrs. Hilda Henry
John D.Humphries Jr.
W. S. Hutchings
Helen King
Shirley Kuniansky
Dr. Alex.Langmuir
Muriel Lokey
Stephen Mayer
Sarah Mitchell
Mrs. W. Oettinger
Elizabeth Reed
Eleanor Richardson
Dr. Albert Rodwan
Dr. Wm.Rottersman
Dr. Geo. Sanborn
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Edith Varon

(more)

WORKSHOP ASSIGNMENTS, CONTINUED

Rights of Welfare Recipients

L. E. Abbey
Dr. Jack Alexander
Dr. Clarence Bacote
George Blau
Betty O'Berry
Dr. C. C. Clements
Noyes Collinson
Leon S. Eplan
Dr. Bernard Fields
Merle Foeckler
William Frey
Winifred Green
Mrs. Herman Heyman
L. S. Johnson, Jr.
Lewis King
Slater H. King
Norman E. Kowal
Jean Levine
Barbara Lipschutz
Dr. A. E. Manley
Father John Mulroy
Frances Pauley
Revelle Pergament
Melvin Rechtman
Mike Reily
Virginia Shields
David J. Snider
Lillian Spencer
Richard L. Stevens
Mrs. E. K. Taylor
LaConstance Taylor
H. D. Thomas

Due Process of Law

Joseph Airov
Julian Bond
Emmet Bondurant
Alexander Cocalis
Harry L. DeLung
Mike DeVito
Madge Feild
Neal C. Gillespie
Denny L. Gore
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Louis Regenstein
Morgan Stanford
C. Mildred Thompson

(Please note that in a husband-wife membership, we have listed only one spouse to save space. But of course, husbands are expected to bring wives, and vice versa.)

- -

I shall _____ attend the ACLU Annual Meeting on Saturday, May 27 at 2 p.m. at the new Atlanta Press Club, 230 Spring St., N. W.

I have not yet been assigned to a workshop. I would like to be in the one on _____. My second choice is _____

I have been assigned to the workshop on _____

but would prefer the one on _____

Name _____

FROM

_____

_____

_____

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
OF GEORGIA

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Post Office Box 1778
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115
September 23, 1968

Mr. Matthew Perry
1107 1/2 Washington Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Perry:

At our regular Executive Committee meeting of the Orangeburg Branch of the NAACP held Sunday, September 22 it was discussed and voted upon that a formal letter be written to you asking that a firm reply as to the status of the bond money be given this Branch. It was also made clear that the Orangeburg Branch realizes that your fee will be borned by the Orangeburg Branch. Also mentioned that out of this money the State Conference had an interest as well as the National Office. This money has been held since 1963. At current interest rates this money would have brought us more than $400 per year interest.

While we realize the many duties that you are called upon to perform throughout the state, we feel that the Orangeburg Branch has been done an injustice in the light of the court decisions making this money refundable.

In order that we may have a written statement from your office for presentation to our Executive Committee, we are asking that by return mail you please outline the stages that have been taken by your office so that if this money is still being withheld by the City, proper legal action will be taken by the courts.

Very truly yours,

C. H. Thomas, President
Orangeburg Branch, NAACP

CHT:w

cc: Mr. A. W. Holman
Mr. I. D. Newman
Mr. Gloster Current
Mr. J. E. Sulton

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1107½ WASHINGTON STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29202

LINCOLN C. JENKINS, JR.
MATTHEW J. PERRY
HEMPHILL P. PRIDE, II

TELEPHONE
252-7278
P. O. BOX 838

September 26, 1968

Dr. Charles H. Thomas
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Thomas:

As I recently advised the secretary of the Orangeburg Branch of N.A.A.C.P., we have appeared before the Presiding Judge at Orangeburg and expect early dismissals of the cases and return of the bail bonds which were posted. When the money is secured, it will be placed in my hands for return to the sources from which it came, less attorney fees and expenses.

It is my understanding that some of the money is to be returned to Mr. James Sulton, Treasurer of the Orangeburg Movement. Some of the money is to be returned to the South Carolina Conference of Branches, N.A.A.C.P. A portion of the money is to be returned to the National Office of N.A.A.C.P. It may be appropriate for all of the above groups to agree upon the precise amounts each contributed. If there is disagreement concerning the manner of distribution as I understand that it should be, please advise me.

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW J. PERRY

MJP:f

CC: Rev. A. W. Holman
Rev. I. D. Newman
Mr. Gloster Current
Mr. J. E. Sulton

Copy in file 3/17/69

LAW OFFICES
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Answer from M. Perry Regarding Bond money

COLUMBIA, S.C.
-PM
20 SEP
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Copies to S.C. State College
S & A President
1/20/69
CHT Jr.

also copy to Carl Clark
3/17/69

Dr. Charles H. Thomas

South Carolina State College

Orangeburg, South Carolina

bc: Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., Orangeburg, S. C.

file aclu
cc ref:
Atl Const.
Att: McGill Ltr to
Pa re Private Ray.

MEMORANDUM January 29, 1969

To: Charles Morgan
A. C. L. U.

From: Paul Anthony

This will followup our conversation of Friday concerning the situation in Orangeburg. The following information was related to me by Dr. C. H. Thomas, and should ACLU be in a position to help I believe he would be the person to start with. He may be reached by mail at South Carolina State College, office phone: (803) 534-6560, ext. 236, or home phone: 534-5313.

As I understand it some $14,000 dollars are tied up in bail money since 1963 and the large number of persons arrested at that time are still under the inconvenience of having a trial pending. A judgetin Orangeburg has indicated his willingness to sign an order dismissing these cases and the City Attorney has indicated his desire to return these funds under proper legal procedure.

Thanks for any help you can give us on this one.

The Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, Inc.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

5 FORSYTH STREET, NW
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
(404) 524-0386

Rec'd 6/12/69 mf

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director

Reber F. Boult, Jr.
Staff Counsel

June 10, 1969

Dr. C. H. Thomas
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Thomas:

Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council has mentioned the problem of the bail money that has been tied up in Orangeburg since 1963 and the possibility that the money could be returned. He asked whether we would be in a position to help with the matter and suggested that we get in touch with you to find out the details.

If you would let us know what the situation is, we could then determine what, if anything, we could do, or perhaps suggest some course of action.

Yours very truly,

R F Boult Jr

Reber F. Boult, Jr.

RFB:rnf

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

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file

June 16, 1969

Mr. Reber F. Boult, Jr.
The Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, Inc.
Southern Regional Office
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boult:

I have your letter of June 10, 1969, which had to do with the problem of bail money tied up in Orangeburg.

The enclosed copies of letters to and from Mr. M. J. Perry, attorney might give you sufficient grounds to made a decision. Acutally, I have had no further personnal contacts with Mr. Perry since the letters. But I have passed copies to students and staff members here at State College, and I think their contacts have failed to yield results also.

The city attorney is Mr. C. W. Limehouse who has indicated many times over the past years, his willingness to cooperate, but the fault simply lies with our attorney. In fact Mr. Limehouse has expressed to me his desire to actually clear the matter, and I think that he has instructed attorneys as to specific steps to get the money.

Thank you for your interest, and for doing what you can in this matter.

Sincerely,

C. H. Thomas, Jr.

Charles H. Thomas, Jr.
Professor of Education

CHTJr/haa
Enclosure
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

American Committee on Africa, Inc.

28 East 35th Street • New York 16, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-3440

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Sept 17 PC 56
Mr. Houser x N.b.
Sept 20

RECEIVED SEP 17 1956

September 13, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the present time we have in this country under our auspices the outstanding African leader from Kenya, Tom Mboya. I am enclosing a leaflet which we have issued with some information about him. He is presently on his tour through the country. Back in August I wrote to Dean Brazeal at Morehouse and to Mr. J. H. Calhoun, president of the NAACP in Georgia, about the fact that I hoped Mr. Mboya would be able to come to Atlanta. Because of the problem of summer I did not receive final letters from them about whether they saw ways in which Mboya could be effectively used in Atlanta. I have heard from both of them but I am supposed to hear again. For two reasons I am very anxious to have Tom Mboya get to Atlanta at least briefly.

First, there is no question about the fact that Mboya will be the outstanding African leader in Kenya upon his return. He has made a tremendous impression wherever he has gone thus far in his tour. He has had wide publicity in the press and has been on innumerable television and radio programs. There has been a universal reaction that he is a man of outstanding quality. Therefore I think that if you can use someone in any way around Atlanta for a couple of days who can speak with real authority about what is happening in Africa and more particularly in Kenya, Mboya is the best possible person you could get.

Second, I am anxious that Tom Mboya have a chance to glimpse the South at least briefly before his trip ends.

His schedule here is very crowded. I am trying to

save the dates, September 30th and October 1st, for Atlanta. I do hope he can be utilized effectively at that time.

I am wondering if you can be of any assistance. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser

GMH/cr

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cable:
AMCOMMAF

American Committee on Africa

FOUR WEST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • LA 4-9738

George M. Houser
Executive Director

June 10, 1958

Dear Friend:

I am pleased to tell you that our Committee has just completed its selection of the observer who will attend the treason trial in South Africa. You know through our previous letters that 91 persons of various races will be tried for treason for "hampering or hindering" certain laws passed by the South African government to strengthen the apartheid structure.

We are deeply indebted to you for your help in financing the "Observer Project." I know you will understand why we cannot disclose who the person is at this time. I can tell you that he is widely-known and highly respected in legal and scholarly circles; he has a reputation for being an outstanding guardian of justice.

Those of us in the Committee are proud that the trip can be made on behalf of so many supporters. The presence of the observer at the trial will indicate undeniable American concern. Needless to say, the trial will evoke international interest, and at the earliest possible moment we will announce the observer, together with his first-hand, authoritative reports of the court action.

But now we face the summer when the trial is scheduled to begin. There may be endless delays and spiraling costs. These are beyond our control. We will have accomplished the greater part of our task - providing for the observer should the trial begin on time. The question is: will we be prepared to offset any emergency that could arise? We don't know, but we must be ready, for a very great deal is at stake.

The "Observer Project" will be handled successfully, but it will place a great strain on our limited treasury and leave us with a summer deficit. Therefore, if you haven't contributed to this appeal, won't you enclose your contribution today?

Donald Harrington

P.S. If you have contributed to the "Observer Project" but want to continue to help, please pass this appeal on to a friend.

American Committee on Africa, Inc. D

4 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y.

I enclose my contribution of $.....

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Please make checks payable to: American Committee on Africa, Inc.
Application for tax exemption is pending.

347

WALL STREET JOURNAL Ted Shaw

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November 15-16, 1954

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THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN EQUALIZING OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

J. Lee Rankin
Assistant Attorney General
of the United States

The previous speakers have discussed the current status of equality of opportunity in the field of higher education and new factors affecting equality of opportunity. I have been asked to discuss the role of the Supreme Court in the undoubted progress that has been made in recent years.

In examining the evolution and impact of Supreme Court doctrine in the field, I think it is important to understand that the role of the Court is here, as in most areas, both of a negative and affirmative nature. In the first place, the Supreme Court, under our constitutional system, expresses itself only in connection with the decision of a "case or controversy".[1] This means that no matter how significant or controversial an issue may be, the Court cannot speak unless there has been presented to it a specific lawsuit in which parties with adverse interests seek a judicial resolution. The Supreme Court at an early date in its history advised President Washington that it considered it improper to respond to his request for an advisory opinion.[2] And a lawsuit does not normally get to the Supreme Court unless the parties bring it there by way of review of a lower court decision, and the Supreme Court agrees to a review. As a result it is not surprising to find that the Supreme Court decisions dealing with equality in education are relatively few in number and distributed over the years. Of course, I do not mean to imply that the role of the Supreme Court has been negligible. The Court is after all the highest tribunal of the nation - as one of its present members has said: "The Court is the final authority in adjusting the relationships of the individual to the separate states, of the individual to the United States, of the forty-eight states to one another, and of the states to the Union.[3] The decisions of the Court have undoubtedly served

in no small measure to influence the path along which equality in educational opportunity has developed in this country. It has been recently said by an authoritative commentator that "All the Southern universities firmly excluded Negro students until the Supreme Court had systematically undercut the legal basis of their admission policies."[4] In the brief time allotted, I shall endeavor to trace this development.

The constitutional basis for the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field has been the Fourteenth Amendment - in particular the clause of the Amendment providing that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws". As you know, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868. Recent research into the contemporaneous history of the Fourteenth Amendment has revealed little evidence dealing specifically with the question of whether it was understood to apply to racial discrimination in education; there is ample evidence, however, that the amendment was understood to establish as a broad constitutional principle the full and complete equality of all persons under the law, and that it forbade all state-imposed legal distinctions based on race or color.[5] In one of the earliest decisions on the amendment, the Strauder case in 1880,[6] in which the Court held that a state could not, by virtue of the "equal protection clause", keep Negroes from serving as jurors, it observed that the clause was intended to give to Negroes as a race "the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored, - exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race.[7]

In the face of this pronouncement concerning the broad sweep of the Fourteenth Amendment, logic might lead us to believe that the courts generally would conclude that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade the states from having racially-segregated schools. But, as Justice Holmes observed with his customary insight, it is a fallacy to think that "the only force at work in the development of the law is logic".[8]

During the period following the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment the school rights of colored children were litigated in state courts in a number of cases.[9] Some of them, on the basis of state constitutional and statutory provisions, held that segregation was illegal; others held that the Fourteenth Amendment had no bearing on such exclusively state matters as education, and others held that the amendment permitted segregation. It is possible that since public education was regarded as a privilege conferred by the state, rather than as a right due the citizen, and was wholly supported by state taxation, the courts may have considered that public schools were wholly within the jurisdiction and discretionary control of each state and therefore unaffected by the Fourteenth Amendment.

In any event, we come to a landmark decision which endured for half-a-century - the case of Plessy v. Ferguson,[10] decided by the Supreme Court in 1896. The case involved the question whether a Louisiana statute requiring railway companies to provide equal but separate accommodations for white and Negro passengers in their cars ran counter to the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court held it did not, over the protest of Justice Harlan who thought that under the Civil War amendments

"our Constitution is color-blind".[11] In the course of its opinion the Court stated that laws requiring the separation of the races in public places did not imply the inferiority of either race to the other and had been generally recognized as a lawful exercise by state legislatures of their police power. And especially significant to this discussion, the Court observed that:

> The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.[12]

It was thus that the Supreme Court approved as constitutionally permissible the doctrine that in the field of public education schools could be maintained on a racially-segregated basis provided only that they were equal. We should note, however, that the question of when schools were equal was not before the Court and was not discussed.

As an indication of the spirit of the times, it is of some interest that the Plessy case gave rise to little discussion on the part of the legal profession. In the only comment I have found, made some years later, it was merely mentioned as the culmination of a series of Supreme Court decisions witnessing "a steady extinction through the process of construction" of the rights which it was thought that the Fourteenth Amendment had conferred upon the Negro and that this process was "coeval with the reaction of public sentiment from its tone when the results of the Civil War made the Negro race virtual wards of the national government".[13] The Plessy case was, nevertheless, considered by the lower courts as effectually settling the question of segregated public schools.[14] And in the Berea College case in 1908,[15] the Supreme Court held that a state could impose on a private corporation maintaining a college a requirement that Negroes should not be admitted to the same school attended by white students.

So stood the Supreme Court for more than forty years, until 1939 when Chief Justice Hughes delivered the opinion of the Court in the Gaines case.[16] There for the first time the Court not only squarely applied its dicta in equality of treatment by the state but also set a rigorous standard of equality. But Plessy still stood as constitutional doctrine. The case involved the system of so-called scholarship laws established by a number of Southern and border states.[17] These laws provided grants to enable Negro students to take in out-of-state institutions courses not available to them in the Negro colleges in their own state. The Supreme Court announced that this system did not satisfy the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The precise question was the right of a Negro to be admitted to the law school maintained by Missouri for white students when the state had no separate law school for Negro students. The Court said that while its decisions, including Plessy v. Ferguson, sustained the validity of furnishing equal facilities for higher education in separate schools, it was necessary for such facilities to be presently available within the state and not in some other state. As the Court put it, the obligation is one "the burden of which cannot be cast by one State upon another, and no State can be excused from performance by what another State may do or fail to do",

and the fact that there was "but a limited demand in Missouri for the legal education of negroes"[18] was immaterial since the constitutional right involved was "a personal one".[19] The Court applied the same doctrine nine years later in the Sipuel case,[20] holding that Oklahoma was required to furnish legal education for Negroes as soon as it did for white students.

An even more momentous step was taken by the Court in 1950 in Sweatt v. Painter,[21] again involving the right to a legal education, this time at the University of Texas Law School. It would seem that by its earlier decisions in the Gaines and Sipuel cases the Supreme Court had succeeded in convincing at least some states that if they provided graduate and professional educational facilities for their white citizens they had to provide the same facilities for their Negro citizens. But the case has a more positive significance. Here for the first time, the Federal Government, through the Department of Justice, raised its voice. The Solicitor General not only advised the Court that the case was a "test (of) the vitality and strength of the democratic ideals to which the United States is dedicated" but that the Court should repudiate the "separate but equal" doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson "as an unwarranted deviation from the principle of equality under law which the Fourteenth Amendment explicitly incorporated in the fundamental charter of this country".[22] In an opinion by Chief Justice Vinson the Court held that although it was unnecessary for the decision of the controversy to re-examine the Plessy case "in the light of contemporary knowledge respecting the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment and the effects of racial segregation",[23] the equal protection clause of the amendment required the admission of the Negro petitioner to the University of Texas Law School since the legal education offered him at the separate law school for Negroes maintained by Texas was not substantially equal to that which he would receive at the University of Texas Law School. This, the Court said, was due not only to such tangible inequalities as number of faculty, variety of courses, library facilities and the like, but to inequalities "which are incapable of measurement but which make for greatness in a law school", including "reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige".[24] And, finally, foreshadowing its decisions this year, the Court said that educational opportunities in law could not be equal where there were excluded from the Negro school "members of the racial groups which number 85% of the population of the State and include most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges and other officials with whom the petitioner will inevitably be dealing when he becomes a member of the Texas bar".[25]

And in the McLaurin case,[26] decided on the same day as Sweatt v. Painter, the Court again emphasized the need for real equality of opportunity in the field of higher education. This need, it held, was not satisfied when the State admitted McLaurin, a Negro, to a graduate school established for white students but required him to sit at a desk in the classroom in a row specified for colored students; and at special tables in the library and the school cafeteria. These restrictions, said the Court, impaired and inhibited McLaurin's "ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession"; this was particularly serious since McLaurin was seeking an advanced degree in education "to become * * * a leader and trainer of others".[27]

It is apparent that these decisions inflicted severe but not fatal injuries on the Plessy doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities in public education. Yet the doctrine, although tottering, was still standing. In its last words on the subject the Supreme Court had declined to re-examine Plessy. Nevertheless, was it not clear that the Court could not long delay such an inquiry? And, of course, no such delay has occurred. In May 1954 the Court in two historic unanimous opinions delivered by Chief Justice Warren expressly rejected the 50-year old doctrine of "separate but equal" in the field of public education, holding with respect to the States that it did not satisfy the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment,[28] and with respect to the District of Columbia, the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.[29] Altogether there were five cases before the Court, four from the States - South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, and Kansas, and one from the District of Columbia. In each instance Negro children had been denied admission to public schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. And in each case, except Delaware, the lower courts had denied relief under the Plessy doctrine; in the Delaware case, the lower court also had adhered to that doctrine but ordered admission to the white schools because it found that they were superior to the Negro schools.

The Chief Justice, after pointing out that the history of the Fourteenth Amendment, with respect to segregated schools, was inconclusive, said that the question had to be resolved not in the light of 1896 conditions but in the light of present-day conditions. Stating that education today "is the very foundation of good citizenship" and "a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment", the Court held that where the State undertakes to provide an opportunity for education it had to be "made available to all on equal terms".[30] This, it said, was not done when schools were separate even though physically equal. Modern psychological authority amply supported a finding, the Court held, that segregation with the sanction of law had a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated system. Accordingly, the Court concluded that:

> "in the field of public education the (Plessy) doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, * * * the plaintiffs * * * are by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."[31]

However, because of the wide applicability of the decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the Court felt that it should hear further argument on the question of appropriate relief, that is, whether the Court should order the Negro children admitted forthwith to white schools or whether it could, and if so in what manner - permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions.[32] These questions are scheduled for argument before the Court early next month. Not only will the parties in the cases participate, and many of the States having segregation in the public schools, but also the Attorney General through the Department of Justice.

While, of course, we cannot predict what the Supreme Court will do - whether it will order an immediate end of segregation or will permit a gradual transition to integrated schools, the end of racial distinctions in the public schools of the Nation is in sight. I am confident that its last vestiges will soon disappear, and equally confident that, with the vigorous attacks being made in other fields, segregation whenever it is supported by the State will suffer a like fate.

It is a commonplace with lawyers to speculate as to the undisclosed basis for a court decision. As a lawyer, I too have indulged in some speculation. To my way of thinking, the Court could not be satisfied with any other decision. In addition to the recognition of the fundamental rights being infringed, the Court may well have been influenced by the world position of the United States. How could the United States draw together the forces of freedom if other peoples were presented with a domestic panorama of racial discrimination imposed by law, or having the sanction or support of Government? Was this not an inescapable challenge to the sincerity of our espousal of the cause of freedom? The national Government, as President Eisenhower so eloquently stated in August 1953, was committed to using its power "wherever it clearly extends, to combat and erase racial discrimination and segregation - so that no man of any color or creed will ever be able to cry, 'This is not a free land.'"[33] How could the Supreme Court impede the march forward? This was 1954, not 1896. And, of course, the Court, in my judgment, recognized the evident truths. Nor can it be denied, despite the rantings of the Soviet press,[34] that the Court in striking down the shameful spectacle of American youth separated in the public schools solely because of the color of their skins, has significantly advanced the cause of equal rights before the law throughout the world as well as in our own country.

Footnotes

1. See U. S. Constitution, Article III, Section 2; Hughes, The Supreme Court of the United States (1928), p. 30; Aetna Life Ins. Co. v. Haworth, 300 U. S. 227 (1937).

2. Warren, The Supreme Court in United States History (1937), Vol. I, pp. 108-111.

3. Frankfurter, Mr. Justice Holmes and the Supreme Court (1938), p. 5.

4. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (1954), p. 40.

5. For a comprehensive discussion of the contemporaneous evidence see the Supplemental Brief of the United States on reargument in the school segregation cases, Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), No. 1, Oct. Term, 1953.

6. Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U. S. 303.

7. Id., p. 308.

8. Holmes, The Path of the Law, 10 Harv. L. Rev. 457, 465 (1897).

9. See the Government's brief, in Brown v. Board of Education, supra, pp. 100-104.

10. 163 U. S. 537.

11. Id., p. 559.

12. Id., at p. 544.

13. Dake, The Negro Before the Supreme Court, 66 Albany Law Journ. 238, 246-247 (1904).

14. See, for example, Wall v. Oyster, 36 App. D. C. 50 (1910); Dameron v. Bayless, 14 Ariz. 180 (1912); Burnside v. Douglas School Dist., 33 Ariz. 1 (1927); Reynolds v. Board of Education, 66 Kan. 672 (1903); McFarland v. Goins, 96 Miss. 67 (1909); Johnson v. Board of Education, 166 N. C. 468 (1914); Tucker v. Blease, 97 S. C. 303 (1914).

15. Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U. S. 45.

16. Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, 305 U. S. 337.

17. See Mangum, The Legal Status of the Negro (1940), p. 107.

18. Id., p. 350.

19. Id., p. 351.

20. Sipuel v. Board of Regents, 332 U. S. 631 (per curiam, 1948).

21. 339 U. S. 629.

22. Memorandum for the United States as amicus curiae, No. 44, October Term, 1949.

23. Id., p. 636.

24. Id., p. 634.

25. 339 U. S. at p. 634.

26. McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U. S. 637 (1950).

27. Id., p. 641.

28. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483.

29. Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U. S. 497.

30. 347 U. S. at p. 493.

31. Id., p. 495.

32. Id., pp. 495-496.

33. "Report to the Nation", a radio address delivered from the White House on August 6, 1953.

34. See Kondrashev in Izvestia, June 23, 1954.

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
MILTON I. GOLDSTEIN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

RECEIVED 11/24/54 Southern Regional Council

MEMO TO: George Mitchell

FROM: Helen F. Schwartz

DATE: November 22, 1954

Thanks for having me at the ACE meeting on behalf of the SRC. There are several reasons why I say this; I enjoyed it, I learned some new things, met some new people, and being there enabled me to spend more time with a good friend than I would have been able to otherwise.

I'm sending you copies of the major presentations, along with a list of participants. The resolutions passed will be distributed later. When I look at the conference as a whole, it was neither very stimulating or very dull, rather it was just about what one would expect. The major concern was on integration, but economic barriers to equal opportunity were also constantly stressed, along with some others which would not be of particular interest to the SRC.

The good friend who was here for the conference was Margaret Dagen, representing two colleges in Louisville. She told me she had had some conversations with Mr. Parish in Louisville about the SRC's state set up in Kentucky. She's interested, very interested, in the job and I think it would be difficult to find a better qualified person.

I don't know how much you know about Maggie's background and activities, even I hadn't a clear picture until she and her husband were about to leave for Louisville and a few of us got up a small testimonial luncheon. She's taught on the university and high school levels, labor relations, human relations, and some other high school subjects. She was, I think I'm safe in saying, the outstanding teacher in the St. Louis area, working with young people through Human Relations Clubs in the schools and our local Intergroup Youth Project. She has given real leadership to CORE's program here, resulting in its being one of the most successful (and respectable) in the country. Her work in labor education here and for many years in the summer in Kentucky has given her all kinds of experiences with all kinds of people, rural, lower socio-economic groups, etc.

Copied 12/22/54 to Hugh Barron Parrish Tydings & G.T.H.

She seems to build rapport with people very easily and rapidly, and incidently has a sort of fifth sense about Communists. CORE has had problems elsewhere with infiltration but not here. Maggie is familiar enough with their tactics to spot them fast. She's also familiar with most of the literature and materials in the field of human relations and has done some creative thinking in devising usable techniques in our field.

I had no intention of writing at such length, but even so I have the feeling there are probably qualifying factors I've forgotten to mention

about her. You can see I'm really enthusiastic about her abilities. I think she's a good enough person to carry out the program of what I think is the best organization south of the Mason-Dixon line.

My very best regards, and thanks again for asking me to represent the SRC.

HFS/ml
Enclosures

American Council on Education meeting

November 30, 1954

Mrs. Myron Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Building
Saint Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Schwartz:

You were a good egg to trot along to all the meetings. I am glad you found them interesting. It was a real help to us to be represented. I have looked through most of the speeches, particularly Harry Carmen's and Dan Dodson's, and got some flavor of what went on.

Margaret Dagen I know quite well. If the Kentucky people pick her I feel sure we would be on her side.

Nice to see Myron in Boston.

Goodness knows when I will get to St. Louis, but the two of you are by long odds my best friends thereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
MILTON I. GOLDSTEIN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

Ann C. on Ed,

MEMO TO: George S. Mitchell

FROM: Helen F. Schwartz

DATE: October 6, 1954

I shall be very happy to attend the ACE conference here November 15 and 16. It should be an interesting experience and the requested "notelet" will be forthcoming afterwards.

My very warmest regards.

Helen

HFS/ml

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

October 4, 1954

Mrs. Myron Schwartz
c/o Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Building
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Helen:

Here's a request from the American Council on Education for somebody here to go to a meeting in St. Louis in mid-November.

It is a bit far for us, and the $50.00 transportation provision does not tempt us. Could we ask you to represent the Southern Regional Council and go?

I have written Mr. Brown as enclosed.

If it is all right with you to go, suppose you fill out the postcard and send it on to B'rer' Brown.

We wouldn't need any report, but you might, when you get through, write us a notelet and tell us if anything useful came up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 19, 1955

Mr. Francis J. Brown
Director
Committee on the Leaders Program
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brown:

Glad to help and appreciate being asked.

Here is the form.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

COMMITTEE ON THE LEADERS PROGRAM
of the American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Telephone HUdson 3-6620

August 16, 1955

AUG 19 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Department of State has asked the American Council on Education's Committee on the Leaders Program to be responsible for planning the program of a number of Leaders who are interested in the broad field of social welfare. Their specific interests will include: youth activities, recreation, family life and counselling, organizational programs, social service and other related fields.

You are familiar with the Leaders Program through your cooperation with the National Social Welfare Assembly through whose courtesy we procured your name. I hope that we may continue to have the same cooperation which you gave to the staff of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

There is no financial obligation involved in relation to a Leader. We provide his inter-city transportation and also give him $12.00 a day for expenses. We also have a small amount which we can use to reimburse a sponsor for out-of-pocket expenses not a part of normal hospitality. These might include such items as: long distance telephone calls concerning a Leaders program, or car expenses (7¢ a mile) for an extended trip or meeting him at an airport some distance away.

The number of Leaders sent to a sponsor will vary but we make every effort to spread the responsibility as much as possible. It would vary from only one or two, between now and June 30, 1956, to fifteen or twenty. You will note the form provides a space for you to indicate the number you would be willing to handle per month.

Enclosed is a brochure describing the portion of the Leaders Program for which we have responsibility. I am enclosing also a form. If you are willing to serve as a sponsor please fill out the form and return it to me at your early convenience.

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

F J Brown

Francis J. Brown
Director

February 26, 1956

Dr. Arthur J. Mekeel
Committee on the Leaders Program
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Mekeel:

Miss Qureshi duly came and went away Thursday morning to Chehaw and Tuskegee. She was a delightful guest and we are glad we had her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 16, 1957

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

Running into you at the Washington meeting was a very pleasant surprise for me after all these years. I have always admired the way you kept at the good work in Montgomery, and I am glad to know you are in a position to continue promoting the good things of life.

Your comment on the rhubarb with the Advertiser did our hearts good. We also think New South was right in the first place. But maybe we at least did a good turn by smoking Mr. Hall out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

April 11, 1957

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was a great pleasure for me to see you briefly here at the meeting last week. I enjoyed your participation in the program and feel confident that you will make a splendid contribution as the new Executive Director of the Council. Congratulations and best wishes on your promotion!

I have just read the "Notes" on page 2 of your March issue of New South. As a former editor of The Advertiser who has kept a rather close watch on its policy in the last two years, may I say that I think New South was right in the first place!

Sincerely,

Charlie

Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate

File

Committee on Leaders and Specialists
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

December 30, 1957

Dr. Warren T. Jackson
2255 Westminster Way, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Warren:

Just a note to say that I will be staying at the Georgia Hotel instead of the Piedmont Hotel during my stay in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

FJB

Francis J. Brown
Director

cc: J. L. Baugham
Horace Bond
Joseph Borches
Richard Brunell
Rufus E. Clement
John A. Griffin
J. W. Mason
George S. Mitchell
Ralph McGrill
Dean A. A. McPheeters
Robert M. Shearer

RECEIVED DEC 23 1957

Committee on Leaders and Specialists
of the American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
Telephone HUdson 3-6821

December 20, 1957

Dr. Warren T. Jackson
2255 Westminster Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Warren:

A conference dealing with local programming of Leaders and Specialists is being convoned in Denver, Colorado, on January 9 and 10, 1958. I am planning to spend some time before and following the conference visiting several centers which our grantees visit. It is my hope that in each place there willbe opportunity provided either on an individual or a group for me to talk both with the sponsor and contact persons we have used and other individuals who have been helpful to our sponsors in both professional appointments and home hospitality.

I will arrive in Atlanta, Georgia, Delta Airlines, flight #902 at 9:56 P. M. on Tuesday, January 14, and will leave on Eastern Airlines, flight #518 on Thursday, January 16 at 6:05 P. M. for Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina. I have a hotel reservation at the Piedmont Hotel which is the one we regularly use for our grantees.

We have also used the following persons to which copies of this letter are being sent:

J. L. Baugham, Southern Director, International Woodworkers of America, 95 Merritt Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
Horace Bond, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Joseph Borches, Chief, Special Training Service, Communicable Disease Center, U. S. Public Health Service, 50 - 7th Street, Atlanta, Georgia
Richard Brunell, Atlanta Art Institute, 1262 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia
John A. Griffin, Director, Community Educational Services, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia
J. W. Mason, Dean of Engineering, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia
✓ George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia
Dean A. A. McPheeters, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia

Robert M. Shearer, 3464 Glensford Drive, Decatur, Georgia

I am sure that either Dr. Clement or Mr. Mitchell will be glad to be of whatever assistance you wish.

I hesitate to make this additional request but I am sure that any contacts you can make for me during the time I am in your city will be in the best interest of the exchange program.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Francis J. Brown
Director

cc: J. L. Baugham
Horace Bond
Joseph Borches
Richard Brunell
Rufus E. Clement
John A. Griffin
J. W. Mason
George S. Mitchell
Ralph McGill
Dean A. A. McPheeters
Robert M. Shearer

March 30, 1959

Mr. Robert L. Abbey
Program Specialist
Committee on Leaders and Specialists of the
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Abbey:

Thank you for your good letter of the 15th. It is welcomed news to know that Mr. Blake will return to this country as a student and that you will continue to help him. Certainly the follow-up and long range contact by the Committee must greatly increase the value of the program.

Your comments concerning our help were indeed generous, and we are grateful. We will be happy to be of any possible help as the need may arise.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

COMMITTEE ON LEADERS AND SPECIALISTS
of the American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.
Telephone HUdson 3-6621

March 25, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your fine letter of December 23 regarding Mr. Thomas A. Blake of Sierra Leone deserved a much more prompt response. I want you to know, however, that we greatly appreciate your thoughtful handling of Mr. Blake's program in Atlanta last December and your taking the time to give us your detailed reactions. They were of great help to me in preparing my evaluative report on Mr. Blake's visit. Possibly, I was a little more optimistic than you, but in most respects your impressions and mine are in close accord.

I came to the conclusion that Mr. Blake's apparent casualness is deceptive and that his unresponsiveness may have been due to an underlying uneasiness about how he was going to be received and treated here in the United States, in view of his color. His initial reaction to racial discrimination, when he himself was the victim, seems to have been that of bitterness, and that seems to have been his attitude when he arrived in Atlanta. I think, however, that the excellent program that you arranged for him in Atlanta and the long, frank talks we had with him here in Washington may have helped give him a little more perspective. We did not try, in any way, to cover up our shortcomings nor to make excuses. Indeed, we agreed with him that the racial question was perhaps the most critical problem that the United States faces today and that discrimination is a 'luxury' that we can ill afford. Despite his personal feelings, he seemed to realize that there are many white Americans of good-will who not only disapprove strongly of second-class citizenship for Negroes but also are determined to do something about it.

Perhaps I wouldn't have been that optimistic if I hadn't received a letter from Mr. Blake, shortly after he returned to Sierra Leone, telling me that he had had "a wonderful time in America" and that he definitely was thinking of returning to the United States in the not too distant future to study international relations and prepare himself for a diplomatic career. He severed his connections with the Daily Mail on his way home and now is in charge of the News Section of the Public Information Department of the government of Sierra Leone. Of course, his desire to return to the United States is not in any way proof of friendliness towards the United States, but it would seem to be another encouraging sign that his experiences here were not entirely unfavorable.

Perhaps we could have avoided some of the difficulties we had in Mr. Blake's case if we had done a better job of briefing him and giving him a better idea of what to expect. Still, I have a feeling that this trip through the United States was another step in the process of his maturation. I think that he had a chip on his shoulder from the start, but I also think that now he has greater confidence in himself and is likely to look at his experiences with more object-

ivity. This may be too superficial an appraisal, because of not taking sufficient account of the intensity of his feelings and of his sensitivity. In any event, we plan to keep in touch with him and to help him in any way that we can to make it possible for him to return to the United States for study. If you have any further observations on Mr. Blake or on our handling of African leaders and specialists, you can be sure that we shall be indebted to you for your candid comments and suggestions. I realize how time-consuming an assignment of this sort (sponsoring of a foreign visitor) can be, and I hesitate to impose unduly on your time. But, your work with Mr. Blake was so effective that I hope it will be possible for another of our African visitors to visit Atlanta under your guidance during the coming months. If we should send you too many, however, please let us know.

I regret very much the inconvenience you were caused when you went out to the airport in vain, to meet Mr. Blake. The next time, if we make a special request of this sort, we'll be sure to list your home as well as office telephone number.

With all good wishes to you and our most sincere thanks for the sensitive job that you did for Mr. Blake,

Sincerely,

Robert L. Abbey

Robert L. Abbey
Program Specialist

May13, 1960

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

I greatly appreciated your kind words about my New York Times piece -- and equally your thoughtfulness in writing. Of course, I'm sure it occurred to you, as it has to me, that some of the current developments, in Alabama and elsewhere, strain my interpretation.

My last two Washington trips have been very much hit-and-run. Next time, I hope I'll have the good fortune to see you again.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

April 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I read with much appreciation your article, "A Southern View of the South," which appeared in the New York Times Magazine on April 3. You managed to give a positive significance to recent events in the South, and that is no mean achievement in these days.

It was good to talk with you during the recent dinner which we attended together in Washington. I salute you on the fine job you are doing for the Council.

Sincerely,

Charlie

Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate

JV File

April 3, 1961

Mr. Wright G. Baker
Committee on Leaders and Specialists
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

At Mr. Anthony's request, I am enclosing a copy of the schedule which he arranged for the ten African broadcasters who visited us last week.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF
Enclosure - 1.

MZ: Please type + send to Wright Baker - Am. Council on Educ - Washington.

Visitor Schedule:

Sunday - arrive Delta 833 - 7:13 p.m.

Waluhaje Apartments - 239 Westlake Ave., N. W. SY 4 - 2431

(Drinks available Sunday evening in Interpreters Apartment)

Monday:

9:30 a.m. - General Briefing Session - SRC Conference Room

(you will be met at your hotel at 9:00 a.m. by Mr. Robert Thompson for transportation)

Lunch - at SRC office

2:00 p.m. - Guests of the afternoon of Mr. W.A. Scott, publisher of the Atlanta Daily World.

Evening - free

Tuesday:

9:00 a.m. - Dr. Hilliard Bowen, Supt. of Negro schools of Atlanta

10:00 a.m. - Assembly program - Washington High Schools (Greetings from visitors - questions from students)

12:00 noon - Lunch with Dr. Bowen & others

2:00 p.m. - Tour of Atlanta University - Mrs. Helen Colburn

7:00 p.m. - Dinner at the Waluhaje with Mrs. Ruby Hurley and others.

Wednesday:

10:00 a.m. - Visit radio station WAOK - 110 Edgewood St. Mr. Stan Raymond

12:15 p.m. - Lunch - The Hungry Club

1:30 p.m. - Tour of the city - Mr. Robert Thompson, Exec. Director, the Atlanta Urban League

4-4:30

5:55 p.m. - Depart, Atlanta airport.

The Committee on the Leaders Program

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE

THE COMMITTEE ON THE LEADERS PROGRAM was appointed by the American Council on Education early in 1954. Its purpose is to plan and make the arrangements for the programs of leaders from foreign countries, who are brought to the United States through the International Educational Exchange Service of the U.S. Department of State. These foreign visitors are individuals of influence and advanced professional standing in their home communities, and are concerned with educational and cultural affairs.

The types of leaders for whom the Council will have responsibility include:

- College and university administrative officers and professors;
- Directors and staff members of special educational institutions, academies, and seminaries;
- Principals and teachers of elementary, secondary, and vocational schools;
- Leaders in adult education;
- Leaders in the general fields of the arts and cultural affairs;
- Radio and television leaders;
- Newspaper writers or editors primarily concerned with education or cultural affairs;
- Leaders concerned with the production, distribution, and utilization of both feature and documentary motion pictures.

(Leaders who are primarily interested in political, governmental, and international affairs, youth activities, social welfare, or labor affairs — whether they are from the fields of education, radio and television, or other fields — will have their programs arranged by the Governmental Affairs Institute, the National Social Welfare Assembly, or the Office of International Labor Affairs of the U.S. Department of Labor.)

The International Educational Exchange Program, under which these leaders are brought to the United States, is authorized by Congress to promote a better understanding of the United States abroad and to increase

mutual understanding between our people and those of other countries. The program also includes exchanges for the purpose of study, teaching, lecturing, research, specialized training, and practical experience. In carrying out these objectives, the foreign visitors are given the opportunity to observe as much as possible of American life, to meet Americans and gain a greater understanding of public opinion and its expression in this country, and to become better informed regarding those particular activities here which are related to their own professional interests. Conversely, through their contact with the foreign visitors, Americans are given the opportunity to acquire a greater understanding of the visitors' home countries.

Obviously, the degree of mutual understanding gained will vary in different communities and with the ability of the foreign leader to express himself effectively in English. Where informal discussions can contribute to this objective, opportunities for participation with organized community groups (or, on campuses, with faculty and student groups) are desirable and should be afforded.

PROGRAM OF EACH LEADER

The program of each leader is planned with him by the staff of the Committee. Through several conversations, an itinerary is worked out which is based upon the interests of the grantee. These conversations occur during the leader's first week in Washington, D.C. Also, during this week the grantee attends an orientation program conducted by the American Council on Education at the Washington International Center. This program covers various aspects of American life and is supplemented by evening social gatherings, trips to places of historic interest in or near Washington, and, when possible, visits in American homes. Depending upon the leader's interests, the Committee's staff arranges for visits to governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations which have headquarters in Washington.

After the itinerary is planned, all arrange-

ments for travel, hotels, and other accommodations are made by the staff of the Committee. The staff also communicates with local sponsors in the towns and cities which the leader will visit. The local sponsor or contact person is asked to make the arrangements for the leader to visit organizations and institutions in which he has expressed an interest. The visits may be to schools, colleges, and universities, museums, radio and television stations, farms, industrial plants, and the like. The local sponsor is also requested to provide information about the community, make appointments for the visitor to see persons in fields of interest to him, and seek to provide the opportunity for him to visit in one or more American homes.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

In planning the programs, the Committee has the cooperation of both governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations. The former include: the U.S. Department of State; the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor; the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and others. Nongovernmental organizations include the Institute of International Education; the National Education Association; the Governmental Affairs Institute; the National Social Welfare Assembly; the National Catholic Educational Association; the Joint Committee on Educational Television; the American Vocational Association; the United States Chamber of Commerce; labor organizations, and many more. The organizations involved will depend upon the interest of the individual leader.

Many local organizations and persons throughout the United States have gladly accepted responsibility for handling the detailed arrangements for a leader while he is in the community. These sponsors include educational and cultural institutions, commercial and industrial organizations, general civic organizations, and individuals who are deeply interested in the program.

COMMITTEE ON LEADERS PROGRAM

WILLIAM S. CARLSON, President
State University of New York,
Albany 1, New York, *Chairman*

RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

NORMAN COUSINS, Editor, *Saturday Review*, 25 West 45th Street, New York, New York

JOEL L. FLETCHER, President, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana

ALONZO G. GRACE, Associate Dean, School of Education, New York University, New York

HOWARD HANSON, Dean of Music, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York

JAMES E. MCCARTHY, Dean, School of Commerce, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana

JOHN A. PERKINS, President, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware

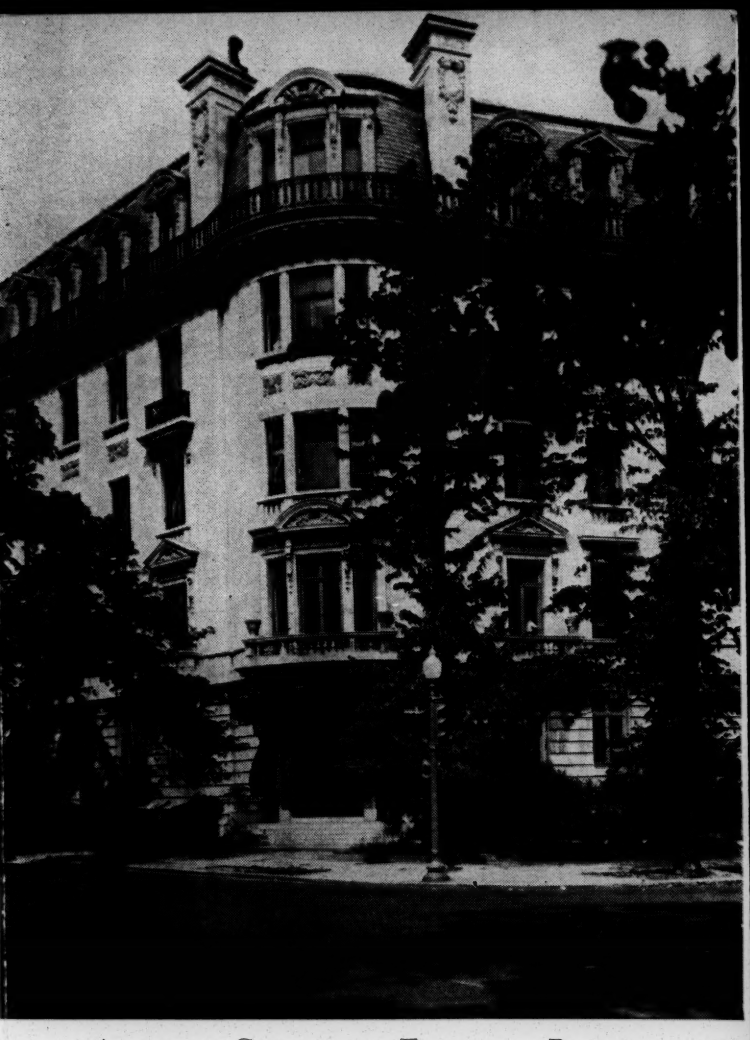
FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, Professor of Social Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

MRS. LOUISE WRIGHT, Chicago Office, Institute of International Education, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

FRANCIS J. BROWN, Director, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

STAFF OF THE COMMITTEE

FRANCIS J. BROWN, Director
FREDERICK R. MANGOLD, Program Specialist
JEROME F. MARGOLIUS, Program Specialist
JEANNETTE LITSCHGI, Administrative Assistant
MRS. JEWEL GOLDEN, Secretary
MRS. JEAN DAVIDSON, Secretary



AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION BUILDING

The American Council on Education, which sponsors the Committee on the Leaders Program, is a voluntary nongovernmental council of national, regional, and local educational institutions and associations in the United States. Since its establishment in 1918 it has been a center of cooperation and coordination for the improvement of education at all levels, with particular emphasis on higher education. Outstanding leaders in education and public life serve on Council committees and participate in conferences and studies. The membership of the Council on June 1, 1954, was 1,094, consisting of 141 national and regional associations, and 953 educational institutions.

September 29, 1963

Mr. Newton Aiken
The Sun
Baltimore 3, Md.

Dear Mr. Aiken:

Most kind of you to write.

I mailed the pamphlet Saturday.

Welcome to Atlanta on the 19th or 20th. If on the 19th, I am free for conversation. If on the 20th, you are invited to sit in interstially at least on a South-wide meeting of women leaders, convening as the Fellow-ship of the Concerned here in this building, 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast to see what can be done to get greater fairness in the courts, in general, and calm acceptance of whatever may be the final ruling on schools. That meeting will keep me pretty busy on the 20th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

April 19, 1954

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson
Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth Street N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Mighty nice of you to write. More to do, and happily more to do it with!

I have come to depend on your help in reaching your particularly influential group of friends; I hope I may count on that in the future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Alpha Kappa Alpha Alpha Phi Alpha Delta Sigma Theta Kappa Alpha Psi Sigma Gamma Rho Zeta Phi Beta

American Council on Human Rights

1130 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington 1, D. C. COlumbia 5-7307

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* National President

RECEIVED
APR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

Director
ELMER W. HENDERSON

April 14, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Congratulations on the grant from the Ford Foundation. This should enable a proper expansion of your very fine program. It is also a recognition of the good work you have done over the years.

Cordially,

Elmer W. Henderson
Director

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

To: Katherine Stoney

From: G S M

I received in Washington a verbal order from Elmer Henderson, American Council on Human Rights, 1130 Sixth Street, N W, Washington, D C, for 200 Q & A at ten cents, plus postage. Do ship them to him and enclose bill in the shipment and write him that you are so shipping.

October 31, 1944

Mr. A. A. Liveright, Secretary
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liveright:

I have been away from my office for more than a week, and I have just read your letter of October 23. I feel that there is a real need for better coordination of the work of various agencies which are interested in reporting on race relations activities, and I shall be glad to take part in the conference which is to be held in Washington on November 22 and 23.

I am looking forward to this opportunity of meeting you and discussing our common interests.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:j

October 23, 1944

Mr. A. A. Liveright
Secretary
American Council Committee on Reporting
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liveright:

Your letter of October 23 has reached our office while Dr. Johnson is out of the city. We expect him back in the office either Saturday, October 28, or Monday, October 30, and I am sure he will give your letter his immediate attention.

In Dr. Johnson's absence, I have referred your letter to the Associate Director of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Ira De A. Reid. Dr. Reid is most interested in the proposed Conference on Reporting Community Tensions and Programs in Race Relations, and he has asked me to report to you that in the event that Dr. Johnson is unable to attend the conference, he will represent this organization. You may count on having a representative from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

CC: Dr. Ira De A. Reid

American Council on Race Relations

32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

October 23, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In connection with recent contacts with a number of government and private agencies in the field of race relations, the American Council has become aware of the growing need for coordination in the field of reporting on community race relations activities and tensions. You are, I am sure, aware of the fact that there are at least ten or fifteen agencies which are conducting somewhat similar but unrelated activities in this field.

A discussion of this problem with a number of agencies such as the OWI, the War Department, the NAACP, Fisk University and the Anti-Defamation League has revealed a real desire to discuss problems relating to this field in an effort to achieve more effective coordination and relationships.

In view of this interest, therefore, the American Council is calling a two-day conference on this subject to be held in Washington on November 22 and 23. This meeting will be held in the Conference Room (Room 940), of the War Manpower Commission, 1778 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council, a member of the Board of Directors of the American Council, will act as chairman for these sessions. A tentative agenda for the meeting is attached.

I sincerely hope that you will find it possible to attend these sessions yourself not only because of the organization that you represent, but also because of your particular knowledge of this field. If for any reason you should find it impossible to sit in on this meeting yourself, it would be most helpful if you could delegate someone from your organization familiar with this field of activity and with sufficient authority to participate in formulating a definite coordinating program.

American Council on Race Relations

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
2
October 23, 1944

We will appreciate it greatly if you will indicate prior to October 28 your ability to attend this meeting or failing that, who will represent you at this session.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN COUNCIL
COMMITTEE ON REPORTING

Lt. Col. Charles Dollard, Morale Services Division
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University
Mr. Donald Young, Social Science Research Council

A. A. Liveright
Secretary

AAL:af
Attachment

American Council on Race Relations

32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

November 10, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We are very happy that you will be able to attend the conference on reporting community tensions to be held in Washington on November 22 and 23.

This note is merely to remind you of the meeting and to tell you that the first session is scheduled for 10:00 a.m., November 22, at 1778 Pennsylvania Avenue. We also thought you would be interested in a list of the persons who have indicated that they will attend the conference.

I would like to call your attention to the item in the agenda covering information on present reporting programs. In that connection, it is our hope that you will outline very briefly the present reporting program of your organization. It will be most helpful, also, if you can bring with you samples of such reports as you are now securing on a regular basis.

Looking forward to seeing you at the meeting in Washington, I am,

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright
Executive Director

Enclosure

504

PERSONS ATTENDING WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON "REPORTING"

November 22-23, 1944

Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt
Director
Anti-Defamation League
100 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Rensis Lickert
Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dr. George Weaver
Race Relations Secretary
Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place, NW.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Dillon Myer
Director
War Relocation Authority
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Mark McCloskey
Director
Community War Services
Social Security Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Marcus Cohen
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. John B. Ewing
Assistant Chief of Reports and Analysis
War Manpower Commission
1778 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Willard Johnson
Assistant to President
The National Conference
of Christians & Jews, Inc.
381 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Philleo Nash
Office of War Information
Social Security Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Lt. Col. Charles Dollard
Research Branch
Morale Services Division, ASF
2E-562 Pentagon Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Donald Young
Director
Social Science Research Council
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Malcolm Ross
Director
President's Committee on
Fair Employment Practice
Standard Oil Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Lester Granger
Executive Secretary
National Urban League
1133 Broadway, Room 826
New York, New York

Mr. Thurgood Marshall
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dr. Robert C. Weaver
Director of Community Services
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Mr. A. A. Liveright
Executive Director
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

American Council on Race Relations

CONFERENCE ON REPORTING COMMUNITY TENSIONS

AND PROGRAMS IN RACE RELATIONS

November 22-23, 1944

War Manpower Commission
Room 940, 1778 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

1. Needs and objectives in Reporting Programs in Race Relations Activities and Tensions.

2. Reporting activities now under way.

3. Gaps between reporting needs and present activities.

4. Elimination of duplication and possible arrangements for cooperation.

5. Public opinion polls as a method of securing object information on community tensions.

6. Program for coordination of activities in the future.

February 19, 1945

Mr. A. A. Liveright
Executive Director
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liveright:

Thank you very much for your suggestion about Mrs. Baker. We are going to get in touch with her right away. We are especially anxious to obtain a person who can devote full time to field contacts for the Southern Regional Council.

Thanks also for sending me the additional copy of notes on the Reporting Conference. I shall, of course, treat the report as confidential material.

I wish I could say that I can come to Chicago some time soon, but there is so much work ahead of me here that it seems to be a remote possibility. However, here's hoping!

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

February 13, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thanks for your note of February 10 and your good wishes on our News Letter.

I am enclosing another copy of the notes on the Reporting Conference as requested. You will recall, I am sure, that this material should be kept confidential in view of the material contained therein about our contact with Jonathan Daniels.

Don't you think it about time for a trip to Chicago? If you do arrange one, certainly hope that we'll have an opportunity to sit down at some length to discuss our various programs.

Best regards,

Sandy

A. A. Liveright
Executive Director

Enclosure

American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

February 15, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I talked at length yesterday to a Mrs. Baker who lives in Marietta, Georgia. Mrs. Baker was sent in to me by the personnel director of Marshall Field and Company because of her interest in doing some work in the race relations field.

Mrs. Baker has lived in the South all of her life and is thoroughly aware of some of the special angles and restrictions in the race relations field which grow out of the old southern pattern. As I reread your literature--the Durham statement and some of the other materials--it seemed to me that Mrs. Baker's approach to the problem is not too different from that of the Southern Regional Council.

Her previous experience was primarily in the advertising and promotional field, but also included some supervisory work on the WPA domestic training project. She evidently has a number of contacts in southern states, knows a large number of newspaper editors, and has a personality which would lend itself to contacts with women's groups, local chambers of commerce, etc.

In other words, what I am leading up to is the suggestion that you might wish to talk to her about the possibility of doing some work with your organization. I told her that I had no idea what your budgetary situation was, but felt that you might at least be interested in meeting her and discussing the general program of your organization with her.

For your information, I am listing her address below:

405 Seminole Drive
Marietta, Georgia

Best regards,

A. A. Liveright
Executive Director

504

American Council on Race Relations

32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

Clearing House Release, Number 8
American Council on Race Relations

July 20, 1945

TO: CORRESPONDENTS OF THE CLEARING HOUSE

Within the past two months, a number of valuable materials have been gathered in the Council offices, ready for distribution to Clearing House Correspondents. Because we have been reorganizing our mailing procedures, we have let these accumulate and are sending them herewith in a bundle.

1. Race Relations, by Julia Waxman, is one of the most useful general bibliographies yet to be issued in the field, especially on the Negro. Additional copies may be ordered through the Clearing House.

   We attach also a bibliographic supplement and a flyer on They See for Themselves issued by the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Supply exhausted

2. Democracy for All, by Helen Parker Mudgett, is a study program for use by individuals or groups. Because this contains excellent suggestions for "things to do" as well as factual background material, it should receive wide circulation in local communities among labor, church, parent-teacher, club, and other adult groups. Local organizations might well send it out to leaders of such groups with the suggestion that they stimulate special "study-action" programs within their organizations.

   Additional copies in small quantity may be ordered from the Clearing House at 50¢ each. For large orders or consultant service, write to the General Extension Division, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14.

3. The Council has had several inquiries about the Back-of-the-Yards Neighborhood movement. While Orderly Revolution, by Agnes E. Meyer, does not describe this type of organization fully, it does indicate some of its methods and applications.

4. Nisei in the War Against Japan, from the WRA, gives samples of news stories about American soldiers of Japanese descent. Local groups might well check the local press and radio programs to see that proper notice is given the achievement of soldiers belonging to minority groups.

   The War Relocation Authority has recently added these other publications to its file and has limited supply for distribution:

Relocating Japanese Americans

New Roots for the Uprooted, reprinted from "Community," June 1945, published by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, New York.

Americans ___by birth--by choice--by loyalty, reprinted from the CIO News, May 21, 1945. Also available from the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Another pamphlet on Japanese Americans in the war effort is a new picture primer, They Work for Victory, showing Nisei in the armed services, in war production, agriculture, government service, and other work for the war effort. Copies may be secured at 25¢ each from the Japanese American Citizens League, 413-15 Beason Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT to

Clearing House Release, Number 8
American Council on Race Relations

July 20, 1945

New books, pamphlets, and magazine articles are currently brought to your attention through the News Letter and the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations. Occasions for materials not readily found in general bibliographic sources frequently arise, and the Clearing House therefore is prepared to compile special reading lists for the purposes of particular groups or on specific subjects within the field of race relations.

Organizations and groups that are called upon for bibliographic service will want to have the following lists and bibliographies at hand, in addition to Race Relations.

A List of Selected Bibliographies for Teachers -- Elementary and High School, by Helen Trager. Bureau for Intercultural Education, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York. 1945. 5¢ each.

Bibliographies of general usefulness are listed as well as those concerned primarily with school materials.

The Bureau distributes a wealth of material in the field of intercultural education. Single copies of their publications list can be secured upon request, without charge.

American Minority People During World War II, by Edmonia White Grant. American Missionary Association.

Basic readings covering general background material, with sections on different minority groups. This bibliography is published also by the Federal Council of Churches, under the title "Do You Know Your Neighbors?"

Single copies are available from the Clearing House; or in quantity, at $3.00 per hundred, from the American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10.

Union Hall Book-Shelf-- CIO Facts for Action series. Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, NW., Washington, D.C., September 1944. 10¢ each.

In addition to the section on Labor and Race Relations, this pamphlet contains references to related subjects such as housing, health, reconversion, etc. While the present edition is not annotated, a subsequent edition with annotations may be forthcoming. The department hopes also to bring out a complete list of CIO pamphlets.

There is of course a great deal of overlapping in the materials covered by these publications, but it has seemed to us that the differences in selection are important enough to justify including them all on a shelf for ready reference.

C
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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
32 West Randolph Street - Chicago 1, Illinois

November 12, 1945

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

During the last two years, over a score of official municipal committees on intergroup relations have sprung up in the North and West. Many persons have questioned the desirability of these committees and their possibilities as instruments for action, while some have accepted the creation of these agencies as an assurance of official action on problems involving group relations. Nowhere, however, has there been any set of objectives or a delineation of programs for this new branch of municipal government.

To meet this latter need, the American Council on Race Relations has prepared a Manual for Official Committees. This manual will soon be sent to our correspondents and will be available for general distribution at a nominal price. In preparing this manual we have been mindful of two purposes which it could serve. The first is to give some suggestions, and we hope--guidance, to local mayors' committees which are not in existence and which are prapared to develop effective programs. The second is to give citizens' groups, community organizations, and interested individuals some indication as to what local committees can do. When this publication was originally planned, it was believed that the first of these functions would be the more important. As time has gone on, and as some official committees have become either inactive or have tended to neglect the basic issues in intergroup relations, it has become apparent that the second function is no less important. I am sending this manual to you because I think that it may indicate how the official intergroup relations committees in your community may be come more effective. In addition, it may suggest specific action programs which you can urge your official committee to develop.

The Community Services Division of the Council is now prepared to offer plans and consultant services (within the limits of its personnel) to local organizations in relation to four of the areas of action suggested for official committees. These areas are housing, employment (on public works and in distributive trades), in-service training for municipal employees, and police training. We will be happy to work with citizens' groups in your community to develop effective programs of action on the intergroup aspects of these problems.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Bob

Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division

American Council

November 23, 1945

Miss Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Miss Grunsfeld:

We received your Clearing House Release No. 15 and we appreciate the information which it contained.

Sometime ago we purchased copies of the Army Orientation Fact Sheet 64 on Fascism and we have given away a number of them. We have ordered such other materials mentioned in the F Y I as we do not already have on hand.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Clearing House Release, No. 15
American Council on Race Relations

November 7, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

TO Correspondents of the Clearing House:

The Army Orientation Fact Sheets enclosed have recently been removed from the War Department's "restricted" list and are now available for distribution.

Because of their official prestige and vigorous stand, both Talks should reach every American family. And this can be accomplished if churches, Parent-Teacher Associations, clubs, unions, and veterans groups send copies to their full memberships; and if community organizations see that wide distribution is made through these agencies locally and that copies are available in schools.

Mass distribution cannot be undertaken by the army itself, and the Council has been able to secure only enough copies from the War Department to send samples to its Correspondents.

The International Labor Defense has reprinted Talk #70 on Prejudice and copies are available from them at $4 per 100; $16 per 500; and $30 per 1,000. Single copies at 5¢ will be sent upon mail request, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City 3.

The Anti-Defamation League, 100 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, has copies of Talk #64 on Fascism at $1.50 per 100.

Organizations wishing their own reprints can have exact reproductions made by photo-offset. In lots of 100,000, these would cost less than 2¢ a copy--depending, of course, on the quality of paper used.

Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House

Enclosures 3

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Information
Service
Reports

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

Here's first aid for your ailing public relations! Three new how-to-do bulletins, prepared especially for "cause" groups by one of the country's top public relations firms, give you practical, simple suggestions on how to reach the public.

Titles of the bulletins are "How to Deal with the Press", "How to Prepare Pamphlets" and "How to Get Free Radio Time for Public Interest Causes". Write to Edward L. Bernays, 26 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y., and enclose ten cents per copy to cover production and mailing costs.

* * *

If you're looking for good cartoons for your local publication, ask the Writers' Board for mats of their "Mr. Biggott" series. Distributed free and already appearing in everything from union weeklies to some of the big commercial daily press, the cartoons have a good part of America chuckling. The Writers' Board has a new address, 147 West 42nd Street, New York City.

* * *

One of the best round-ups of the history, present status and future prospects of Negroes in military service was recently published by the Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington D. C. Titled "The Negro in the Armed Forces", and written by Lt. Comdr. Seymour J. Schoenfeld, the book has an introduction by Col. Evans F. Carlson, of the famous "Carlson's Raiders". Issued as a small book at $1.00.

* * *

Newest of the growing crop of novels about prejudice is Arthur Miller's "Focus", published by Reynal & Hitchcock. An exciting story about a middle-class American of average indifference who is caught up in grim adventure when he buys a pair of glasses, the book turns up both sides of the coin of anti-semitism.

* * *

ARMY TALK ORIENTATION FACT SHEET 64

WAR DEPARTMENT—WASHINGTON 25, D. C. • 24 March 1945

RECEIVED NOV 13 1945 Southern Regional Council

FASCISM!

Note For This Week's Discussion:

Fascism is not the easiest thing to identify and analyze; nor, once in power, is it easy to destroy. It is important for our future and that of the world that as many of us as possible understand the causes and practices of fascism, in order to combat it. Points to stress are: (1) Fascism is more apt to come to power at a time of economic crisis; (2) fascism inevitably leads to war; (3) it can come to any country; (4) we can best combat it by making our democracy work.

YOU are away from home, separated from your families, no longer at a civilian job or at school and many of you are risking your very lives because of a thing called fascism. Our country was attacked by the fascist aggressor, Japan. The "Sons of Heaven" were promptly joined by their fascist partners of Germany and Italy.

"Fascism" is a word that's been used a great deal these last few years. We come across it in our newspapers, we hear it in our newsreels, it comes up in our bull sessions. We've heard about the cruelties of fascism, its terror, its conquest of country after country. We've heard of its concentration camps—like Dachau in Germany and its torture chambers—like Maidanek in Poland. We've heard of its planned mass murder of whole peoples—which scholars call "genocide."

Some of the things that have been done to people by fascists seem too horrible to believe, especially to Americans who believe in "live and let live." Hard-boiled American correspondents, formerly skeptical, now believe because they have seen. (See page 6.)

We Americans have been fighting fascists for more than three years. When Cecil Brown, one of the leading war correspondents, came back from the battle fronts, he went on a trip that took him into big cities and small towns all over America. He talked and listened to all kinds of people. He found that most Americans are vague about just what fascism really means. He found few Americans who were confident they would recognize a fascist if they saw one.

And are we in uniform any more certain what fascism is—where it came from—what made it strong? Do we know how fascism leads men to do the things done to people at Maidanek? Do we know how it leads them to attack helpless nations? Are Maidaneks and war inevitable results of fascism? Do all fascists speak only German, Italian or Japanese—or do some of them speak our language? Will military victory in this War automatically kill fascism? Or could fascism rise in the United States after it's been crushed abroad? What can we do to prevent it?

Perhaps we ought to get to know the answers. If we don't understand fascism and recognize fascism when we see it, it might crop up again—under another label—and cause another war.

Fascism is a way to run a country—it's the way Italy was run, and the way Germany and Japan are run. Fascism is the precise opposite of democracy. The people run democratic governments, but fascist governments run the people.

Fascism is government by the few and for the few. The objective is seizure and control of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the state. Why? The democratic way of life interferes with their methods and desires for: (1) conducting business; (2) living with their fellow-men; (3) having the final say in matters concerning others, as well as themselves. The basic principles of democracy stand in the way of their desires; hence—democracy must go! Anyone who is not a member of their inner gang has to do what he's told. They permit no civil liberties, no equality before the law. They make their own rules and change them when they choose. If you don't like it, it's "T.S."

They maintain themselves in power by use of force

combined with propaganda based on primitive ideas of "blood" and "race," by skillful manipulation of fear and hate, and by false promise of security. The propaganda glorifies war and insists it is smart and "realistic" to be pitiless and violent.

(You may find the foregoing material a useful basis for a brief introductory talk.)

How It Starts

(Question: How does fascism get in power? How can a violent program that enslaves the people win any support?)

Fascism came to power in Germany, Italy, and Japan at a time of social and economic unrest. A small group of men, supported in secret by powerful financial and military interests, convinced enough insecure people that fascism would give them the things they wanted.

They did so partly by clever propaganda and deception. They promised the people that fascism would bring them great power and prosperity. The details differed from country to country but the general pattern was the same. The Japanese spoke of a "greater Asia co-prosperity sphere." Mussolini mouthed humanitarian ideals and promised a re-born Roman empire. Hitler and his associates adopted the name of National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) and announced objectives that attracted many German people. The official title of the Nazi party was deliberately worded for its propaganda value, appealing to "nationalists," "socialists," "workers," and all others who might be favorably influenced by these labels. At the very time that the fascists proclaimed that their party was the party of the "average citizen," they were in the pay of certain big industrialists and financiers who wanted to run the people with an iron hand.

The fascists promised everything to everyone: They would make the poor rich and the rich richer. To the farmers, the fascists promised land through elimination of large estates. To the workers they promised elimination of unemployment—jobs for all at high wages. To the small business men they promised more customers and profits through the elimination of large business enterprises. To big business men and the industrialists they secretly promised greater security and profits through the elimination of small business competitors and trade unions and the crushing of socialists and communists. To the whole nation they promised glory and wealth by conquest. They asserted it was their right, as a "superior people," to rule the world.

As soon as these methods had won them enough of a following to form their Storm Troops, the fascists began using force to stifle and wipe out any opposition. Those who saw through the false front of fascism and opposed them were beaten, tortured, and killed.

The fascists knew that all believers in democracy were their enemies. They knew that the fundamental principle of democracy—faith in the common sense of the common people—was the direct opposite of the fascist principle of rule by the elite few. So they fought democracy in all its phases. At the same time that they proclaimed the "superiority" of the Germans, the Italians, the Japanese, they proclaimed also that the German, the Italian, the Japanese peoples were really unfit to rule themselves. It became "Heil Hitler" in Germany, and "Believe, obey, fight" in Italy.

They played political, religious, social, and economic groups against each other and seized power while these groups struggled against each other.

How It Works

(Question: How could the fascists keep their contradictory promises, once they got in power? How did their program actually work out?)

It was easy enough for the fascists to promise all things to all people before they were in power. Once they were actually in power, they could not, of course, keep their contradictory promises. They had intended in advance to break some, and they did break those they had made to the middle classes, the workers, and the farmers.

As soon as the fascists were in control of the government, the torturings and the killings were no longer the unlawful acts of a political party and its hoodlum gangs. They became official government policy. Among the first victims of this official policy were those farmers, workers, and small business men who had believed the promises that had been made to them and who complained that they had been "sucked in." Some simply vanished. Often they came home to their families by return mail in little jars of ashes.

The concentration camps and graves filled with the opponents of fascism. Out went equality before the law, free elections and free political parties, independent trade unions and independent schools, freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and, in time, freedom of religion.

Pastor Niemoeller was thrown into a concentration camp in Germany; Cardinal Innitzer was "stoned," and Catholic priests were imprisoned. Jews were murdered in cold blood and synagogues destroyed. Christian ministers were ousted from Japan.

The fascists "solved" unemployment by converting their nations into giant war machines. The unemployed were either conscripted into the army or organized in labor battalions and put to work in war plants.

Deprived of their unions, the working people could be driven to work longer and harder for less and less money, so that those who subsidized and ran fascism could grow richer. By wiping out all internal competition—especially the small and medium sized business firms—profits were increased still higher for the handful on top. In some cases, the fascists then gobbled control of the top corporations. The living standards of the masses of the people declined, of course. As they earned less and less, they were able to buy less and less of the goods they produced.

Every last detail of life was regulated, with the death penalty often imposed for slight violations. One unhappy victim complained: *"Fascism is a regime under which everything not prohibited is compulsory."*

Once the fascists were in control of the government, not even the gang on top was safe from its own members. There would be more loot and power per fascist leader if some fascist leaders were eliminated. Some of the party "big-shots" and some of those who had helped them take over were therefore "purged." Many would-be partners in the dictatorship, including some industrialists, wound up in jail, in exile, or dead.

Fascism = War?

(Question: If we leave fascist nations alone, will they leave us alone? Or does fascism inevitably lead to war?)

We have seen that the people of a fascist state earn less and less, and so are able to buy less and less of the goods they produce with their slave labor. This means that eventually the fascist leaders either have to abandon the system, or look abroad for new markets to dispose of the mounting surplus of goods that cannot be sold at home.

The fascists do not choose to abandon their system and give up their graft, and so they are forced to acquire foreign markets and to eliminate competing nations. Due to their slave labor, the fascists are able to undersell the free nations of the world. The free nations must either resort to fascism, so that with slave labor they can meet the cut-throat prices of the fascist nations, or they must erect trade barriers to keep out the ruthless fascist competition. (See Douglas Miller: *You Can't Do Business With Hitler!)* In either case, the fascist nation still wants the markets, and it goes after them with the same methods used in domestic affairs—intimidation, terror, and force. In foreign affairs, force means war.

The war machine is ready, and waiting for duty. To justify the building of the war machine as the "solution" to unemployment, the fascists nurture a lust for war, a desire for conquest. "Live dangerously," said Mussolini. "Man has become great through perpetual strife," screamed Hitler. A Nazi slogan was "Guns instead of butter." The hungry people were told they would get butter and other riches in due time—by way of conquest.

The press, radio, movies, stage—all were put to the task of glorifying war. The school system, from kindergarten to university, justified and exalted tyranny of the strong over the weak. "The school is the preparation for the Army," said the Nazi Minister of Education.

The people were taught that their race was "superior." Since this concept of "superior" and "inferior" race is completely contrary to the findings of all science, science has to be as carefully controlled and perverted as the schools. No scientist in Germany could safely deny it when Hitler told the Germans that they were a "Master Race" entitled to the land and possessions of lesser folk. The Italians were told in fake "scientific" terms that Latins were born to rule. The Japanese were taught that as "Sons of Heaven" it was both their right and their duty to conquer and rule the world.

Once their people were sold on the "master race" idea, it was easy for the fascists to make them feel that other people were of no more consequence than vermin. We think nothing of killing a cockroach. They were encouraged to think nothing of killing unarmed and defenseless men, women, and children. Many even got to enjoy it. Hence Rotterdam, Lidice, Maidanek.

By all these devices, fascism creates and then is driven by forces that cannot be stopped at will. Fascism cannot stand still. Its internal and external policies are rooted in aggression. It must expand or explode. It must conquer or perish. Every measure taken by fascism—its entire economic, social, political, and military set-up—means eventual war.

The war comes when intimidation and terror fail as instruments of fascist foreign policy. The war comes when other nations finally refuse further to appease the insatiable hunger of fascism for markets, military glory, and world domination.

Can It Happen Here?

Some Americans would give an emphatic "No" to the question "Can fascism come to America after it has been defeated abroad?" They would say that Americans are too smart, that they are sold on the democratic way of life, that they wouldn't permit any group to put fascism over in America. Fascism, some might say, is something peculiar that you find only among people who like swastikas, who like to listen to speeches from balconies in Rome, or who like to think that their emperor is god. Their reaction might be that it is something "foreign" that Americans would recognize in a minute, like the goose-step. They

might feel that we'd laugh it out of existence in a hurry.

(Question: Do all fascists come from Germany, Japan, or Italy?)

In a good many European nations, the people felt the same way some of us do: that fascism was foreign to them and could never become a power in their land. They found, however, that fascist-minded people *within* their borders, especially with aid from the outside, could seize power. The Germans, of course, made efficient use of fascist-minded traitors whom we have come to know generally as "the fifth column."

In France, which was considered a leading democracy of Europe, the betrayal was spearheaded by a powerful clique of native "100 percent French" fascists. Norway had its Quisling who was as "pure-blooded" a Norwegian as Laval was a "pure-blooded" Frenchman. The Netherlands' Musserts were "100 percent Dutch," Belgium's Degrelles "100 percent Belgian," and Britain's Mosleys "100 percent British." The United States also has its native fascists who say that they are "100 percent American." There were native fascists in the Philippines, in Thailand (Siam), in China, in Burma, in many other countries—all waiting to become the willing puppets of the Axis. Not one of these fascists is a "foreigner" who had to be imported from Germany, or Japan, or Italy.

(Question: Have any groups in America used fascist tactics and appeals?)

Most of the people in America like to be good neighbors. But, at various times and places in our history, we have had sorry instances of mob sadism, lynchings, vigilantism, terror, and suppression of civil liberties. We have had our hooded gangs, Black Legions, Silver Shirts, and racial and religious bigots. All of them, in the name of Americanism, have used undemocratic methods and doctrines which experience has shown can be properly identified as "fascist."

Can we afford to brush them off as mere crackpots? We once laughed Hitler off as a harmless little clown with a funny mustache.

In January 1944, 30 Americans, many of them native born, were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of conspiring with "the Nazi party to accomplish the objectives of said Nazi party in the United States." These objectives, according to the indictment, included undermining and impairing "the loyalty and morale of the military and naval forces of the United States." The case ended in a mistrial caused by the death of the presiding judge. The question of re-indictment is still under consideration.

Whenever free governments anywhere fail to solve their basic economic and social problems, there is always the danger that a native brand of fascism will arise to exploit the situation and the people.

Can We Spot It?

(Question: How can we identify native American fascists at work?)

An American fascist seeking power would not proclaim that he is a fascist. Fascism always camouflages its plans and purposes. Hitler made demagogic appeals to all groups and swore: "Neither I nor anybody in the National Socialist Party advocates proceeding by anything but Constitutional methods."

Any fascist attempt to gain power in America would not use the exact Hitler pattern. It would work under the guise of "super-patriotism" and "super-Americanism." Fascist leaders are neither stupid nor naive. They know that they must hand out a line that "sells." Huey Long is said to have remarked that if fascism came to America, it would be on a program of "Americanism."

Fascists in America may differ slightly from fascists in other countries, but there are a number of attitudes and practices that they have in common. Following are three. Every person who has one of them is not necessarily a fascist. But he is in a mental state that lends itself to the acceptance of fascist aims.

1. Pitting of religious, racial, and economic groups against one another in order to break down national unity is a device of the "divide and conquer" technique used by Hitler to gain power in Germany and in other countries. With slight variations, to suit local conditions, fascists everywhere have used this Hitler method. In many countries, anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews) is a dominant device of fascism. In the United States, native fascists have often been anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-Labor, anti-foreign-born. In South America, the native fascists use the same scapegoats except that they substitute anti-Protestantism for anti-Catholicism.

Interwoven with the "master race" theory of fascism is a well-planned "hate campaign" against minority races, religions, and other groups. To suit their particular needs and aims, fascists will use any one or a combination of such groups as a convenient scapegoat.

2. Fascism cannot tolerate such religious and ethical concepts as the "brotherhood of man." Fascists deny the need for international cooperation. These ideas contradict the fascist theory of the "master race." The brotherhood of man implies that all people—regardless of color, race, creed, or nationality—have rights. International cooperation, as expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, runs counter to the fascist program of war and world domination.

In place of international cooperation, the fascists seek to substitute a perverted sort of ultra-nationalism which tells their people that they are the only people

in the world who count. With this goes hatred and suspicion toward the people of all other nations. Right now our native fascists are spreading anti-British, anti-Soviet, anti-French, and anti-United Nations propaganda. They know that allied unity now foretells the certain defeat of fascism abroad. They know that post-war allied unity means world peace and security. They realize that fascism cannot thrive or grow under these conditions.

3. It is accurate to call a member of a communist party a "communist." For short, he is often called a "Red." Indiscriminate pinning of the label "Red" on people and proposals which one opposes is a common political device. It is a favorite trick of native as well as foreign fascists.

Many fascists make the spurious claim that the world has but two choices—either fascism or communism, and they label as "communist" everyone who refuses to support them. By attacking our free enterprise, capitalist democracy and by denying the effectiveness of our way of life they hope to trap many people.

Hitler insisted that only fascism could save Europe and the world from the "communist menace." There were many people inside and outside Germany and Italy who welcomed and supported Hitler and Mussolini because they believed fascism was the only safeguard against communism. The "Red bogey" was a convincing enough argument to help Hitler take and maintain power. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, whose aggressions plunged the world into global war, was called the "Anti-Comintern Axis." It was proclaimed by Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito as a "bulwark against communism."

Learning to identify native fascists and to detect their techniques is not easy. They plan it that way. But it is vitally important to learn to spot them, even though they adopt names and slogans with popular appeal, drape themselves with the American flag, and attempt to carry out their program in the name of the democracy they are trying to destroy.

How To Stop It

(Question: How can we prevent fascism from developing in the United States?)

The only way to prevent fascism from getting a hold in America is by making our democracy work and by actively cooperating to preserve world peace and security.

Lots of things can happen inside of people when they are unemployed or hungry. They become frightened, angry, desperate, confused. Many, in their misery, seek to find somebody to blame. They look for a scapegoat as a way out. Fascism is always ready to provide one. In its bid for power, it is ready to drive wedges that will disunite the people and weaken the nation. It supplies the scapegoat—Catholics, Jews, Negroes, labor unions, big business—any group upon which the insecure and unemployed can be brought to pin the blame for their misfortune.

We all know that many serious problems will face us when the War is over. If there is a period of economic stress it will create tensions among our people, including us as returning veterans. The resentment may be directed against minorities—especially if undemocratic organizations with power and money can direct our emotions and thinking along these lines.

The fascist doctrine of hate fulfills a triple mission. By creating disunity—it weakens democracy. By getting men to hate rather than to think—it prevents men from seeking the real cause and a democratic solution to the problem. By fake promises of jobs and security, fascism then tries to lure men to its program as the way out of insecurity. Only by democratically solving the economic problems of our day can there be any certainty that fascism won't happen here. That is our job as citizens.

Citizenship in a democracy is more than a ballot dropped in a box on Election Day. It's a 365-days-a-year job requiring the active participation and best judgment of every citizen in the affairs of his community, his nation, and his country's relations with the world.

Fascism thrives on indifference and ignorance. It makes headway when people are apathetic or cynical about their government—when they think of it as something far removed from them and beyond their personal concern. The erection of a traffic light on your block is important to your safety and the safety of your children. The erection of a world organization to safeguard peace and world security is just as important to our personal security. Both must be the concern of every citizen.

Freedom, like peace and security, cannot be maintained in isolation. It involves being alert and on guard against the infringement not only of our own freedom but the freedom of every American. If we permit discrimination, prejudice, or hate to rob *anyone* of his democratic rights, our own freedom and all democracy is threatened.

What is true of America is true of the world. The germ of fascism cannot be quarantined in a Munich Brown House or a balcony in Rome. If we want to make certain that fascism does not come to America, we must make certain that it does not thrive anywhere in the world.

Next Week: **HAVE WE THE MANPOWER FOR THE JOB AHEAD?**

Aids For Discussion Leaders

A short five to ten-minute introductory talk by the discussion leader is recommended. Suggested points:

A. We're at war because of "fascism."

B. Many Americans are vague about the meaning of "fascism;" many doubt the horrible things we hear about places like Dachau and Maidanek.

C. What is fascism?

D. Fascism is a dictatorship—the opposite of democracy.

E. Fascism is an authoritarian government by the few.

F. Fascists stay in power by force; by propaganda based on ideas of "blood" and "race" and the glories of war; and by false promises of security.

Because of the importance of Supplementary Material, the Outline For Discussion is omitted this week.

Supplementary Material

I. *Are the stories of German fascist cruelties true?*

"Genocide" Death Camps. One of the most diabolical weapons used by the Nazi fascists is technically referred to as "genocide" (from the Greek *genos* for "race" and the Latin *cide* for "killing") in "Axis Rule In Occupied Countries" by Raphael Lemkin, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944. It means simply war against whole peoples, including innocent non-combatants and women and children. The idea behind it is to wipe out or cripple for generations entire racial groups and nations. It aims to disintegrate political and social institutions, culture, language, national feelings, religion, and economic existence as well as at wholesale murder of individuals. By weakening enemies, it is designed to win the peace even if the war is lost. (See ARMY TALK No. 49.)

Maidanek. "I have just seen the most terrible place on the face of the earth—the German concentration camp at Maidanek, which was a veritable River Rouge for the production of death, in which it was estimated by Soviet and Polish authorities that as many as 1,500,000 persons from nearly every country in Europe were killed in the last three years. . . . This is the place that must be seen to be believed. I have been present at numerous atrocity investigations in the Soviet Union, but never have I been confronted with such complete evidence, clearly establishing every allegation made by those investigating German crimes. After inspection of Maidanek, I am now prepared to believe any story of German atrocities, no matter how savage, cruel and depraved."

—*W. H. Lawrence, N. Y. Times,* 30 August 1944.

II. *Are democracy and fascism diametrically opposed?*

"The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based on the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race."

—*President Roosevelt,* 29 December 1940.

". . . to sum up, I see two diametrically opposed principles: the principle of democracy, which, wherever it is allowed practical effect is the principle of destruction; and the principle of authority of personality which I would call the principle of achievement. . . ." —*Adolph Hitler,* 27 January 1942.

III. *Is it true that powerful financial and military interests supported the German and Italian fascists?*

Fritz Thyssen, the wealthiest of the German industrialists, admitted giving the Nazis funds as early as 1928. In his book, *I Paid Hitler,* written after leaving Germany, he wrote: "It was during the last years preceding the Nazi seizure of power that the big industrial corporations began to make their contributions. . . . All in all, the amounts given by heavy industry to the Nazis may be estimated at two million marks a year. It must be understood, however, that this includes only the voluntary gifts. . . ."

Of Italy, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, writes that "especially the reactionary elements and the larger banking and industrial interests, welcomed the dictatorship of Mussolini. . . ."

IV. *Must fascism expand or explode?*

"Fascism . . . believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. . . . War alone brings up to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. For Fascism the tendency to Empire, that is to say, to the expansion of

nations, is a manifestation of vitality; its opposite, staying at home, is a sign of decadence."

—*Benito Mussolini*, 1932.

V. *What is a scapegoat?*

"Any animal or person to whom sins, evils, ill luck, etc., is ceremonially attached, the victim then being sacrificed or driven out, as symbolic of dispelling the evils. Hence, a person or thing being blamed for others."

—*Webster's International Dictionary.*

VI. *What is the difference between Communism and Fascism? Aren't they essentially the same?*

In any discussion on fascism there will be some who will argue that there are strong similarities between fascism and communism. Under both systems, there is neither freedom of speech nor of press as we know it. Both forms of government permit only one political party. Both have a secret police. But beyond this, there are important and fundamental differences in philosophy, aims, purposes, and methods.

In their systematic destruction of all opposing groups, Hitler and Mussolini had the communists first on their list. Among the early opponents of fascism, the communists were in the forefront.

Let us take three fundamental concepts—War and Peace, Race, and The Purpose of the State—and see how the two systems stack up. Since the Soviet Union is associated in most minds with communism, and is the only working example, reference is frequently made to Soviet practice in the comparison with characteristic fascist practice.

War and Peace

We have seen how, by its economic and political structure, fascism means war. Fascism—whether in Germany or Japan or Italy—has never been secretive about its glorification of war and its aim of world conquest. With the conquest of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Manchuria, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia—fascism came close to achieving its goal. This was one time when fascism meant to make good its promise.

While the early leaders of communism in the Soviet Union advocated world revolution, Stalin modified that policy in 1927. He exiled Trotsky and others who opposed his position that the greatest Soviet contribution to world socialism would be a demonstration to the world that socialism would work in one country. On the record, the avowed Soviet policy has been peace through international collective security, if possible, or strong defenses by its own efforts if collective security failed. Originally excluded from the League of Nations, the Soviet Union joined in 1934. During the next five years it took a strong stand for collective action against aggression. After the Munich sell-out in September, 1938, pursuing its realistic policies, the Soviet looked to its own protection. The Soviet made a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939 which the Nazis broke, and a five-year non-aggression pact with Japan in 1941. Through pledges at the conferences at Moscow, Teheran, and Yalta, and through daily repetitions to its people, the Soviet has reaffirmed its aim as lasting peace through international cooperation.

This attitude toward peace has been recognized by leading Americans. Former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles said: "When the Soviet Union entered the League of Nations, even the most obstinate were soon forced to admit that it was the only major power which seemed to take the League seriously." Donald Nelson, former chairman of the War Production Board, stated: "I know from what I saw and heard in Russia that the leaders and the people of that great country are anxious to work with us. They know that only world cooperation and enduring peace can produce the rapid internal development of Russia which is their main concern."

"No, we do not need to fear Russia. We need to learn to work with her against our common enemy, Hitler. We need to learn to work with her in the world after the war. Russia is a dynamic country, a vital new society, a force that cannot be bypassed in any future world."

—*Wendell Willkie in "One World."*

"Our countries are joined together in a high cause and I fully share your confidence that the unity of purpose which binds our peoples and countries together in the prosecution of the war will be translated into a close and lasting collaboration together with other likeminded countries in the establishment of a just and enduring peace."

—*President Roosevelt to Soviet Ambassador*, 4 October 1943.

Race

The peoples of fascist nations are led to believe that they are the "master race," or "Herrenvolk," superior to all other peoples, and that it is their divine mission to dominate the earth. Fascism created and exploited racial hates to acquire a following, to disunite nations, and to enslave the peoples of Europe and Asia:

"The only differences which exist are those between the Nordic humans on one side and the animals, including the non-Nordic humans and the inferior humans on the other side."

—*Dr. H. Gauch, leading German racial theorist in: New Basis of the Racial Sciences*, 1935.

In old Russia, under the Czars, most of the 189 national minorities who lived there were persecuted and oppressed. National languages were forbidden and education was suppressed. It is generally conceded that today, in the Soviet Union, there is no such thing as racial discrimination in theory or in practice. Unlike Nazi law, which enforces discrimination on "racial" grounds, Soviet law punishes the establishment of direct or indirect privilege for citizens on account of their race or nationality as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred or contempt:

"ARTICLE 123: Equal rights for citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, shall be an irrevocable law.

"Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punished by law."

—[Chapter X—THE NEW (SOVIET) CONSTITUTION OF 1936.]

The Purpose of the State

The political fascist state is based on the "leader principle," under which the people must follow blindly the dictates of a few men. In the Axis countries, the emergence of fascism meant a taking away of self-government. As fascism grows more powerful it permits its people less and less liberty and uses more and more violence.

The Soviets early believed that a dictatorship "of the proletariat" was necessary in order to destroy capitalism and set up socialism; that then the dictatorship should gradually evolve into a democracy, as now provided in their Constitution. Thus, although they now have a secret police and a government controlled press, their ultimate political ideals are directly opposite to the stated ideals of fascist dictatorship, and their hope is to drop the appurtenances of dictatorship in the process of democratic evolution.

Fascism treats women as mere breeders. "Children, kitchen, and church" was the Nazi slogan for women. The Soviet Union granted political and economic equality to women in an unprecedented degree:

"ARTICLE 122: Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

"The realization of these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

—[Chapter X—THE NEW (SOVIET) CONSTITUTION OF 1936.]

The German school system, once the pride of the German people, degenerated under fascism to an instrument of ignorance and hate. Between 1932 and 1937, the number of Germans attending universities decreased more than 50 percent. Before World War I, only 33 percent of the Russians could read or write. Today, illiteracy is almost absent in the Soviet Union. Between 1914 and 1937, the number of Soviet men and women in colleges increased 800 per cent:

"ARTICLE 121: Citizens of the USSR have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education, by education free of charge including higher education, by a system of state stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in higher schools, by instruction in schools in the native language, and by the organization in factories, state farms, machine-tractor stations and collective farms of free industrial, technical and agricultural education for the working people."

—[Chapter X—THE NEW (SOVIET) CONSTITUTION OF 1936.]

Economic

We have seen that, under fascism, the productive energies of Germany, Italy, and Japan were turned to war preparations under the slogan of "guns instead of butter."

The communists believe in state ownership of factories, farms, and all other productive agencies, with distribution of the proceeds among all the workers according to their productivity. The Russians have great confidence in the future improvement of their lot, although the average Russian is poor in comparison to American standards. Russians are now confident that their upward march will be rapidly resumed with the end of the War, the resumption of production for civilian use, and the expansion of their great resources.

Conclusion

Our late ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, wrote before the War: "Their (the Nazi) persecutions are quite as severe as those of the 16th century. . . . Treatment of people is more arbitrary than it has been since the Middle Ages." He added prophetically: "What is to come of all this one cannot say—German domination of all Europe or another war."

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Prejudice!—Roadblock To Progress

PRACTICALLY everyone of us has prejudices. Some of us may shudder at the idea of eating frogs and other foods we've never tasted but which other people enjoy. Or we may be prejudiced against bow ties or purple shirts. But these are meaningless prejudices which don't hurt us. There are other prejudices, however, which affect our lives very much. A prejudice against a necktie because of its color is harmless—but a prejudice against a person because of his color, race, nationality, or religion can do plenty of damage.

A prejudice is an opinion or emotional feeling which isn't based on fact or on reason. It is an attitude in a closed mind. Prejudice has been used by the Germans and the Japanese to split nations wide open with hate and confusion. Recognizing how powerful is this weapon in the Axis arsenal, ASF Manual M 5, issued October 1944, declares:

"Enemy attempts to cause confusion in the U. S. through the spread of racial doctrines have made it particularly necessary that there be frank and objective discussion of this subject during the present War. The doctrine of 'Aryan' superiority has become one of the dominant factors in the present world struggle. Hitler has made this doctrine the 'reason' for untold aggression and devastation.

"Likewise, on the other side of the world," the Manual continues, "the Japanese have been trying to demonstrate their inherent superiority. . . ."

The magic of race prejudice, the Japanese discovered, had performed miracles in Europe. It had enabled the Nazis to get away with murder. If Hitler could seize Germany and disrupt Europe with the help of race hate, the Japanese saw no reason why they couldn't do the same thing in Asia.

About a week after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese were broadcasting: "How can America be fighting for racial equality when it does not exist in America?" During the 1943 race riots in Detroit, the Japanese propagandists had a field day broadcasting the news to hundreds of millions of non-whites in Asia and throughout the world.

Japan's "championing" of the Negroes in the United States has only one purpose—to divide us. Negroes, forming as they do about one-tenth of the American population, are an important minority, and Hitler has shown how minority problems can be exploited to the advantage of fascism.

"The man who spreads rumors," ASF Manual M 5 declares, "particularly race rumors, about any group —racial, religious, or national is doing Hitler's or Tojo's work. The Nazis assumed that in this country they would find antagonistic groups who would spend their time fighting each other instead of the German armies. Goebbels said to one of his confidants: 'Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in America. No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there'."

Any American who "plays on these strings" by spreading prejudices against minorities—Catholics, Jews, Negroes, foreign-born, and others—is, whether he knows it or not, playing the Axis game.

(The foregoing will help you to plan a brief introductory talk in your own words.)

Note For This Week's Discussion:

Points to stress in this week's ARMY TALK are: (1) Racial and religious prejudices are not only unchristian and un-American but are deadly weapons used by the Germans and the Japanese in their war against democracy; (2) All of us are members of minority groups which have been scapegoated at one time or another; (3) Once prejudice is used against any group it spreads to other groups; (4) Prejudice makes all of us poorer economically and robs us of the potential contributions of minorities; (5) Prejudice diverts attention from the real issues and prevents us from finding solutions to our problems; (6) Prejudice means disunity which postpones victory and endangers world peace.

How Prejudices Develop

1. *How do we get our prejudices?*

All of us inherit certain characteristics such as the color of our skin and the shape of our head. But we do not inherit our prejudices. When we are born we have only the *capacity* to develop love and hate and the other human emotions.

Whom we learn to like or dislike, love or hate, depends on our experiences—in our home, in our school, in our neighborhood—and the effect these experiences have upon us. The language we learn, our religion, ideas, feelings, and atttitudes, our manners and prejudices—all these come from our environment.

As children, we imitate not only activities of those around us, especially our parents, but also feelings, attitudes, and opinions. Prejudices, too, are absorbed unconsciously from our parents and other people in our environment.

By the time we have grown up we already have "pictures in our mind" of many people with whom we've had little or no contact. We may have a stereotyped picture of Negroes as lazy, stupid, happy-go-lucky; of Jews or Scots as stingy and money-mad; of Irishmen as hot-tempered, brawling, whiskey-loving. These stereotypes are being constantly reinforced through newspapers, movies, conversations and jokes, books and radio. A single story, comic strip, or movie may not make too deep an impression. However, when time after time the Negro is presented as a crap-shooting, shiftless character; the Latin as a gangster or racketeer; the oriental as a slinking, mysterious, and crafty person—then deep and lasting impressions are made which go to form attitudes and prejudices.

Errors Of Generalizing

There is another way that we get false ideas about whole groups of people. As youngsters we may have played games with boys in the neighborhood, and one of them, perhaps a Pole or an Italian, may have cheated. We then conclude that *all* Poles or *all* Italians cheat, and we carry this idea with us all through life. We conclude that because one member of a group acted in a certain way, all members of that racial, religious, or national group will act the same way. We usually make these false generalizations about any group but our own. If we're Protestant and a member of our group lies, we don't condemn all Protestants. If we're Catholic and one of our members steals, we don't say all Catholics are thieves. If we're Jewish and one of our group commits a crime, we don't say all Jews are criminals.

It is only natural and human to be curious about things or people about whom we know very little. Curiosity is wholesome, and when it leads a man to investigate honestly the thing that arouses his curiosity, he often finds something new and interesting. However, when he does not make the effort to look honestly into the thing that first called forth curiosity —when, instead, he lets the matter dwell and go unanswered—he closes his mind to healthy thinking, and trouble begins: Curiosity gives way to suspicion—suspicion quickly converts itself to fear—and fear grows into hate! One fears the thing he suspects, and hates that which makes him afraid. This fear of the strange and unfamiliar is called by a high-sounding name—Xenophobia. Primitive tribes usually feared and therefore hated a neighboring tribe because they didn't know them. Unenlightened people today have that same fear and suspicion of the unknown. Only when we've lived and worked with people of different races, cultures, and backgrounds, and *learned to know them*, can we really overcome these primitive fears.

Insecurity Breeds Prejudice

Prejudices develop, too, from a feeling of insecurity or frustration. We may feel uncertain about our ability or prestige. We may feel insecure in our job or our social position. To strengthen our own confidence and feeling of self-importance, we often search for someone to look down upon as "inferior" or some group to blame for our failure and misfortune. That is why there is more prejudice in times of social stress and economic depression. Depression brings insecurity—and insecure people begin looking around for someone or some group on whom they can pin the blame.

Prejudices are often deliberately exploited by some people to further their own purposes. The Germans used the "hate" technique to divide opposition, to confuse the real issues, to blame national or international ills on innocent scapegoats, and to gain a following by a common hate. "Hate the Jews!" they yelled. "Hate the Poles!" "Hate the Russians!" "Hate the Negroes!" "Hate the Catholics!" Hate them for their color—their religion—their politics—their nationality. Hate them for any reason—or for no reason—but hate them. For hate meant power—to the Nazis!

What Is A Minority?

2. *What do we mean by a minority?*

The dictionary defines a minority as less than half. But that doesn't quite explain the kind of minorities to which you and I and everyone in America belongs. If you're a Catholic, you're part of a minority, because Catholics don't number more than half of the people in this country. If you're a Negro, a foreign-born, a Jew, you're a member of a minority.

Now, if you're a Protestant, you're a member of a

Four Army Chaplains

Four Army chaplains—a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and two Protestant ministers—stood hand in hand on the deck of the sinking transport SS Dorchester in the North Atlantic one bitter winter morning. Struck by a U-boat torpedo, the ship was doomed.

Most of the men were rescued—but not the four khaki-clad chaplains. With utter disregard for their own lives, these four had stripped off their own life-jackets and given them to soldiers who had none of their own. Then, praying to God for the safety of the men abandoning the sinking ship, they remained steadfast on its deck until it plunged to the bottom.

Surviviors later told of having seen the four chaplains, Lt. Washington, priest; Lt. Goode, rabbi; Lt. Poling and Lt. Fox, ministers—praying together as the ship carried them to their death.

majority group in America—but Protestants include Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and scores of other minorities. And while a Protestant may be part of a majority group in one locality in the United States, he may be in a numerical minority in another locality.

America, like the rest of the world, is made up of minorities—religious, racial, and national. Let us remember that a minority group, like the Poles or the Negroes in America, may be a majority group elsewhere (say in Poland or Africa), and that a majority group today may become a minority group tomorrow—or vice versa.

All Have Been "Scapegoats"

In ancient days many people believed that their guilt and sins could be transferred to some other person, animal, or object. During rituals performed by a leader of the tribe, a goat was often chosen by lot and the sins of the tribe passed on to the animal. The goat was then driven into the wilderness or destroyed.

Today, when people blame their troubles or woes on innocent people, we call this unjust persecution "scapegoating."

3. *Have all minority groups been "scapegoated?"*

At one time or another, every minority group has been used as a scapegoat and has suffered from prejudice and persecution. If we go back deep into history, we find powerful leaders who covered up their own selfish motives by inciting people's emotions against "troublemaking" minorities. In the days of the Romans, Christians were blamed for all the troubles of the Roman Empire—including the burning of Rome—and for years they were persecuted.

Christians, in turn, have persecuted Jews. During the "Black Death" in the Middle Ages, when bubonic plague killed off one-fourth of Europe's population, responsibility was laid to the Jews who were tortured and oppressed, even though Jews were dying off as rapidly as Christians. In Spain, monarchists rode to power against the Jews. The autocratic empire of the Czars blamed the Jews for the abuses of the Russian feudal regime and massacred thousands of them.

In the eighteenth century, a large colony of French Hugenots lived in England. They were accused of being dirty, of reducing the standard of living, of depriving Englishmen of the jobs, and of reducing their wages. A flood of pamphlets issued against these Hugenots was reprinted a hundred years later with the word "Jew" substituted for "Hugenot."

In Hitler's Germany the Nazis began by persecuting the Jews, but eventually they turned upon Catholics, Protestants, Czechs, Poles—and the entire world.

Persecution In America

4. *How about America? Has our own history been free of scapegoating?*

America, too, has its shameful pages of persecution of minorities. Many of our early settlers who came here to escape religious prejudices and persecution denied religious freedom to others. Massachusetts expelled dissenters like Roger Williams, while in Salem hysterical witch hunts were pursued. In one colony or another, Catholics, Quakers, Jews, Lutherans, Moravians, Presbyterians, Baptists, deists, atheists, were deprived of political and religious rights.

In the nineteenth century, earlier immigrant groups began to discriminate against the "newer" immigrants. Feeling ran high against the "invasion" of the Irish who arrived in large numbers after Ireland's potato famine of 1846. Riots broke out against them in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. They were accused of introducing slums, crime, and of depriving Americans of jobs.

In 1850, the "Know Nothing" Party was formed to fight the Irish and Catholic immigrants, and the party remained a political force until the Civil War. They and their prejudiced successors yelled about "the flood of immigration sweeping its millions of foreign Roman Catholics over the land."

Eventually, most of this discrimination was turned against later immigrant groups—the Poles, Italians, Slavs, Jews, and Russians. When immigration was restricted to annual quotas for each nationality after World War I, preference was given to earlier immigrant groups. (Quotas were based on the census of

1910, then of 1890, then on the national origin of the white population of 1920.)

What many seem to forget is that we are all immigrants or the children of immigrants. No one has a right to complain about "foreigners" unless it be the American Indian. "Americanism," said our late President Roosevelt, "is not and never was a matter of race and ancestry. Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart."

True Democracy Gaining

5. ***Are there any signs that prejudices and discrimination are decreasing in America?***

While the democratic ideals expressed by the Founding Fathers, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution have not always been practiced, nevertheless, the liberties and freedoms which we share and which bind this nation together, are one of the glorious chapters in human history. We have gone further in the direction of equality of opportunities than have the people of most other countries, and we are continuing our progress in that direction. Through the years there has been a sustained effort to abolish discriminations and prejudices which deny a person his fundamental rights as a citizen in a democracy. Discriminations and prejudices are not products of—but rather challenges to—the American way of life. And each of us has a personal responsibility to see to it that the American way of life prevails.

From the time of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation to the present time, laws have been passed to carry forward the democratic principle "that all men are created equal."

When the Negroes were freed, 90 percent of them could neither read nor write. In 1940, according to the Federal Census, 18 of every 20 Negroes could read and write. Many states have already moved far toward equalization of educational opportunity for Negroes and whites. In a 25-year period, the registration of Negro college students showed an increase of 2,400 percent.

A great advance was made in June 1941 when President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 and declared: "It is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin." The order requires that in all war contracts there is no discrimination "because of race, creed, or national origin" and sets up the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce this provision.

At the same time, many Americans are beginning to realize that racial and religious prejudices menace our war effort and our hopes for world peace. More and more Americans are becoming convinced that every person, regardless of his race, religion, or national origin, should be judged on the basis of his own merit. They are beginning to see that much straight thinking is needed on the problems of minorities and that the solution of these problems has a great deal to do with the welfare of our nation as well as our own and our children's welfare. Many are learning that democracy cannot work for some unless it works for all.

Six Dangers Of Prejudice

6. ***Why is religious and racial prejudice a threat to all of us?***

(Suggestion: Write on the board or read to your group the topic heads in bold-face below. Then get as many of the answers as possible from the group.)

A. Prejudice Is Contagious. History has taught us that when we discriminate against one segment of the people, we set a pattern that may be used against other groups. Hitler's persecution of the Jews, trade unionists, communists, and socialists was later directed against Catholics, Protestants, liberals and eventually the people of the world.

In 1855 Abraham Lincoln understood this when he said: "As a nation we began by declaring all men are created equal. We now read it 'All men are created equal except Negroes.' When the Know Nothings get control it will read 'All men are created equal except Negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics'."

Consideration for the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic, the foreign born, or for any other minority group, rests not merely on the grounds of humanity and justice; it rests on the solid base of self-interest.

B. Prejudice Makes All Of Us Poorer. We can't have an enlightened democracy with minority groups living in ignorance. We can't have a prosperous democracy with minority groups so poor that they can't afford to buy the goods America produces.

If a minority is kept at a low wage scale in the same field or area in which we work, eventually our own wages will be reduced because of a smaller demand for consumer goods and the competition of cheap labor. Conversely, a higher standard of living for any group increases the demands for consumer goods and makes for a more prosperous country. Aside from the fact that it is Christian and democratic, it is also to our own selfish interest to help secure better housing, clothing, and nutrition for ALL our people.

As Eric A. Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, recently declared: "Whenever we erect barriers on the grounds of race or religion, or of occupational or professional status, we hamper the fullest expansion of our economic security. Prejudice doesn't pay. Discrimination is destructive."

C. Prejudice Robs Us Of Minority Talents. Prejudice often prevents minority groups from de-

veloping their abilities and skills. It limits their achievements and deprives the nation of their genius. We are all poorer in America today because discrimination prevents members of some minorities from rising to their greatest possible achievements, thus lessening their potential contributions to the general wealth and welfare of America.

D. Prejudice Blinds Us To Real Situation. Prejudice makes impossible any real solution of economic, social, or personal difficulties. When we blame war or social and economic troubles on some innocent minority group, we are diverting our attention from the real causes. By blaming and hating some scapegoat for our misfortunes, we intensify rather than remove the difficulties. Social ills can only be remedied by all members of society accepting their share of responsibility and cooperating through democratic means to solve their common problems.

E. Prejudice Endangers Victory. Prejudice means disunity, and disunity plays into the hands of the enemies of democracy. National unity is just as essential to victory as battleships and flying fortresses. America can't give its maximum to the war effort unless we conquer the disrupting effects of prejudice on the fighting front and the production front.

The War Department (in ASF Manual M 5) recognizes that "discrimination on the basis of race or color . . ." is "fatal to military efficiency." And War Department pamphlet 20-3 states: "To contribute by act or word toward the increase of misunderstanding, suspicion and tension between peoples of different racial or national origin in this country or among our Allies is to help the enemy!"

The Detroit race riot of June 1943 and the Philadelphia transport strike of August 1944 offer two isolated but dramatic instances of the disruptive effects of discrimination on the production front.

The walk-out of 6,000 employees of the Philadelphia Transportation Company, precipitated by the assignment of eight Negroes to jobs as street-car operators, paralysed the city's vast transportation system. The six-day traffic tie-up kept thousands of war workers from their jobs, and four million man hours of vital war production were lost.

The two-day Detroit race riot cut war production 15 to 50 percent in some plants, and absenteeism ranged from 20 to 90 percent. A million hours of labor were lost.

F. Prejudice Endangers World Peace. Even more disastrous is the effect which news of race riots and discrimination against minorities has upon the morale of our fighting men abroad, and on the millions of people throughout the world, white and colored, whose loyalty and help are so vital to the allied cause. It has been powerful ammunition for the propagandists of the Axis in Europe, Africa, the Near East, and particularly the Far East.

Three-fourths of the people of the world are what we call "colored." These people naturally look to the treatment of our American Negroes to see what we really mean when we speak of democracy. Racial and religious prejudice alienates the confidence of the vast non-white populations as well as other peoples, thwarts their hopes and our hopes of peace and freedom, and ultimately creates the conditions from which future global wars can develop.

How we treat minorities is, therefore, more than a matter of mere domestic concern. Almost 13 million people in the U. S. were born in Europe, and 27 million have parents born in Europe. The mistreatment of some Mexicans in the U. S. echoes throughout North and South America; a race riot provokes discussions and resentments in Africa, the Philippines, and among the 800 million non-white people in China and India.

Throughout the world there are millions of people convinced that this is a total war against fascism and fascist ideas. Their concept of peace includes the hope—even the determination—that when this War is won, there will be no such thing as "superior" and "inferior" peoples anywhere in the world.

Story Of America Proves It

The story of America is proof that there are no "superior" or "inferior" people. Our country has been made great by people who came from every land under the sun—people with names like Carnegie, Sikorsky, Toscanini, Einstein, Osler—and thousands more. But it isn't only the big names, the Hall of Fame names, who have made America—any more than it is only the big names who are winning the War. We know that the biggest part of this War is being fought and won by the little names, by the millions of Joe Doakes who may never make tomorrow's headlines.

The men who built and are building America—who clear her forests, span her rivers, dig her coal, plough her fields, work her machines—the men who made America strong and free—and are fighting and dying to preserve that freedom on battlefields all over the world—are men of every race, color, religion, and nationality. Listen to their names at roll call. Read their names in casualty lists—like these from the New York Times of 29 March 1945:

Agostinello . . . Cohen . . . Curran . . . Grunwald . . . Hrubec . . . Ivanoski . . . Kuzian . . . Marshall . . . Thomas . . . Warblanski . . .

Were any of these "inferior?"

Next Week: **MAJOR PROBLEMS IN OUR WAR AGAINST JAPAN**

AIDS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

The following points of information are offered with the thought that they may be helpful to you during the discussion. They have no immediate place in the discussion proper, but they may prove useful should additional questions be raised by any members of your group.

Modern science has revealed that all human blood is the same whether it be the blood of an Eskimo, Frenchman, German, Englishman, or an African pygmy—except for one basic difference. If you look at the dog tags of the men in your unit you'll notice that there are four types of blood—O, A, B, AB—and it all has to do with the matter of blood transfusions. While blood type O can be mixed successfully with the other three, none of the other three can be mixed with one another without clotting.

Whites, Negroes, Mongolians—ALL races, religions, nationalities have every one of these blood types.

* * *

The "blood and race" theories of the Nazis have never been accepted by scientists and have more than been disproved by the War. It is true that years ago Germans were in the forefront in many fields of science. But today, the U. S.—a melting pot of all nationalities—leads the world in science. In the mid-nineteenth century it was the British, while in the seventeenth century it was the Dutch who were the most scientifically inclined.

Under future historical or cultural influences, the Chinese may again be among the most advanced technological people as they were at an earlier period in world history.

In the ninth century, Scandanavians were the feared, warlike Vikings; today they are a peaceful, non-aggressive people and chief advocates of co-operatives. For centuries the Japanese had a record of uninterrupted peace and non-aggression while today Japan is one of the most warlike of nations.

Immigrant groups coming to America have carried with them the special traditions, skills, and attitudes of the economic group into which they were forced. In feudal agricultural societies, the Jews, excluded from agriculture, were compelled to become the merchants and craftsmen. Thus Jews in America most commonly entered commerce and certain of the skilled crafts and professions. Italians are vine growers in California for obvious geographical and historical reasons. Poles entered the coal fields because many of the first and most enterprising immigrants from Poland were miners from Silesia who established centers of Polish population in America's mining regions.

The special skills which members of a group possess and the occupations in which they engage are the result of historical conditioning and not the result of any inherent traits.

* * *

The following excerpts are from ASF Manual M 5:

"Competent scholars in the field of racial differences are almost unanimous in the opinion that race 'superiority' and 'inferiority' have not been demonstrated despite the existence of clearly defined and tested differences between individuals within every race."

"Scientific knowledge does not support the idea of the inherent superiority of any one race over another. Students of history, psychology, biology, and anthropology are in general agreement that the progress of civilization has had little or no relation to alleged inborn, biological characteristics of particular races or nationalities."

"It is agreed also that most of the differences revealed by intelligence tests and other devices can be accounted for in terms of differences in opportunity and background. The important consideration at this time, then, is how to offer increased opportunities —both physical and cultural—to all handicapped groups, regardless of race, since these variables account in large part for poor performance and achievement in every group."

"Character and personality traits unsuitable in the soldier which may exist among your men are principally the result of environment, not of race."

"The Army cannot function efficiently on the basis of theories that individual capacities are definitely fixed by a man's race."

"The Army accepts no theories of racial inferiority or superiority for American troops but considers that its task is to utilize its men on their individual merits in the achievement of final victory. A realistic and impartial examination of the evidence on racial difference in ability supports this position."

* * *

The following are unofficial figures, compiled under the supervision of Louis I. Dublin, vice-president and

chief statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company:

"Jews comprise approximately 3.5 percent of the population of the U. S. As of 1 March 1945, more than 500,000 Jews were in the armed forces. They constitute a little over 4 percent of the men and women in the service. It is estimated that on 1 March 1945 there were 35,000 Jewish casualties, approximately 7 percent of the Jews in service. Up to 1 March 1945, total casualties in the armed forces were 840,000 or approximately 7 percent."

* * *

For the past 100 years organizations like the "Know Nothing" Party have been asserting that a good Roman Catholic can't be, at the same time, a loyal American citizen. The Vatican, they maintain, claims absolute and unquestioning obedience in all things, and as an American citizen, a Catholic must support the Church against the State.

This slander assumes the existence of a Catholic political party in the United States. Of course, there is no such thing. Catholics, like every other group, are found in all political parties.

Religious bigotry reached shameful heights in the election campaign of 1928 when the late Alfred E. Smith, a devout Catholic, was nominated for President. Anti-Catholics maintained that in the event of Smith's election, the Pope would dictate to the President, and that the interests of the United States would be subordinated to those of the Church.

Alfred E. Smith stated his position clearly and unequivocally. He declared that no power in the Catholic Church could interfere with the operations of the U. S. Constitution or the enforcement of the laws of the land. He believed in absolute freedom of conscience for all men, and in equality of all churches, sects, and beliefs. He believed in the absolute separation of Church and State, and in the enforcement of the Constitution's provisions prohibiting Congress from enacting any law concerning an establishment of religion or preventing religion's free exercise. He believed in the common brotherhood of man and he fervently hoped that "never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God."

* * *

According to an intensive study made by Fortune magazine, "there is no basis whatever for the suggestion that Jews monopolize U. S. business and industry. . . . The great mass of the 4,500,000 American Jews, like the great mass of American non-Jews, is made up of workers, employed and non-employed."

"First of all and very definitely," continues the Fortune survey, "they do not run banking. They play little or no part in great commercial houses like J. P. Morgan, National City Bank, Chase National Bank, Guaranty Trust Co., etc.

"Among the 93,000 bankers in the U. S., the Jews constitute six-tenths of one percent whereas the Jewish population comprises about 3.5 percent of the total number of inhabitants. . . .

"They have an even more inconspicuous place in basic industry . . . steel, rubber, automobiles, chemicals, coal, shipping, transportation, aviation, light and power, telephone and telegraph, engineering, lumber, mining, etc.

"In brief, Jews are so far from controlling the most characteristic of present day American activities that they are hardly represented in them at all.

"There is much Jewish participation in the textile industry as agents and jobbers, silk and cotton converters and in the manufacture of clothing. . . ."

The Fortune study concludes: "Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do not even dominate major sections of the American scene."

Supplementary Material

America The Hope Of Oppressed

"Evil doctrines of discrimination frequently imported from gangster nations plague certain areas in America. Racial and religious intolerance is being preached and practiced here by agents of our enemies, as well as by innocent victims of their propaganda. With relentless determination, our deadly opponents still seek to apply the ancient doctrine of 'divide and rule' in their drive for world domination.

"Unfortunately, propaganda poison is exceedingly difficult to remove from our national bloodstream. The after-effects of this poison may be felt for years to come, especially if we do not recognize its danger and actively combat its spread. No nation on earth is more vulnerable to intolerance and bigotry than America, for no nation is composed of more diverse races and differing creeds than this land of the free. America became great by being a secure haven for freedom of thought and action.

"We prove conclusively that people of *every* race and of *every* creed *can* dwell together in harmony. In fact, America has become the hope and inspiration of all oppressed people throughout the civilized world."

—*President Harry S. Truman*, 17 March 1945.

"The Mainspring Of American Life"

"The Founding Fathers of the United States drew up a Declaration of Independence proclaiming that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Once independence had been won, the framers of the Constitution secured these rights in law by incorporating them into a Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and equality before the law.

"This, the mainspring of American life, is what our enemies would have us destroy even while our armies are winning victories overseas. They would have us forget our belief in the equality of man and adopt their own false standards of race supremacy. They would see us divided against ourselves, our national strength consumed in racial and religious hatreds. The America our troops sought to preserve would then have been destroyed by our own hands.

"This attempt to bring about civil strife has met with more success than many of us care to admit. Propaganda aimed at setting one group against another has found its mark in many instances, and we have seen the sorry spectacle of religious bigotry and racial hatred rise where none had existed before. Or, where misunderstandings already existed, we have seen these misunderstandings somehow turned into animosities bitter enough to involve an entire city. And largely because a few hate-spreaders have accomplished their assignments."

—*Hon. Frank Murphy, Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court: Race Hate—The Enemy Bullets Can't Stop (Liberty Magazine 6 January 1945).*

Scapegoat Concept Violates Christian Code

"In truly civilized societies, where the rights and dignity of the individual are respected and economic opportunity is open to all according to their ability—in short, in a working democracy—these fears and hatreds have little to feed upon. They are dissolved by the forces of political freedom, universal education, and social welfare. Nothing is more undemocratic than hatred of other groups merely because they are somewhat different from our own. To condemn a whole class for the faults of one or two individuals is a sign of stupidity—or of knavery.

"Likewise, when the religion of the people is spiritually vital, prejudices against minorities do not easily take root. The concept of a scapegoat selected from weak and defenseless groups for cruel and unjust treatment violates the whole ethical code of Christianity: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' A religion whose foundation stones are the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man must inevitably contradict any scheme of things that divides mankind into permanently 'superior' groups, mutually hostile. The greatest religious leaders of all faiths have, in fact, opposed these tendencies to set one race or class against another. Pope Pius XII, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the heads of the Protestant communions in America, and the chief rabbis of Judaism have all condemned racial and religious prejudices in outspoken and strikingly similar language.

"The scapegoats of history have suffered tragic injustice, but persecution has never destroyed them. But the bad effects of intolerance upon the intolerant themselves have been evident from Nero to Hitler. Mental specialists who have studied these subjects have found that extreme intolerance has a destructive effect on the mind, and often results in a condition similar to some forms of insanity. It undermines the personality and even physical health; it weakens the ability to enjoy normal life. In the long run, the hater is more to be pitied than the hated."

—*Kenneth M. Gould: They Got The Blame.*

Test Of Democratic Faith

"The peace, to which we now look, will further test our democratic faith. It will not be enough to stamp out anti-democratic practices in the lands of our enemies. The conditions which created fascism there must not pass unnoticed here. Their first, and most dangerous symptom, is always the same everywhere—an abandonment of equal justice to all—the placing of some groups in a preferred class of citizenship at the expense of other groups. True democracy must continue the war on all such beliefs.

"Like most of the great values of life, the ideals of democracy and peace can be won or maintained only by constant struggle. For democracy is a fighting faith. No man with a conscience can be so far removed from that struggle as not to feel the compulsion of joining in it. Each of us in our own way has a job to do. The principles of fascism, and all that fascism stands for with its barbaric denial of human values, must be obliterated and destroyed. To accomplish this there must be an emphatic reassertion of democratic values and a resurgence of democratic faith at home and throughout the world. And there will be."

—*Hon. Hugo L. Black, Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court.*

[RESTRICTED]

Prepared by Army Orientation Branch, Information and Education Division, ASF [A.G. 353 (16 Jan. 44)].

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 598124

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

January 8, 1946

Dear Bob:

The Manual for Official Committees which the American Council has issued has, I think, very great significance for a number of the communities in this region. I am of the opinion that if a very serious job of interpretation were done, it would be possible to sell this whole matter to quite a few of the southern cities. Just now I am particularly interested in New Orleans' effort to get something started in the way of a race relations program.

However, the particular purpose of this letter is to ask for further comments from you on how American Council on Race Relations could offer suggestions, plans and consultant services on the whole question of police training in the South. As you might know the Southern Regional Council has been particularly interested in trying to promote something of this sort in the region. Could we work out some way in which the American Council on Race Relations would aid us in sponsoring some sort of police training program? Would it be worthwhile to come to Atlanta to discuss this or to have one of the representatives from the organization come to Chicago to discuss the matter with you there?

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha
cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

Clearing House Release, No. 23
American Council on Race Relations

May 14, 1946

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Southern Regional Council

TO Correspondents of the Clearing House:

We are sending you the enclosed material as a preliminary report of what communities are doing in the fight against race restrictive housing covenants.

The increasing severity of the national housing shortage and the failure so far to enact national legislation called for by the Wyatt program greatly magnify the obstacles to adequate housing for minorities.

The Clearing House has asked for reports from groups who are attempting to reinforce the legal attacks on restrictive covenants by broad neighborhood or community mobilization against segregation or who are working for legislation to abolish restrictive covenants. While our returns have been neither ample nor conclusive, they serve as hopeful signs that American communities are concerned with the problem and ready to direct intensive efforts toward abolishing artificial restrictions on the living space of any group.

As Correspondents give us further information we shall send out progress reports in this important area of community action.

Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House

Enclosures:

1. "Good Neighbors". Reprint from the Architectural Forum on the California Superior Court decision

2. Community Action Notes

3. Selected References

4. A note on the status of general housing legislation

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

GOOD NEIGHBORS

California judge knocks out race restrictive covenant as unconstitutional.

One big question which many a city will soon have to face got a decisive answer in a Los Angeles courtroom last month. Superior Judge Thurmond Clarke decided that 57 of the city's Negro families may keep the homes they have bought in a race-restricted neighborhood.

Moving slowly into old but still gracious Colonial houses in once fashionable West Adams Heights, well-to-do Negroes (among them: movie actresses Louise Beavers, Hattie McDaniel, Ethel Waters) had created what many a property owner fears—the "mixed" neighborhood. But most "Sugar Hill" property owners, glimpsing the spruce lawns, the careful maintenance of their new neighbors, soon lost their fear. Only a few protested the neighborhood change. Finally the protesting handful went to court, brandishing a race restrictive covenant.

Ethel Waters keeps her house

Judge Thurmond Clarke's decision was not the first to deny enforcement of a race restrictive covenant. But it was the first in the U. S. to state clearly why such covenants cannot be recognized as legal: "It is time that members of the Negro race are accorded, without reservations or evasions, the full rights guaranteed them under the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Judges have been avoiding the real issue too long."

Drawn like iron bands around bulging Negro neighborhoods in most Northern cities, race restrictive covenants have been tightened by war housing shortage. They have been written to apply to almost all minority groups—one court ruled that two American Indians might be restrained from occupying property covered by a covenant proscribing "persons not of the Caucasian race." But their biggest social cost has been paid by the biggest U. S. minority group: Negro citizens.

Restrictive covenants have bottled Negroes in densely crowded areas, where two out of every three houses are substandard, where competition for living space means high rents, where three or four families must occupy space inadequate for one. Sample: a single Harlem block houses 3,871 persons; at a comparable concentration, the whole U. S. population could be housed in one-half of New York City.

New Land Covered. Initiated principally as barriers to Negro expansion into older city neighborhoods, restrictive covenants have by now spread to cover undeveloped suburban land. Said lawyer Oren Miller, who represented most of the defendants in the Sugar Hill case: "No Los Angeles subdivision is opened now without such covenants being written into the original subdivider's deed."

Market Block. New building will ease the acute housing shortage for most Americans. But an important sector of Building's market will be blocked by race restrictions on the land available for building. Nor can racially banned buyers take up housing released in older city neighborhoods as home buyers move to the suburbs. Smart real estate brokers have already realized how much restrictive covenants artificially limit the market for older houses. In some cities brokers have made a specialty of opening neighborhoods to Negro buyers.

Ever since the late, crusading President Franklin D. Roosevelt personally bawled out former Federal Housing Administrator Stewart McDonald for reported FHA discrimination against Negro home buyers, this agency has been a major target in the fight against restrictive covenants. Said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "FHA is preventing the federal government from assisting Negro citizens in meeting their housing needs. It does this by demanding as one of the bases of its guarantee the 'protection' of racial restrictive covenants; by insisting upon the extension of these racial covenants into new areas and, with the use of federal funds and power, thereby requiring residential segregation."

Biggest bone of contention is FHA's Underwriting Manual, which says: "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes." Thus, while FHA will insure mortgages in all-white or all-Negro neighborhoods, it will not accept mortgages in changing or "buffer" neighborhoods. The Manual also warns valuators that deeds should include "prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."

The N. A. A. C. P. has fought for the last six years for deletion of these and other discriminatory instructions from the FHA Manual. Refusing to budge, FHA has argued that neighborhood stability and mortgage security would be jeopardized. FHA is now re-writing its Manual. Whether it has changed its mind about race restrictions in view of Sugar Hill and a few other court-approved examples of mixed but stable neighborhoods remains to be seen.

Door to Race Strife? Those who advocate race restrictive covenants advance two major reasons: (1) appearance of a minority group in a neighborhood means property deterioration and general decline of values; or (2) mixed neighborhoods precipitate racial strife. There is much evidence against both these arguments.

FHA itself has said: "On the basis of credit analysis we consider Negro mortgagors as good or better risk than white mortgagors." Negro spokesmen have pointed out that restrictions on type of occupancy, requiring building owners not to sell or lease except to single families, would be a far more effective check on property deterioration. The National Association of Real Estate Boards has collected opinions of its members, all giving Negro owners and renters a good risk-rating.

Do mixed neighborhoods open a door to racial strife? Public housing experience as well as countless city neighborhoods have demonstrated that many kinds of neighbors can live happily together. The Detroit riots of 1943 supplied dramatic evidence: rioting occurred in sections where white and Negro citizens faced each other across a color line, but not in sections where the two groups lived side by side.

Violation of Public Policy. Race restrictive covenants have no deep root in U. S. public policy. They began to occur only after the Supreme Court ruled in 1917 that city ordinances restricting residential areas according to racial groups are unconstitutional. With zoning segregation knocked out, property owners began to insert race restrictions in property deeds and to band together in covenant agreements. These have been upheld by a majority of state and municipal court rulings. So far the Supreme Court has ducked the question of race restrictive covenants, having refused permission to hear several such cases.

While the U. S. groped for its own solution to this painful but imperative question, a Canadian justice wrote a new chapter in the body of law regulating real estate transfers. Invalidating a deed restriction barring property transfer to Jewish citizens, Toronto Judge Mackay ruled it violated public policy. To define public policy, Judge Mackay drew, probably for the first time in civil jurisprudence, upon the San Francisco charter for precedent. He quoted:

We, the peoples of the United Nations

Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourage of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . . and for these ends

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . .

Reprinted from the January, 1946 issue of The Architectural FORUM

American Council on Race Relations
Clearing House Release

Note on the State of General Housing Legislation

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill (S 1592) has passed the Senate and has been referred to the House Banking and Currency Committee.

After hearings are held and after favorable votes by a majority of this Committee, it must be approved by a majority of the Rules Committee of the House before it can be debated on the floor.

There is so far no indication of scheduled hearings in the first Committee; unless the two House Committees and the House take action quickly, the Bill may not be acted upon in this session of Congress.

Correspondents are urged to remember that the last public housing legislation submitted to the Congress in 1939 was passed readily in the Senate but was defeated in the House. It would be disastrous for the general housing situation throughout the country were this legislation to follow the same course.

Racial minorities have a particular and vital stake in this non-partisan issue. Groups and agencies--both national and local--working for the national welfare will want to press for speedy action by the House.

The Patman Housing Bill (HR 4761) which provides the basis for Wyatt's veterans' housing program, held up until May 9 in the Senate-House Conference Committee, has now been approved in the House, although with a substantial cut in the recommended appropriation. It is presumed that the measure will be ratified by the Senate.

American Council on Race Relations
Clearing House Release

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

Selected References*

I. Background of the Housing Problem for Minorities; some recommended techniques and solutions.

Carey, Elizabeth L. and Robinson, Corrienne K. A Selected List of References on Housing for Negroes. National Housing Agency, Federal Public Housing Authority, Washington, D.C. August 1945.

National Urban League. Opportunity, Summer 1946.

(The whole issue will be devoted to housing for Negroes, with a special article by William E. Hill on restrictive covenants.)

Weaver, Robert C. "Housing in a Democracy." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1946. The Academy: Prince and Lemon Streets, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Single copy $2.00 paper and $2.50 cloth.

Suitable for popular distribution:

National Urban League. Racial Problems in Housing. The League: 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. 10¢.

Congress of Industrial Organizations. Facing the Job of Housing Negroes; A Basic Guide for Collective Action. Obtainable from American Council on Race Relations.

II. The Problem and Consequences of Restrictive Covenants.

Weaver, Robert C. "Race Restrictive Housing Covenants." The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, August 1944.

——— "Chicago: A City of Covenants." Crisis, March 1946. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. Single copy 15¢.

Adams, Walter, M.D. "Mental Hygiene and Restrictive Covenants." Mental Hygiene Bulletin, January-February 1946, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene. Single copies free upon request to the Clearing House, American Council on Race Relations, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1.

*References to general problems of housing are not included in this list. The Clearing House will suggest useful titles for anyone wishing background information in this field.

McEntire, Davis. The Problem of Segregation. Pacific Coast Clearing House, American Council on Race Relations, 259 Geary Street, Room 604, San Francisco 2, Calif. 10¢.

Kimble, G. Eleanor. "Restrictive Covenants." Common Ground, Autumn 1945. Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Ave., New York 3, N.Y. Single copy 50¢.

Doebele, John. Covenants Do Create Slums. Reprinted from America, May 4, 1946. Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, 123 W. Madison St., Chicago 2. 15¢.

Suitable for popular distribution:

Weaver, Robert C. Hemmed In; The ABC's of Race Restrictive Housing Covenants. American Council on Race Relations, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1. 10¢; quantity rates.

Fisk, Rev. Alfred G. Is it American? Democratic? Christian? Interracial Commission, San Francisco Council of Churches, 220 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2. Free.

Chicago Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In A Democracy They Cost Too Much. The Branch: 3456 South State St., Chicago 16.

Chicago Urban League. To the Residents of a Great City--A Message. The League: 203 North Wabash Ave., Chicago 1.

III. The Legal Status of Restrictive Covenants; significant discussions of the legal implementation of a social and economic problem.

Jones, Sidney A., Jr. "The Legality of Race Restrictive Covenants." National Bar Journal, March 1946.

Kahen, Harold I. "Validity of Anti-Negro Restrictive Covenants: A Reconsideration of the Problem." University of Chicago Law Review, February 1945. University of Chicago Press: Chicago 37, Ill. Single copy 75¢.

McGovney, D. O. "Racial Residential Segregation by State Court Enforcement of Restrictive Agreements, Covenants or Conditions in Deeds is Unconstitutional." California Law Review, March 1945. Boalt Hall of Law, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. Single copy 90¢.

For popular distribution:

Canadian Jewish Congress. A Victory for Democracy: The Crucial Decision of Mr. Justice Mackay in Supreme Court of Ontario Declaring Void a Restrictive Land Covenant. Canadian Jewish Congress: 150 Beverly St., Toronto, Canada. 1945. Free.

American Council on Race Relations. Good Neighbors. Reprinted from the Architectural Forum, January 1946. The Council: 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1. Free.

IV. Integrated Housing Work When Given a Chance.

Mummy, Lenore and Phillips, Dorothy. "A Dream Come True." Negro Digest, May 1944.

Logan, Milla Z. "Racial Discrimination Not Allowed." Reprinted from Common Ground, Summer 1944. Bureau for Intercultural Education: 1697 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. 5¢.

(Further references on public interracial housing projects are contained in Carey and Robinson, op. cit.)

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5/14/46

American Council on Race Relations
Clearing House Release

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

Community Action Notes

Columbus, Ohio

The Vanguard League has been pressing the fight against covenants simultaneously on the legal and community fronts. Soliciting cooperation from the CIO County Council and interested persons from Ohio State University, they have distributed pamphlet materials strategically in public places. They have recently rallied support for a case in which an attempt is made to prevent an old people's home from occupying a covenanted site. A motion to dismiss the case was over-ruled by the judge, but the League is continuing its efforts; and cases are now being consolidated by attorneys for joint action behind each case.

San Francisco, California

Following the filing of two suits in the Superior Court to exclude Chinese and a Filipino from the Silver Terrace district, a citizens' group from Portola Heights, affiliated with the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, presented a resolution to the Mayor asking official city support for a campaign to outlaw restrictive covenants. The court actions were subsequently withdrawn.

Chicago, Illinois

Spurred to more vigorous acticity by the clear enunciation of a policy against restrictive covenants in the first city-wide conference of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations (February 1944), the South Side white property owners association launched a campaign in justification of racial restrictions on living space. As in all cases of "show down", the stand taken by the Commission crystallized the opposition. But the wide dissemination of literature by the property owners--for the first time bringing this important motive for their operation into the open--lost them the support of numbers of their own members, whose affiliation had, in good faith, been based on the announced program for improvement of the neighborhood.

In the summer of 1945, this campaign flared up again when Negro WACS were quartered in barracks on the "white" lake-front property next to Gardner General Hospital. City-wide organizations and some of the white property owners vigorously supported the Army action; and the same groups initiated a series of community meetings in the white South Side area to mobilize for an attack on restrictive covenants. Several hundred property owners in the area signed community pledges to abide by occupancy standards and to oppose any restriction on rental or sale on the basis of color, creed, or national origin. This was countered by renewed activity of the property owners association; and, unfortunately, after difficulties were encountered in securing a school for meetings of the new citizens' group, activity and interest gradually died down.*

*A city-wide conference is called for the week end of May 10 by the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, out of which it is hoped an action program may develop.

On Christmas Eve, 1945, the Sauganash Court Veterans Housing project was opened in a northwest section of Chicago. The project was leased by the city from the federal government for moderately low rental. In order to move into the project, the head of the family must be a veteran whose residence was established a year before the war.

Twenty-five families moved into Sauganash when the project was opened; and in the course of time applications were received from Negro families whose eligibility on the basis of military service and residence qualifications was unquestioned.

The local "Improvement Association", however, objected to Negroes moving into the neighborhood. Thereupon, the tenants of Sauganash jointly petitioned the government to open the project to all veterans, regardless of race, creed, or national origin. Among the seventy families now living in the project three are families of Negro veterans.

The "Improvement Association" is now attempting to introduce race restrictive covenants for the area--including an adjacent neighborhood over which it has not heretofore claimed jurisdiction. Over the past eighteen years it has had a membership of around twenty to thirty members. At a recent meeting on this issue, the attendance was 125.

Meanwhile, the Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continues to carry on legal fights in a number of court cases and has introduced--unsuccessfully--a bill to abolish restrictive covenants into the State Legislature.

Community Action on the Other Side of the Ledger

Newspapers all over the country carry stories of vandalism, court cases, and community action to bar Negroes and other minority groups from moving into new areas.

> A white family in Queens, New York, having extra room, invited a homeless Negro veteran and his wife to live in their home. Two days later a can of liquid tar was smeared over the steps of the home, and on subsequent days four more acts of vandalism occurred. Nearby, an aged Jewish couple have had the windows of their home repeatedly broken and racial epithets hurled at them.
>
> In Baltimore, 200 residents of a "white" area met in a neighborhood church to organize a delegation to protest the "encroachment" of Negro families into "solid white neighborhoods". The meeting was called by the neighborhood Improvement Association.
>
> In Miami, a property owners league met, also in a church, to urge the strengthening of zoning regulations to prevent expansion of the Negro section. (The Board of County Commissioners adopted

a resolution segregating areas for Negro and white occupancy. Two Negro families who had bought property in the "white areas" and were arrested for violating the ordinance brought suit challenging the validity of the county legislation. The Florida Supreme Court unanimously ruled on April 30 that Dade County had no authority to enact zoning laws excluding Negroes from living in any section of Miami.)

In Gary, Indiana, an expensive church was built on the boundary of the central district where Negroes live. Parishioners were urged to protect the value of the church property by not selling or renting to Negroes.

In Chicago, Illinois, a social service organization rented a house on the Northwest Side. After the entrance of a Negro social worker into the new quarters, the house was pillaged and rendered altogether useless to the agency.

These samples can be multiplied countless times for communities throughout the country.

So-called improvement organizations of property owners are well organized. As Carey McWilliams has pointed out, when several "Improvement Associations" are organized in a town, they invariably federate and work together. Such organization involves large numbers of people and considerable wealth.

The legal fight is being carried on vigorously by both sides; and there is reason for optimism in the recent California* and Ontario decisions as well as in the fine appeal of Loren Miller on behalf of seven sets of defendents in the Supreme Court of California.

But to insure the success of further cases and--at least equally important--their effect upon community life, community organizations and official bodies must meet the intensified activity of anti-democratic groups with forceful programs. Such programs cannot be carried out by a few civic organizations or small neighborhood groups working alone. They demand the cooperation of all groups and agencies working toward a decent community; they demand that the facts on housing for minorities and on the role of arbitrary restrictions be brought to the people of the city through their churches, their unions, their fraternal organizations and community or neighborhood agencies; in the press and over the radio. This does not entail the formation of a new organization. It does entail the planning and working together of all progressive groups.

*See Enclosure 1

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Secretary

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JUN 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

June 17, 1946

M E M O R A N D U M

To: All Participating Organizations in the National Conference on Veterans' Problems

From: Sydney Taylor Brown, Coordinator of Veterans' Affairs

Re: Preliminary Announcement of National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems

On July 12th, the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems will convene at the Willkie Memorial Building in New York City. It is expected that the Agency chiefs visited in Washington by the Special Committee set up by the Conference in April, will report back on the action taken on these recommendations. Likewise, each of the national veterans' organizations are expected to send delegates to report on the following points:

1. To describe the policy of their respective organizations with regard to membership in and participation of, minority group veterans;

2. To describe the program or activities their organizations have set up for minority veterans;

3. To indicate what action has been taken regarding their support or non-support of the Conference program to date;

4. To report on the support of their organizations on the resolutions drawn up at the National Emergency Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems.

The purpose of the July Conference will be to assemble information on government operations to that date; to report on government policy and program in reference to the G.I. Bill of Rights; to evaluate recommendations for future governmental operations; to lay a basis for coordinating efforts on the part of organizations interested in veterans' affairs; and to stimulate the veterans' organizations to the formation of a permanent or continuing organization.

Each of the organizations which participated at the April meeting is expected to send official delegates to the July meeting. List of those organizations invited to the National Emergency Conference is being sent to you in order that additional organizations may be suggested.

Further details will be forthcoming concerning the agenda and speakers.

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American Council on Race Relations
32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1

Emergency National

CONFERENCE ON MINORITY VETERANS' PROBLEMS

Willkie Memorial Building
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Friday, April 5, 1946

ORGANIZATIONS INVITED

American Association of Social Workers
130 East 22nd Street, New York 10

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue, New York

American Federation of Labor
AFL Building, Washington, D. C.

American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16

American Jewish Congress
425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16

American Legion, National Headquarters
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue, New York

American Red Cross
17th & D Sts., NW., Washington, D.C.

American Veterans Committee
554 Madison Avenue, New York 31

American Veterans of World War II
507 N Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

Americans United for World Organization
5 West 54th Street, New York

Anti-Defamation League
100 North LaSalle Street, Chicago

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, New York

Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway, New York 19

Catholic Veterans
Empire State Building, New York

CIO Political Action Committee
205 East 42nd Street, New York

City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem
516 Fifth Avenue, New York

Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place, NW.,
Washington, D. C.

Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches
389 Fourth Avenue, New York 10

Disabled American Veterans
1423 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10

Independent Citizens Committee for the
Arts, Sciences and Professions
Hotel Astor, New York 19

International Workers' Order
64 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1

Japanese American Citizens League
299 Madison Avenue, New York

Japanese Americans for Democracy
72 West 52nd Street, New York

Jewish War Veterans of the
United States of America
276 Fifth Avenue, New York 1

Kiwanis International
520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago

Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City
Municipal Building, Brooklyn, N. Y.

National Association of Colored
Graduate Nurses, Inc.
1790 Broadway, New York 19

National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18

National CIO Committee to Abolish
Discrimination
718 Jackson Place, NW.
Washington, D. C.

National Citizens Political Action
Committee
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17

National Community Chests and Councils
155 East 44th Street, New York 17

National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, NW.
Washington 5, D. C.

National Council of Negro Veterans
Kansas City, Missouri

National Council for a Permanent FEPC
930 F Street, NW.,
Washington, 4, D. C.

National Jewish Welfare Board
145 East 32nd Street, New York 16

National Negro College Fund, Inc.
38 East 57th Street, New York

National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue, New York

National Social Welfare Assembly
1790 Broadway, New York 19

National Urban League
1133 Broadway, New York 10

Pan American Union
Washington 6, D. C.

Provisional Committee for a National
Veterans Organization
217 West 125th Street, New York 27

Regular Veteran Women's Association
1203 - 31st Street, NW.
Washington, D. C.

Rotary International
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago

Salvation Army
120 West 14th Street, New York 11

Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Murray Hill Hotel
112 Park Avenue, New York 17

Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Mason Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

United Transport Service Employees
of America
3452 South State Street, Chicago

United Veterans for Equality
c/o Peoples' Voice
210 West 125th Street, New York

Veterans' Committee Against
Discrimination
Hotel Diplomat
180 West 43rd Street, New York 18

Veterans' League of America
45 Astor Place, New York

Veterans of Foreign Wars
99 Sixth Avenue
Forest Hills, New York

Young Men's Christian Association
347 Madison Avenue, New York 17

Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue, New York

* * * * * *

4/2/46
hmw

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

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Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

July 18, 1946

TO: All Participating Organizations in the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the American Council's News Release on the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems, and the Resolutions adopted by the Conference. In the near future, a completed set of resolutions plus the summary of the Conference, will be sent to you.

We wish to thank you for your interest and participation, which contributed much to the success of the Conference, in the problems faced by minority veterans. It is hoped that you will participate in and give suppport to the future endeavors of the continuing Joint Action Council on Minority Veterans' Problems.

Because of the number of requests, we are including the enclosed brochure.

Sincerely,

Sydney Taylor-Brown

Sydney Taylor- Brown
Coordinator of Veterans' Affairs

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NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON MINORITY VETERANS' PROBLEMS

CALLED BY THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 12

The Resolutions Committee consisting of:

Conference Chairman: Charles H. Houston

Louis Harris - Chairman	American Veterans' Committee
George Mitchell	Southern Regional Council
Bertram Alves	UNAVA
Jessie Dedmon	NAACP
Dorothy Burnham	Southern Negro Youth Congress
Lester Duberstein	Jewish War Veterans
Manuel Muravchik	Veterans' League of America
Charity Adams	Former Lt. Col. of the WACS
A. A. Liveright	American Council on Race Relations

presented the following resolutions to the Conference, and were adopted by it.

Establishment of a Joint Action Council

1. That a continuing Joint Action Council on minority veterans' affairs be established, initial membership of the Council to be all groups who participated in the two conferences on Minority Veterans' Problems. That membership in the Council may include other interested groups. That within this Joint Action Council, a special policy and public relations committee consisting only of veterans' groups be established to handle certain aspects of the problem.

2. That the American Council be asked to serve as a clearing house for this Joint Action Council.

3. That Mr. Charles Houston be named as temporary chairman with responsbility to implement the resolution made by the veterans' organizations at the morning session and arrange for a conference for these veterans' groups with President Truman.

Conference with President Truman

4. That the Joint Action Council on minority veterans' affairs proceed immediately to implement the resolution made by the veterans' organizations at the morning session and arrange for a conference for these veterans' groups with President Truman.* (see attached resolution).

General Resolutions

5. On practices within veterans' organizations:

   a. We condemn in non-sectarian veterans' organizations in the practice of discrimination against minority groups in their organizational setups.

We commend those organizations whose constitution and program unequivocally state and stand for complete integration and participation by all veterans, regardless of race, creed or color.

b. We recommend that all veterans' organizations take an active part in minority relations by setting up within each organization a special minority relations division on the local level.

6. Civil Liberties

We condemn the numerous attacks on the civil liberties of the populace and of veterans, particularly in the South, as in the extreme case of Columbia, Tenn., and our committee is instructed to call on the Attorney-General and urge the reopening and review of the Columbia case, and prompt action to invoke the full powers of the law against such violations.

7. Housing

That the following message be sent from the Conference to House majority and minority leaders, Joseph Martin and John McCormack: "The National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems, representing 80 delegates from 50 national veterans and civic organizations, urge you to take immediate steps to secure enactment of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill before recess, as the major measure for adequate housing for veterans within their ability to pay. Charles H. Houston, Conference Chairman".

NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON MINORITY VETERANS' PROBLEMS

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 12

Resolution presented jointly by five Veterans' organizations; passed unanimously.

American Veterans Committee
Catholic War Veterans
Jewish War Veterans
Veterans' League of America
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America

WHEREAS, inadequate administration of the G. I. Bill of Rights and severe cuts in other measures designed to help veterans, such as the housing program, are preventing veterans from obtaining their full benefits and are impeding America's progress toward full prosperity, and

WHEREAS minority group veterans suffer, in addition to the general inadequacies of these measures, the special privations resulting from discrimination and segregation, and further suffer denials of the democracy guaranteed by the Constitution, such as the right to vote in certain states, and discriminatory discharges for certain racial groups, and

WHEREAS these minority group veterans were called upon to make equal sacrifice in war service and contributed in full measure to our country's victory, and

WHEREAS the previous Conference on Minority Veterans' problems has presented to all federal agencies involved the facts about treatment of minority veterans, and

WHEREAS the reports of federal agencies as presented here today indicate little progress in eliminating unequal treatment of minority veterans or implementing the recommendations of the previous Conference, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Conference make available to all veterans' groups and other interested organizations the facts about discrimination and segregation of minority group veterans, and

That the Conference appoint a special committee to be made up of the veterans' organizations here represented and such others as may wish to participate, to lay before President Truman the problems facing minority veterans, and to recommend to him specific administrative and legislative steps to eliminate these problems.

News

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS
Call Information Service Phone CENtral 3066

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Eighty delegates from fifty national organizations, at the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans Problems, Friday (July 12), unanimously endorsed the joint proposal of five veterans' groups that a veterans' delegation lay before President Truman charges of discrimination under the G.I. Bill of Rights, and to demand the protection of the Department of Justice for Negro and other minority G.I.'s.

The veterans' groups who comprise the delegation are: Catholic War Veterans, Jewish War Veterans, American Veterans Committee, Veterans League of America, and United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.

The nomination of the veterans' delegation at the Conference, which was called by the American Council on Race Relations, came after reports were heard from representatives of the Veterans' Administration, the U. S. Employment Service, and the National Housing Agency. These reports were in the form of progress reports on the recommendations made to these agencies by the National Emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems held here April 5 last.

A resolution of the five veterans' groups, which was adopted unanimously by the Conference today, declared that the reports "indicate little progress in eliminating unequal treatment of minority veterans."

Charles H. Houston, Conference Chairman, prominent Washington attorney and Vice President of the American Council on Race Relations, declared in a special address at the luncheon meeting of the Conference: "Reports we have heard this morning convince me that in the main the federal agencies responsible for the administration of the G.I. Bill of Rights are not facing up to the task of aggressively combating discrimination against Negro, Japanese American, Mexican, Jewish and other minority group veterans. The federal agencies appear to be concerned chiefly with telling us why they cannot effectively fight discrimination, rather than going out and fighting it. What is needed obviously is popular pressure on government. The national organizations here represented should urge their local branches to put the same kind of pressure on local offices of the federal agencies that the Conference is applying at the national level."

Dissatisfied with the reports of the Washington agencies, the Conference took steps to set up "a continuing joint council on minority veterans' problems" with the participation of the 50 national organizations attending the Conference. The American Council on Race Relations was asked by the Conference to act as a clearing house for the Joint Council.

A resolution passed by the Conference "condemned the numerous attacks on the civil liberties of the people and the veterans, particularly in the South, as in the extreme case of Columbia, Tennessee." The veterans' delegation to President Truman was "instructed to call on the Attorney General and urge the reopening and review of the Columbia case, and prompt action to invoke the full powers of the law against such violations."

# # #

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

The national unity now vital to victory will be equally essential to the solution of post-war problems and to the progress of our nation in the family of nations. American democracy—its functioning and its future—depends today as never before on the degree to which its rights and privileges, as well as its obligations, extend to the whole people.

The American Council on Race Relations seeks to strengthen our democratic way of life by working for the extension of full rights and opportunities to those citizens now restricted through discrimination because of race, creed or national origin.

The Council has as its objective . . .

FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL CITIZENS IN ALL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE: EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES.

The American Council on Race Relations affirms as essential to full participation in American life . . .

Full opportunity for employment and promotion according to ability, training and experience; full access to training facilities; full participation in labor organizations.

Adequate housing for all, without race restrictive covenants or other segregation devices.

Full access to health, welfare, recreational and community facilities.

Full and equal opportunities at all levels of education.

Full access to public places and conveyances.

Full rights of citizenship, including exercise of franchise and equal opportunity for public office and public employment.

The establishment of free and unsegregated living in American communities.

Toward these ends, which require immediate and aggressive action, the American Council on Race Relations . . .

Offers an advisory and consultant service to communities and individuals attempting to achieve democratic race relations.

Serves as a clearing house to facilitate the nation-wide exchange of information and experience regarding race relations.

Stimulates national planning and programs on race relations through continuing contacts with government, management and labor, and other agencies.

Conducts a national information service using all media of information to direct public concern to the full functioning of democracy.

These activities are carried out through three major divisions . . .

COMMUNITY SERVICES—Assists mayor's committees, community councils and other local groups in community planning and organization.

CLEARING HOUSE—Through clearing house correspondents, accumulates and circularizes facts on important developments, achievements and techniques in race relations.

INFORMATION SERVICE — Issues original materials and works for democratic attitudes in news and entertainment media.

The American Council on Race Relations is a non-profit organization. It is established as a service agency aimed primarily at providing community consultation, planning and assistance, rather than as a membership organization. The Council derives its support from contributions, and counts upon substantial assistance from labor organizations, church groups, foundations and individuals.

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32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Ill.

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PRESIDENT

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Night Letter

July 19, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liveright, Executive Director
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Regret no way of collecting details on theaters by July 19. As far as we can discover all Southern theaters fall into categories four or five. I saw Charles Johnson at Fisk Tuesday and he told me that such information as he could obtain through institute visitors would be forwarded to you.

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

COLLECT.

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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GUY B JOHNSON=

SOUTHER REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ROOM 432 ATLA=

RECENTLY APPOINTED ACTORS' EQUITY COMMITTEE TO FIGHT JIM CROW IN LEGITIMATE THEATERS HAS ASKED OUR HELP IN SECURING FACTUAL INFORMATION. WILL APPRECIATE YOUR COOPERATION IN SECURING ANSWER TO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE IN OUR HANDS BY WIRE COLLECT OR SPECIAL DELIVERY FRIDAY JULY 19. INDICATE KIND AND DEGREE OFDISCRIMINATION LEGITMIATE THEATERS IN MAJOR COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTH IN DETAIL ACCORDING TO APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES AS FOLLOWS, (1) NO DISCRIMINATION AND EFFORT TO DISCOURAGE NEGRO PATRONAGE (2) NO OFFICIAL DISCRIMINATION BUT EFFORTS TO DISCOURAGE NEGRO PATRONAGE (3) SEPARATE SEATING FOR NEGROES ON GROUND FLOOR (4) RESTRICTED TO GALLERIES (5) NO PERMITTED AT ALL (6) OTHER TYPE OF DISCRIMINATION ADDITIONAL COMMENTS WILL BE HELPFUL=

=A A LIVERIGHT EXCUTIVE DIRECTOR AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS 32 WEST RANDOLPH ST.

19 1 2 3 5 6 ALSO 4 32.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 20, 1946

Mrs. Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Grunsfeld:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 13, addressed to Dr. Guy B. Johnson.

Dr. Johnson is on his vacation and will hardly return before early in September.

The situation which has been called to your attention by Mrs. F. H. Jordan is being referred to Mr. N. C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education, State Department of Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina. Such matters are usually handled by him and I am sure he will be glad to do something about it.

In the meanwhile, a request from the leading colored citizens of Tryon and, especially, the officers of the Negro Parent-Teacher Association, addressed directly to Mr. Newbold would be of great value in having this matter settled in a desirable way. It would be worthwhile to have this suggestion passed on to Mrs. Jordan who could probably have the person reporting the situation to her get three or five leading colored citizens interested in having the matter brought to Mr. Newbold's attention.

I wish to thank you for referring this matter to us.

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ
cc: Mr. N. C. Newbold

August 20, 1946

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which explains itself.

In view of the fact that Mrs. Jordan has spent several winters at Tryon, I assume that she has become interested in the entire school situation there. If she had known of you, I feel that she would have written the letter directly to you.

Knowing how effectively you have always handled such situations, I am referring the matter to you without suggestion.

I have read with keen interest the column by Miss Nell Battle Lewis in the News and Observer for Sunday morning, August 4. This is the second time recently that I have seen references to you and the great work you have done in North Carolina, made by Miss Lewis.

I trust that you have had a pleasant vacation, and that your noble work will continue unabated.

With kindest good wishes, I remain yo

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ
Encl.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

August 13, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The enclosed letter, I think, is self-explanatory. I do not know what the American Council can do in this section, but I felt sure that you would want to act on it. If you have any suggestions as to how we might also be helpful, I would appreciate knowing what you feel we can do.

Sincerely,

Mary Jane Grunsfeld

Mrs. Mary-Jane Grunsfeld
Director, Clearing House

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

P. O. BOX 292
Hyannis Port
Massachusetts

August 2, 1946

American Council on Racial Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

I wish to call to your attention the situation of the colored high school students in Tryon, North Carolina during the coming winter. They will be deprived of continuing their education because of the lack of a school bus. The old one is worn out.

Tryon is a small town and the colored pupils are not sufficiently numerous to have the school open without the attendance of pupils from two nearby towns. They are not able to come as no means of transportation will be furnished this winter, thus the school will not open as about 75 pupils is the quota necessary. Adequate transportation is furnished at the high school for white pupils.

These young colored people feel they are being deprived of an opportunity to secure better positions when they commence to work as a high school education is a prerequisite for a good job.

I have spent winters in Tryon for many years and during the summer have a maid from there so I write to enlist your interest to bring the influence of your organization to bear to redress this injustice.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Ethel Jordan

Mrs. F. H. Jordan

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Secretary

August 23, 1946

File

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Your letter of August 20 has come while Mrs. Grunsfeld is on vacation. I know she will be happy to learn of the interest the Southern Regional Council is taking regarding the Tryon high school situation. I will call your correspondence to Mrs. Grunsfeld's attention upon her return and, in the meantime, I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Mrs. Jordan.

Sincerely yours,

Dahlia Owens

Dahlia Owens
Secretary to Mrs. Grunsfeld

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Secretary

August 23, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Just a line to tell you how greatly I appreciate your extremely prompt and informative answer to our inquiry about the theater situation. The material we are getting from you and others may well be an important factor in securing an agreement from Actors' Equity not to permit any of its road shows to play in legitimate theaters which have a policy of discrimination.

I will see that copies of the entire survey, as well as any information about Equity's action, are sent on to you.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

SURVEY OF DISCRIMINATION IN LEGITIMATE THEATERS

By American Council on Race Relations
For Actors' Equity Committee on Jim Crow in Theaters
July 1946

COMMUNITY	GENERAL PATTERN	SPECIAL SITUATIONS	REMARKS AND SOURCE
Atlanta, Georgia	Varies from no admittance to gallery segregation	Two legitimate theaters - Admission at all dependent upon liberality of management of road companies as well as demand for seats. Negroes Negroes never seated lower than gallery, and even then seated in segregated section of gallery.	Report indicates Equity can have some effect. Fisk Institute
Austin, Texas	Negroes not admitted	If Negro show (Porgy and Bess, etc.), Negroes admitted but restricted to galleries.	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Baltimore, Maryland	Varies from segregation in gallery to no admittance at all	Two legitimate theaters - Negroes restricted to gallery in Ford's Theater; Lyric has variable pattern of discrimination. Paul Robeson and others have canceled Baltimore engagements because of discrimination. Concert Hall - Negroes not admitted at all.	Segregation patterns being bucked in other regards, therefore some chance that strong Equity stand might have effect. Local efforts to break pattern. Urban League and Fisk Institute
Birmingham, Alabama	Seating in gallery only as general practice	Temple Theater - Only legitimate theater in community. Negroes restricted to gallery only and occasionally excluded entirely.	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Boston, Massachusetts	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		Governor's Committee and Urban League
Charleston, South Carolina	Negroes not admitted	County Auditorium - Major presentations shown here; Auditorium closed to Negroes.	Fisk Institute
Chattanooga, Tennessee	Negroes not admitted		Fisk Institute
Chicago, Illinois	No discrimination and no formalized efforts to discourage Negro patronage	Legitimate theaters - Several persons interviewed state that frequently when Negroes purchase tickets at the box office they are sold seats in undesirable sections, but if seats secured otherwise, no efforts are made to change seats.	American Council on Race Relations

Survey of Discrimination in Legitimate Theaters - Page 2

COMMUNITY	GENERAL PATTERN	SPECIAL SITUATIONS	REMARKS AND SOURCE
Cincinnati, Ohio	No official discrimination but Negroes usually seated in blocks in lower priced sections	Legitimate theaters - Evidently more discriminating than community pattern. Definite practice of seating Negroes in special sections and refusal at box office to sell seats in higher priced sections. Movies - No discrimination and no segregation whatsoever.	Since legitimate theaters are more discriminating than community pattern, Equity should be effective in bringing these theaters in line. Negro Division - Council of Social Agencies
Cleveland, Ohio	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage	City of Cleveland Community Relations Board states no discrimination for 15 years in Cleveland. Applies to motion picture houses and concerts as well as legitimate theaters.	City of Cleveland Community Relations Board
Denver, Colorado	General policy in community, no discrimination, but summer theater segregates	City Auditorium - (Oberfelder-Slack production held here) - completely nondiscriminatory policy. Elitch's Summer Theater - Negroes admitted only to balcony. Manager of theater has said he would rather close than permit Negroes on ground floor. Movies - No segregation or discrimination.	If any member of Equity appear at Elitch's Summer Theater, constructive action could be taken. Denver Unity Council
Detroit, Michigan	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage	This practice in effect in Detroit for last decade in two legitimate houses.	Detroit Interracial Committee
El Paso, Texas	Negroes not permitted in theaters		Fisk Institute
Greensboro, North Carolina	Negroes admitted but restricted to galleries	One legitimate theater in Greensboro. Same picture held to be generally true throughout state.	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Kansas City, Missouri	Varies from no admission to separate seating in galleries. Of 50 commercial theaters, only three - those in Negro community - open to Negroes.	Burlesque - Negroes seated in third balcony only. Music Hall - Housed in Municipal Auditorium and leased to private concessionnaires, Negroes restricted to certain sections. When Negro promoter staged show, there was no discrimination. Jewish Community Center - Private theater in Center admits Negroes. Nelson Art Gallery and Atkins Museum - No attempt to discriminate. Drive-In, Open Air Theater - No attempt to discriminate.	Local attempts by community under way to break discrimination in Music Hall, Arena, and Little Theater. Strong stand by road companies would have telling effect on local situation. Urban League

Survey of Discrimination in Legitimate Theaters - Page 3

COMMUNITY	GENERAL PATTERN	SPECIAL SITUATIONS	REMARKS AND SOURCE
Los Angeles, California	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		Los Angeles Council for Civic Unity, after check with local groups
Memphis, Tennessee	Negroes segregated to galleries	Segregation a matter of city policy. Efforts to have unsegregated concerts have been discouraged by city administration.	Fisk Institute
Miami, Florida	Negroes excluded entirely from all white theaters in area	Negroes never admitted to white theaters -- restricted to Negro theaters in Negro areas. Only exception, occasional mixed audiences in Negro High Schools to hear prominent colored artists give	In view of large northern transient population, rigid pattern might be broken. Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Minneapolis, Minnesota	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		Urban League and Mayor's Council on Human Relations
Nashville, Tennessee	Varies from no Negroes permitted to segregated seating	Community Playhouse - (local amateur group) - Excludes Negroes entirely. Ryman Auditorium - If small Negro patronage, Negroes assigned separate section in gallery. If considerable Negro attendance, segregated seating downstairs and upstairs. Movies - Negroes segregated in gallery and must use separate alley entrance.	Strong policy by Equity and road companies might help to liberalize practices in Ryman Auditorium. Fisk Institute and Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Newark, New Jersey	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		New Jersey Division Against Discrimination
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	No Negroes permitted except in exclusively Negro theaters	Exclusion of Negroes policy of theater managements. No state law or city ordinance requiring segregation.	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	No official discrimination or segregation	Legitimate Theaters - Occasional instances of discrimination in subtle manner occur in individual theaters, but these seem to be the exception rather than the rule.	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	No discrimination of any kind	Nixon (legitimate theater) - No discrimination of any kind. Major motion picture houses - No discrimination of any kind. Small and suburban picture houses - There is probably some discrimination but no strong complaints or questions raised.	Situation appears to be satisfactory. Pittsburgh Courier

Survey of Discrimination in Legitimate Theaters - Page 4

COMMUNITY	GENERAL PATTERN	SPECIAL SITUATIONS	REMARKS AND SOURCE
Richmond, Virginia	Negroes admitted but segregated under state law	Privately owned theater - Now changing ownership. Expects to admit Negroes but will conform with state law on segregation. In the past, seats only sold to Negroes when show was not assured sell-out. City controlled theater - Segregation varies, depending upon sponsorship of each show.	Attitude of Equity and of road shows would evidently have effect on minimizing segregation in city controlled theater. Southern Conference for Human Welfare
St. Louis, Missouri	Varies from segregation in balconies in private theater to no restriction in Municipal Auditorium	Burlesque - Negroes seated in the galleries only. American Theater (only private legitimate theater) - ordinarily Negroes seated only in second balcony but policy has varied; when Emporer Jones played, Negroes seated all over. Municipal Auditorium (owned by city and managed by official commission) - Negroes freely admitted to all parts of concert and convention hall. This represents a change of policy away from complete segregation which formerly applied.	St. Louis Mayor's Committee working to bring about change in present policy in American Theater. In view of local efforts and non-segregation in the Municiapl Auditorium, strong Equity stand would be effective. Urban League
St. Paul, Minnesota	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		St. Paul Human Relations Committee and Urban League
San Francisco, California	No evident discrimination or efforts to discourage Negro patronage		American Council on Race Relations
Savannah, Georgia	Negroes not admitted except in one theater where gallery seating permitted		Fisk Institute
Seattle, Washington	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		Mayor's Committee on Civic Unity
Tampa, Florida	Negroes not admitted		Fisk Institute

COMMUNITY	GENERAL PATTERN	SPECIAL SITUATIONS	REMARKS AND SOURCE
Trenton, New Jersey	No discrimination and no effort to discourage Negro patronage		New Jersey Division Against Discrimination
Washington, D. C.	Negroes not permitted in legitimate theaters, movies, or Constitution Hall	National Theater - General policy not to admit Negroes. Pattern broken occasionally when visiting company has insisted or artist has special appeal to Negro audience. Constitution Hall - Negroes not admitted except when undue pressure or special circumstances warrant. Burlesque - Negroes seated in gallery but must use special gallery entrance. Wardman Park Hotel Theater - No Negroes admitted. Jewish Community Center - Mixed audience but Jim Crow stage. Negroes admitted Mount Vernon Church Theater. George Washington University Theater - Absolute color bar. High School auditoriums run by double school system - colored high schools democratic.	Charles Houston, American Council on Race Relations, and Community Education, Inc.

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uopwa-24

POPULATION FIGURES FOR THEATER SURVEY

COMMUNITY	TOTAL (1945 estimate unless otherwise indicated)	NEGRO (1940 census unless otherwise indicated)	COMMUNITY	TOTAL (1945 estimate unless otherwise indicated)	NEGRO (1940 census unless otherwise indicated)
Baltimore, Md.	927,941	165,843	Seattle, Wash.	500,000	3,789
Boston, Mass.	786,000	23,679	Trenton, N. J.	160,000	9,308
Chicago, Ill.	3,450,000	350,000 (1943 est.)	Washington, D. C.	816,982 (1944 est.)	187,266
Cincinnati, Ohio	460,000	55,593	The following are based on 1940 census figures:		
Cleveland, Ohio	920,000	84,504	Atlanta, Ga.	302,288	104,533
Denver, Colo.	375,000	7,836	Austin, Texas	87,930	14,861
Detroit, Mich.	1,652,905	213,345 (1944 est.)	Birmingham, Ala.	267,583	108,938
Kansas City, Mo.	405,912	41,574	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	31,765
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,825,000	118,888 (1944 est.)	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	36,404
Minneapolis, Minn.	510,000	4,646	El Paso, Texas	96,810	2,188
Newark, N. J.	448,000	45,760	Greensboro, N. C.	59,319	16,343
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,944,611 (1944 est.)	250,880	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	121,498
Pittsburgh, Pa.	702,122 (1943 est.)	62,216	Miami, Fla.	172,172	36,857
Richmond, Va.	223,716	61,251	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	47,318
St. Louis, Mo.	835,629	108,765	Oklahoma City, Okla.	204,424	19,344
St. Paul, Minn.	300,000	4,139	Savannah, Ga.	95,996	43,237
San Francisco, Calif.	700,735	17,395 (1944 est.)	Tampa, Fla.	108,391	23,331

May 19, 1947

Mr. Lawrence R. ~~Hughes~~ Hewes
Casual Personnel Section
Central Mail Directory
APO #503, c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Larry:

Dr. Will told me about the Japanese offer. I was much in hopes that you would find it possible to take it. You are the right guy to do that job.

All I ever heard about the American Council on Race Relations was that it was disappointing everywhere except on the West Coast, where you were making it do what it should. We are anxious to hear of your arrangements about Patsy and Laurence. My brother Morris and his wife and baby started a day or two ago driving to the West Coast and we instructed them to hunt up Patsy and tell us how she gets along.

We live in a big house on a lot of yard, and physically are even too comfortable. I like my job and see plenty of things to do, but the Council still does not have, but a good deal, enough money to bear fruit.

Two or three years from now, let's have a convention of Rex and Beanie, and you and me, and Adele and Dr. Will and John Garst and whatever other three or four people are good eggs. That would be one meeting I would like. I offer the juleps now.

You certainly took on a tough one. And, from what I can hear, the ground has already been plowed wrong. I am satisfied, though, that the time will come when many small farmers will be glad ~~you~~ took the job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

259 GEARY STREET SAN FRANCISCO 2 PHONE EXBROOK 1714

LAURENCE I. HEWES, JR.
Regional Director

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1947
Regional Council

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President
CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director
MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

April 30, 1947

Dear George:

When you get this letter, I shall have left the States and shall have arrive, or be en route to, Tokyo. For some months I have been chewing over an offer from MacArthur's headquarters to do Land Reform work in Japanese agriculture, and this letter signifies that I have finally taken the gamble. I don't know what it will amount to and whether anything can be achieved. Much of one's time and energies in this fuzzy field of social problems in which we work are invested on the basis of principles of which no banker would approve. This seems especially true of race relations. If every man is his own economist, then every man, woman and child is also his own race relations specialist.

As you probably know, the American Council on Race Relations has been going through reorganization and retrenchment. Louis Wirth is probably right in his judgment as to the need for this. However, I think that erroneous as may have been the principles under which we were operating on the Pacific Coast, we were still able to do a job. Therefore, I somehow can't quite reconcile myself to the need for throwing away achievements, even when based on procedures and the concept of consistency.

Actually, what has happened to the American Council is tantamount to an invasion and capture by the University of Chicago social science people. One can like this or not, but there it is. After all, Chicago and New York have the money, and there is practically no money for race relations work on the Pacific Coast, or at least very little. This is not the major basis of my decision to go back into agriculture.

Actually, I find that I have a real feeling for agriculture and seem to enjoy those situations in which the purely social problem is adequately mixed with the tangible problems one encounters in agriculture. One unfortunate aspect of the new venture is that I shall have to leave the family for at least a year. This is hard lines, but there is nothing that can be done about it.

I enjoyed the material you sent me on your work with Negro veterans in the Southern states. Sometimes I don't know what I would do if I had to live as you do in the South. It seems to me that small and immediate as might be the gains, six well placed bullets would bring excessive gratification in comparison to some of the longer-range

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Sara E. Southall - R. J. Thomas - Channing H. Tobias - Willard S. Townsend - Walter Wanger - Louis Weiss - Walter White - Richard Wright
Donald Young

futilities and less often realized hopes.

Please give my love to Alice and the children.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Larry

New address: Casual Personnel Section
Central Mail Directory
APO #503, c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, Calif.

May 19, 1947

Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr.
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bell:

I have filled out the attached form, as you requested, and hope it is not too late for it to find its way into your directory of organizations.

Should you need any further information, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

Am. Council on Race Relations

December 15, 1947

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for you letter of December 12. That is a fine idea which should be well carried through.

Count me in.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board

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Vice-President, Treasurer

LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

December 12, 1947

RECEIVED DEC 15 1947 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Julius Rosenwald Fund, as you know, will terminate its activities in the summer of 1948. In May, the Fund will have a final meeting of trustees, former trustees and officers. A small group here in Chicago has felt that it would be fitting at that time, to give recognition to the work of the Fund. While we were considering the possibility along this line, other persons, some of whom are listed below, suggested similar action.

In order to accomplish this properly, two things are necessary. The first is to have a Steering Committee to give direction and focus to the plans; and the second is to formulate a program. In order that there may be a group to take responsibility for organizing a program, I am asking the following to serve with me on a Steering Committee: Edward Sparling, Louis Wirth, Sidney Williams, Percy Julian, Allison Davis, L. Howard Bennett, Walter White, H. H. Giles, Lester Granger, Mordecai Johnson, Charles. S. Johnson, Rufus E. Clement, A. W. Dent, P. L. Prattis, Paul Cornely, M.D., Michael M. Davis, C. Rufus Rorem, George S. Mitchell, Ira DeA. Reid, Thomas Sancton, Horace M. Bond, Edward C. Solomon, and Ralph McGill.

Tentative plans have been discussed for the program. We are thinking in terms of an afternoon and evening meeting. At the former, we should like to have two outstanding speakers who will discuss the shift in emphasis in race relations during the life of the Fund. The evening program, starting with cocktails and dinner, should be in a lighter vein and could, we believe, be centered around contributions made by Fund fellows.

I hope you will agree to serve on the sponsoring committee, and I am sure that all associated with the project will benefit from any ideas, or suggestions you have about the program.

Sincerely,

RC.

Robert C. Weaver

uopwa-39 cio
mfs

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NOTICE
CHANGE OF ADDRESS

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

(FROM 32 W. RANDOLPH ST., CHICAGO 1, ILL.)
TO
4901 ELLIS AVE., CHICAGO 15, ILL.

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1948
Regional Council

EFFECTIVE JAN. 10, 1948

Please advise
All Interested
Personnel

FOR YOUR FILES

American Council on Race Relations

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
4901 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS CITY OF TOLEDO
Suite 409, Colton Building
702 Madison Avenue
Toledo 2 Ohio

February 11, 1948

Mr. Louis Hosch
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1948
ARCHIVES
Southern Regional Council

Dear Louis:

We have delayed answering your letter of January 21 pending receipt of specific data from the local office of the Ohio State Employment Service, as we have not been operating sufficiently long to have gathered, first hand, information on employment practices. We are now informed that the employment office is not prepared to furnish this information to us without approval of its State Office. Consequently, we cannot reply factually to your request.

It is our understanding that there are numerous industries that will not employ either Negroes or Jews. The principal retail establishments are reluctant to employ Negroes as sales or office personnel and some of the production industries limit Negroes to semi-skilled work. The UAW12, a CIO Union, has been effective in upgrading Negroes and protecting their status in the auto industry. The service industries such as telephone and gas and electric companies do not employ Negroes in the skilled positions and in addition exclude Jews from employment. It is our understanding also that most of the banks likewise exclude Negroes and Jews. The number of Negroes in the building trades is so small as to be almost insignificant. The reason for this is that they are denied the opportunity of apprenticeship training in order to qualify as mechanics.

We trust that this information will be helpful to Mr. Henderson in his efforts to secure passage of SB984.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Felix Gentile
Executive Secretary

FG/wlh

O. C. R. R.

February 20, 1948

Mr. Louis Hosch, Executive Assistant
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Louis:

I was to send you an outline of the movie idea. Here is a copy of the thing as it stood last fall. We have now converted this notion into the trailer idea, "Peoples of the South."

I believe you were going to take some opportunity to discuss this with Julien Bryan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure -Letter Miss Mary Brady
The Harmon Foundation, 140 Nassau St. N. Y.

Am. Council on Race Relations

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

[redacted] STREET
4901 S. ELLIS AVE.

[redacted]
CHICAGO 15, ILL.

PHONE CENTRAL 3066

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

February 20, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Miss Sarah Cook of Macon, Georgia which I thought might be of some interest to you, and my reply.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Hosch M.S.

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

Enclosures
uopwa-39-cio

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

Mercer University
Macon, Georgia
February 5, 1948

American Council on Race Relations
% Mr. Robert Weaver
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir,

We are members of a Sociology class at Mercer University studying community organization. As our project for this term we are working on an unofficial Mayor's Advisory Council. Macon has a newly elected mayor who is very interested in our study on this advisory committee and has requested a preliminary plan.

We are writing you in hopes you will send us any information you may have on the organization of such a committee, its function, the relative effectiveness and results of such a committee, how integrated into city life, responsibilities, duties, etc. We would also like a report on any cities in which the advisory committee has been organized and the degree of its effectiveness.

Thanking you in advance for any help you might give us we remain

Sincerely yours,

Sarah Cook
Kathryn Holmes
Mary Steel

uopwa-39-cio
2/19/48
rjs

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

February 19, 1948

Miss Sarah Cook
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Miss Cook:

In reply to your recent request for information on the organization of an unofficial mayor's advisory council, I am sending under separate cover a copy of our Community Relations Manual which will answer many of the questions you raised in your letter.

I am also sending a copy of our Directory of Local Public Agencies in Race Relations and a list of community-wide citizens organizations. You might wish to write to the organizations listed for detailed information. The Southern Regional Council at 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, is another source you might write for further information.

If we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to write us again.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

uopwa-39-cio

Am Council on Race Relations

March 5, 1948

Mr. Louis E. Hosch, Executive Assistant
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

I am pretty sure that word of our proposal for positive, responsible action by the South in the matter of civil rights has reached the Governors of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and Alabama. I may take a journey next week to Oklahoma and Texas to try to reach the two men there.

I have no reason whatever to feel encouraged, but it does seem to me that in each purlic pronouncement thus far a loophole has been left for a statement undertaking a course of positive action.

Thank you very much for interesting Mr. Julien Bryan in our trailer proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

~~32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET~~ ~~CHICAGO 1~~ ~~PHONE CENTRAL 3066~~
4901 S. ELLIS AVE. CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

LOUIS WIRTH
President

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Chairman of Board
CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

February 27, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for forwarding to me the copy of the letter describing your trailer idea. I have forwarded an excerpt from your letter describing the project to Mr. Julien Bryan of International Film Foundation, and suggested that he get in touch with you. (A copy of my letter to Bryan was sent to you yesterday.)

We expect to have a draft of our manual "To Secure These Rights -- For YOUR Community" within the next few days and we will forward a copy to you for your suggestions.

We are anxious to hear from you regarding your conferences with the "people in Richmond" and others as they relate to the action of the governors in the South. Will you please keep us informed on those developments?

We have taken no action on the Oklahoma situation as yet but we will keep you informed.

You will be interested in the enclosed release which went out today.

Very cordially yours,

Louis W

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

Enclosure

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Am Council on Race Relations

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 9, 1948

TO: National Agencies in the Field of Race Relations

FROM: American Council on Race Relations

Your attention is called to the attached letter and new publication released by the Southwest Area Office of the Unitarian Service Committee, located in McAllen, Texas.

You may want to subscribe to this publication or arrange for an exchange with your own publication.

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

Attachment
uopwa-39-cio
mym

WILLIAM EMERSON, CHAIRMAN
SETH T. GANO, VICE-CHAIRMAN

EDWARD B. WITTE, TREASURER
ALFRED F. WHITMAN, SECRETARY

Unitarian Service Committee

~~9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.~~

~~TELEPHONE CAPITOL 2082~~

ROBERT C. WELLS
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
HOME DIVISION

REFER REPLY TO
SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE
BOX 912-McALLEN, TEXAS

February 27, 1948

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find Volume I, Number 1, of TRENDS, a monthly summary of significant events pertaining to Anglo-Latin relations in Texas.

It is estimated that there are in the United States more than 3,000,000 persons of Latin-American ancestry. More than a third of this number call Texas their home state. Although this group is the second largest cultural minority in the United States, relatively little is known or circulated regarding their problems, their degree of assimilation, their social status.

It is the plan of the Unitarian Service Committee to address itself to this problem. The enclosed publication summarizes from various sources recent events of significance. Each month TRENDS offers its subscribers an up-to-date statement of events and an analysis from an impartial point-of-view. Such information is important to every citizen of Texas and other states who are concerned with the problem of integration of all America's peoples. It is especially needed by persons who in their daily work are confronted with the problem of dealing with Anglo-Latin relations.

The Unitarian Service Committee invites your comments on this publication. If you feel you have access to significant information, we would be happy to hear from you.

An annual subscription to TRENDS costs $1.00. Send your dollar, check, or money order to:

Unitarian Service Committee
Southwest Area Office
Box 912
McAllen, Texas.

We are happy to offer to all persons subscribing to TRENDS prior to March 15, a free copy of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Yours truly,

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

TRENDS

A Monthly Summary of Significant Events Pertaining to Anglo - Latin Relations in Texas

VOLUME I Number 1 McAllen, Texas February 1948

Statement of Purpose

Although persons of Latin-American ancestry have lived in Texas since the days of the Republic, it is clear to all that the State as well as the entire Southwest, has failed to integrate this group fully into the mainstream of community life. There are still barriers, boundary lines, between Latin-Americans and persons of Anglo-American background. It is the position of this publication that such barriers, such lines, operate to the disadvantage of the State and of its component communities. We recognize the division that exists and propose to illustrate the problems created by this disunity through an examination of current trends in particular areas of social relationship. Our first issue is devoted to the effects of this cultural division in the public school.

A Discussion of the Problem of Education of Latin-American Children in Texas

The public school system of our nation has greater contact with the citizenry than any other public agency. For this reason it is a center of concern for all persons interested in social and cultural relations. Many of us expect our school system to embody all the virtues and none of the evils of our times. Often many of us expect the school to solve problems beyond its control and usually unsolved by the community at large.

The following case studies, one at the local level, the other at the legal and statewide level, illustrate clearly the expectations of some groups that the school will take a leading position in the growth of a community toward cultural integration and secondly illustrates the scope of the problems involved in this task faced by the school administration.

Case I

In September 1947, army barracks from the Harlingen Army Air Field were brought to Raymondville, Texas to be used in the public schools as housing to relieve the congested situation existent there at that time. The buildings were to be used to house Latin-American students primarily.

Prompted by a protest filed by R. A. Cortez of San Antonio, the regional governor for Texas of the League of United Latin-American Citizens, State Supt. of Public Instruction L. A. Woods ordered an investigation into the alleged charges of illegal segregation of Latin-American children in Raymondville. The charges which were sent to Cortez by the local LULAC group in Raymondville were as follows:

1. Segregation was based on racial considerations alone.

2. The district used no aptitude tests to determine which students were to be given separate instruction.

3. The proposed segregation was not in accord with geographical zoning.

4. That new school facilities which were being established for Latin-American students were inadequate in that they consisted of army barracks with no facilities for sanitation, electricity, water or playgrounds.

Copies of this protest were sent to the state capital with the request that if after investigation, these charges were found to be true that the state's per capita aid be withheld from the Raymondville district until it took appropriate steps to "follow the law on the subject".

H. A. Woods, president of the Raymondville school board, denied all of the charges brought against the board by Cortez explaining that in cases where Latin-American pupils have a meagre knowledge of English they are urged to attend the Alamo school ("Mexican" school) from the first to the fourth grades and upon passing the English language aptitude tests are allowed to move to other classes. Otherwise there were Latin-American pupils in all Raymondville schools. As a result of the controversy, Supt. W. J. Box of the Raymondville schools requested that State Supt. Woods send a representative to Raymondville to confer with them on the problem. Deputy State Supt. of Public Instruction J. H. Bankstone conferred with both groups and offered the following recommendations which were agreed upon by the LULACS and the school board:

1. That the city be divided into two geographical zones, one zone for the new building and one zone for the old. All sanitary facilities were to be complied with.

2. That zones apply to all grades up to the Junior High School and for both Latin-American and Anglo-American students.

3. That it be required that pupils who live in a certain zone attend the school in that zone.

4. That there be a separation of instruction of Latin-Americans from the Anglo-Americans for the beginning pupils, first grade, second grade, and third grade, because of language difficulties.

TRENDS, A Monthly Summary of Significant Events Pertaining to Anglo-Latin Relations in Texas.

Published by the Southwest Area Office, Unitarian Service Committee, Box 912, McAllen, Texas $1.00 *Per Year*

Robert C. Wells Southwest Area Director
Charlotte G. Simmons Editor

Case II

Charges of illegal segregation of "Spanish-name children" in grades ranging from one to eight in five Texas communities was brought to the attention of Governor Beauford Jester by three University of Texas student organizations during the month of October. The communities, Bastrop, Beeville, Elgin, Sinton, and Cotulla were named as those practicing segregation of Latin-American students and Anglo-American students into "Mexican" schools and "non-Mexican" schools. The charges: "almost without exception under segregation the 'Mexican' school is inferior to the other schools; the sanitary facilities are poorer, the teachers are less well trained and paid, the buildings are poorer and in general the facilities and services are inferior in the segregated school when compared with those provided by a community for its 'white' schools."

After the charges were sent to Governor Jester superintendents of two South Texas schools at Beeville and Sinton admitted that the charges of segregation in their schools were true, but they defended this separation of Latin-American and Anglo-American children on the ground of a language handicap. Both superintendents said that they felt the Latin-American student in the lower grades could do much better in schools separate from the Anglo-American. The students are moved into classrooms with Anglo-Americans as soon as this handicap is overcome.

Governor Jester referred the charges made by the student groups to the Good Neighbor Commission, the State Department of Education and the Gilmer-Aiken Committee on public education, asking the latter to appoint a sub-committee for the special investigation.

As an outgrowth of these charges against these Central Texas schools, a lawsuit seeking to halt alleged segregation of Latin-American students in Bastrop and Travis County Schools went on file in Federal District court in Austin on November 17, 1947. The suit filed by Attorney Gus G. Garcia, San Antonio, Robert C. Eckhardt, Austin attoorney, and A. L. Wirin

of Los Angeles, Civil Liberties Union, named twenty school children as plaintiffs, and was brought against officials and trustees of Bastrop, Elgin, and Martindale Independent School Districts, the Colorado Common School District of Travis County, Travis County School Supt. L. W. Popham, as Secretary of the Travis County School Board, L. A. Woods, State Supt. of Public Instruction, and the State Board of Education. The suit in two parts asked Federal District Judge Ben H. Rice for an injunction preventing discrimination within the schools and payments of any money to the schools as state aid, or the distribution of state books, and sought damages of $5000 for each of the twenty students, ,from all but the state officials. Garcia made clear in filing the suit that if it were upheld by the District Court, segregation of all Latin-American students would be done away with in Texas.

In refuting the above charges, Dr. L. A. Woods, State Superintendent of Public Instruction admitted that language is the main reason for segregating Latin-American students from other public school students in Texas. However, in some cases even English-speaking Latin-Americans have been sent to separate schools. Dr. Woods explained that whenever such a case was brought to his attention, he tried to right it. Dr. Woods added that if any discrimination existed he wanted it stopped and consequently did not object to the suit filed against the Texas schools.

On December 19, 1947, an answer to the suit was filed in the Federal District Court by the Texas Board of Education and State School Supt. L. A. Woods. The Board of Education disclaimed any power to act in the matter since its duties are primarily administrative, and asked that it be dropped from the suit. Dr. Woods agreed that Texas law does not permit separation of Texans and Mexicans because of race or ancestry, and denied that "there was any general practice in the state". He based this upon the fact that no appeal had come to him from subordinate school officers regarding such a practice. Assistant Attorney Joe Greenhill, acting as attorney for the state officials filed the answer asking that the state officials be dropped from the case.

Last month the segregation case came up before Federal Judge Ben H. Rice, Jr. in Austin. Judge Ireland Graves and J. Chrys Dougherty of Austin representing the four school districts filed answers denying segregation of Mexican children on the basis of racial ancestry. Supt. .Woods and the State Board of Education represented by Attys. Price Daniel and Joe R. Greenhill went on record saying that no appeal had come to them growing out of the segregation or discrimination question.

On January 28, Judge Rice moved to postpone the case until the June session of the Federal Court. The announcement came as a result of a conference between Ireland Graves and Gus Garcia.

The precedent set by this case shall have many ramfications as can be seen in this short time. It remains to be seen in June what the results of the Bastrop case will be. Regardless of the outcome, it will affect the status of the Latin American in Texas. The Bastrop case is a test case and one that can be pointed out as an example of another method of combating discrimination and segregation.

The California Precedent

Recently in California the United States Court of Appeals upheld the decision of Federal Judge Paul J. McCormick in his decision that segregation was in violation of the Federal Constitution. In this case the judge also rejected segreration on the basis of language deficiencies, however recognized the fact that special treatment may be required for Latin-American children in separate classrooms but not in segregated schools. The decision made clear that lawful segregation would be based upon the intensive examination of each individual child by the appropriate school authority to determine the foreign language impediments regardless of his ethnic traits of ancestry. All segregation was discontinued in California after this decision was handed down.

Significance

If the California decision is accepted as the legal solution to this problem, it is clear that many Texas schools will have to modify their present practices. The danger lies in the rash

assumption that a legal decision will solve (i.e., eliminate segregation) the problem. This places an unfair burden on the schools. The school basically cannot move more rapidly in any one direction than does the whole community.

Therefore the problem of social development arises and whether or not we can educate through legal action alone. The first case cited would seem from this point of view a more positive approach to a community problem. The awakening of the community to a situation of friction and disunity and the combating of it through adequate leadership and community support can wield greater, beneficial results for the community than a superimposed law forcing the community to adjust its affairs to it. The legal solution to a problem such as this could conceivably enhance the gulf (separation) that exists in a community that at present condones cultural segregation of its school children.

The community will grow toward integration as individual citizens through their organizations indicate an active interest in the effect of disunity on their public agencies. How does disunity affect your school system? Here are some pointers that should enable you to find out:

1. Inquire into the zoning of your school district. Are the geographical zones observed?

2. Inquire into the admission process for Latin-American students. Are they given an opportunity to indicate their knowledge of English through examination, or are they automatically relegated to a "Mexican" school?

3. In a district where it is necessary to rule out strict geographical zoning because of a language handicap of a number of pupils, are periodic opportunities provided students in a special class to pass on to the class or building established for their geographical zone?

4. Does the school district sponsor an adult class in English for Spanish-speaking parents? Is the district financially able to sponsor such a program? What would be the cost of such a program?

5. Does the school district hire Latin-American teachers when such qualified applicants are available?

6. Are the facilities and quality of instruction in any separate class or building on a par with the facilities available in the recognized "non-Mexican" school?

It is clear that the practice of segregation is on the defensive. The problem of the school and the problem of the community is to make the transition sensibly and reasonably from the present practice to one more in keeping with the spirit of American equality.

Sources of Information

CORPUS CHRISTI *CALLER TIMES*
Corpus Christi, Texas

AUSTIN *AMERICAN*
Austin, Texas

BROWNSVILLE *HERALD*
Brownsville, Texas

DALLAS *MORNING NEWS*
Dallas, Texas

VALLEY *EVENING MONITOR*
McAllen, Texas

VALLEY *MORNING STAR*
Harlingen, Texas

List of Suggested Reading:

Little, Wilson, THE EDUCATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN TEXAS, University of Texas, Austin, 1943.

Tuck, Ruth, NOT WITH THE FIST, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1946.

Kibbe, Pauline, LATIN AMERICANS IN TEXAS, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1946.

McWilliams, Carey, BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1943.

Vickery, William E. and Cole, Stewart G., INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS, Harper Brothers, New York, 1943.

Am Council on Race Relations

March 11, 1948

American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Sirs:

Your circular of February 27 asked for information on work done to spread the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

We have printed ten thousand copies of a twenty-seven page digest of the Report. Mailed out four thousand to members and to subscribers. Selling remainder to inquirers and meeting participants at ten cents apiece.

Published mimeographed pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights—From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South." Three hundred copies distributed at Conference on Civil Rights in Atlanta February 27, and five hundred copies distributed at student-faculty Intergroup Meeting on Civil Rights in the South at Atlanta University February 27-28.

Additional fifteen hundred copies of digest referred to above purchased at ten cents each by participants in Atlanta University meeting above.

Distributed one hundred and fifty copies of original, entire Report at Atlanta Civil Rights Meeting.

Trying to finance printed edition of "Condition of Our Rights."

In cooperation with church groups and a variety of civic groups from eleven Southern States, held in Atlanta February 27 a Southwide Conference and Workshops on Human and Civil Rights in the South. Findings enclosed.

Are arranging as many meetings as possible over the South to follow up with study and discussion of the Report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure: Findings

INFORMATION ONLY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1948

February 27, 1948

TO: State and Local Agencies in the Field of Intergroup Relations (Public and Private)

FROM: American Council on Race Relations

SUBJECT: State and Local Action to Implement the Recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights Report, "To Secure These Rights"

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION

Will you please send to us, as soon as possible, a brief report on the current activities of your agency to disseminate the Report and implement the recommendations of the Report, "To Secure These Rights".

The American Council on Race Relations has kept you and other national, state and local agencies informed of current activities in its Releases #34, #35 and #38 which described action since the release of the President's Report. Will you cooperate with us in compiling information for the next release?

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials has also asked for the cooperation of state and local agencies in this request so that the next release will facilitate exchange of information and techniques among state and local agencies, when the material is published. The information collected will also be supplied all national agencies in the field so as to acquaint them with current local efforts.

____American Council on Race Relations

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RECEIVED
948
Southern Regional Council

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

TO: National Agencies in the Field of Race Relations and Minority Group Problems.

FROM: American Council on Race Relations

SUBJECT: Dissemination of the Report and Implementation of the Recommendations of "To Secure These Rights"

INFORMATION ONLY

The attached copies of Release #37 and Request For Information dated February 27, 1948 were sent to all state and local agencies in the field of race relations and minority group problems.

These copies are sent to you to keep you informed of our current work with state and local agencies.

_____American Council on Race Relations

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RELEASE NO. 37

SUBJECT: Dissemination of President's Committee Report, "To Secure These Rights"

SPECIAL REQUEST

Will you please cooperate with us by advising the Public Affairs Committee today of the number of copies of the pamphlet described below your agency may require?

USE ENCLOSED POSTAL CARD

The Public Affairs Committee has under preparation a 32-page summary of "To Secure These Rights", the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Summary, which is being prepared by Jerome Ellison, former editor of Collier's and '47, will emphasize the sections of the Report dealing with racial and religious discrimination and will contain, in addition to the specific recommendations of the Report, concrete suggestions on the means by which individuals and community groups can implement the findings of the Report through action.

The pamphlet, popularly written and illustrated, will be No. 139 in the well-known Public Affairs Pamphlet series, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York. Single copies, 20¢. Quantity rates for 10 through 10,000 copies range from 15¢ per copy to 8¢ per copy. Publication date is tentatively set for March 15.

The American Council on Race Relations has been asked to determine approximately the number of copies of this pamphlet that may be required by each of the agencies. Will you therefore please fill out the enclosed card and mail it to the Public Affairs Committee?

Enclosure

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Am. Council on Race Relations

March 15, 1948

Mr. Louis E. Rosch, Executive Assistant
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

Until I see today's New York Times I won't know just what the Governors did in Washington. I assume it was altogether bad.

The next step should be some Southwide meeting to give a better voice from the South. I understand some editors are interested in such a meeting.

I have sent Mr. Maynard the pamphlets you wanted us to send him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO 15
PHONE Kenwood 8101

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board
CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

March 10, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of March 5th and the copies of the wire to the governors and the letter to Governor Folsom. I will, of course, keep the latter confidential.

This is also to confirm Dr. Will Alexander's telephone conversation with your office on Tuesday. Dr. Alexander relayed my request for a report on the recommendations which grew out of your four work-shops at your recent Atlanta conference. I examined the outline which you sent to Dr. Alexander, but we should like to have a fuller report for use in the next issue of our monthly publication, Report.

Mr. Frank Bane of the Council of State Governors continues to be cooperative and is very interested in current developments, so be sure to keep us informed.

Today, Mr. Edwin H. Maynard, Editorial Assistant to Dr. Royal Smith, Editor of The Christian Advocate (740 Rush Street, Chicago 11 Illinois) visited our office. Mr. Maynard plans a series of four or more articles on civil rights for their weekly magazine, The Christian Advocate, whichhas a circulation of nearly 400,000 ($\frac{1}{4}$ in the South). Mr. Maynard will probably get in touch with you or pay you a visit to learn of southern communities which are demonstrating successful efforts to implement the President's Committee Report and the Report of the Commission on Higher Education.

In order for Mr. Maynard to lay out his series of four articles, he would like to have three copies of your recent report, "The Condition of our Rights", and your digest, "To Secure These Rights". Will you please send them direct to him and let me know what develops as a result of our suggestion that Mr. Maynard get in touch with you.

I hope you recover from your illness soon.

Very cordially yours,

Louis

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

uopwa-39-cio

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a.c. on R.R.

April 16, 1948

Mr. Louis E. Hosch, Executive Assistant
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

I am sorry I am so slow in getting back to you a first draft of "To Secure These Rights in Your Community," which you were kind enough to send me March 24, and to get which back you have had to send me a follow-up letter.

It is a very useful job, quite well done indeed.

I have minor comments, as follows:

There is a good deal of repetion in what people ought to do about, successively, jobs, houses, schools, health, welfare, and so on. The remedy is about the same for each. Couldn't the whole thing be shortened by telescoping some of that?

Page ii: The American Eagle. "Methinks the lady doth protest too much."

Page iii: To much up up in the top line.

Page iv: I wish there were any reason to suppose in Georgia communities that "nothing can happen locally unless citizens want it to happen."

Page vi: That word "salvation" is a special one. "Solution" would be better.

Page vii: "Salvation" again.

Duplication with same point on page vi.

Page 18: Restrictive covenants are bad, but not enough houses is worse.

Page 23: As to that last recommendation of the President's Committee, you know there was a dissent recorded in the Report. It may be permissible and wise to omit reference to it. I only suggest that the point be considered.

Page 54: I doubt if any segregation laws reach to the churches. What about separation of church and state?

Page 56: Subjunctive.

Page 57: Repetition
and
Page 60:

Page 64: I don't agree with the argument about laws creating their own public approval. On every example cited I am satisfied that a majority of the people affected were in favor of the law's being passed. It is still the case that in ten or twelve states in the South a majority of the people is against FEPC. I agree that agitation for a law not yet popularly approved can speed the day when the law will be popularly approved. Compare the doctrine there and the doctrine on page iv, in which it is said that each community knows that nothing can happen locally unless its citizens want it to happen.

Page 71: By implication, AVC gets described as an agency whose major concern is "in the field of race relations and minority group problems." I doubt if AVC would wish to be so described. I recognize that, technically read, that description need not apply. But who reads technically?

Page 83: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare lives at 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

To my mind the best part of the whole volume is the chapter beginning on page 57. You are quite right to keep hammering at informing the local public about what the fact-finding committee finds.

For the time being, I should think the right thing for the Council to do about the pamphlet would be to buy enough to supply the officers of all our various State Divisions and S tate Affiliated Interracial Committees. That's around fifty people.

Sincerely,

Enclosure: Draft of "To Secure These Rights" in YOUR Community
GSM:eb

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

1 — Amer. Council on Race Rels.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

[redacted] STREET [redacted] PHONE CENTRAL 3066
4901 S. ELLIS AVE. CHICAGO 15, ILL.

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board
CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

April 12, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have been hoping to receive your comments on our rough draft material, "To Secure These Rights" in YOUR Community, as we are counting on a number of agencies to help us with both content and treatment. Would it be possible for you to let us hear from you within the next few days, as we are planning to complete our editing and revisions by the twentieth of April at the latest? We will be able to complete the material when we hear from you, as yours is the only material still outstanding.

Sincerely yours,

Louis

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

uopwa 39 cio

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APR 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

[redacted] STREET [redacted] PHONE [redacted]
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LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

March 24, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As we agreed when you were in Chicago, we are forwarding a rough draft copy of "To Secure These Rights" in YOUR Community, A Manual for Discussion, Fact-Finding and Action, in state and local communities. It is designed as a guide which should prove effective in the hands of local discussion leaders and groups, and as a resource for training programs. We anticipate that it will be used in connection with other related material, and we hope with the guidance of national, state or regional agencies, such as SRC. We are counting on your frank, objective and critical comment on this. Give us your reactions to the content, style and arrangement, and please don't pull any punches.

In addition to your frank and critical appraisal of the Manual and your suggestions for its improvement, may we have the benefit of your thinking concerning distribution in the South. Would SRC wish to distribute a special printing, available at cost, with your own foreword addressed to your particular groups and relating the material to your summary and file material? We estimate a cost of 50¢ per single copy, graduated downward to $250 per thousand copies and $125 for additional thousands.

You understand that this is rough draft and that we expect to have a rewrite and editing job to do just as soon as we hear from you and several other interested agencies who have agreed to help us. Feel free to write all over the margins, to add pages, write in or cross out; then return the material to us so we can improve it and arrange publication in pamphlet form similar in size and shape to your summary. Please let us have your comments before our Board meeting of April 2nd so we can proceed with plans.

Sincerely yours,

Louis

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

uopwa-39-cio
~~enclosure~~

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1- Amer. Council on Race Relations

August 3, 1948

Mr. Louis Hosch
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

Many thanks for a copy of "'To Secure These Rights' in Your Community." It is well planned, well written and well printed. If well circulated, it will do a lot of good.

I should like to send a copy to at least one person in each of our State Divisions and affiliated State Committees. Herewith five dollars. Please send us ten copies and we will mail them all to them.

Congrats to Miss Gratz.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure : check

1- American Council on Race Relations

October 6, 1948

Mr. Louis Wirth, President
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wirth:

I discovered unanswered your letter of August 31 about activities in support of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Southern Regional Council was principal sponsor for a south-wide meeting of church and civic organizations on February 27, 1948. This was attended by some four hundred people, from eleven states and seventy-two towns and cities. As a follow-up device we have requested those who were present to send us a report on subsequent locality meetings in which they took part. To date we have heard directly in this way of fifty-eight meetings over the South, and we have reason to believe that a number in excess of this have actually occurred.

We have sent a circular to officials of various state divisions and affiliated interracial committees, alerting them to the problem of misinformation about the civil rights program and offering to serve to supply the facts when such misinformation is reported to us.

We have published a digest of the Report of the President's Committee and have also printed a booklet to accompany it called "The Condition of Our Rights." These have been popular documents.

The Council's Executive Committee issued September 19 the attached statement on civil rights. This had the very widest attention in the southern press, both as a news story and as the subject of editorial comment.

We will, during the next several months, continue to arrange local discussion meetings about civil rights, and our people will press for enforcement of existing law and enlargement of the legal guarantee of civil rights.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 31, 1948

MEMORANDUM

TO: Principal National Agencies in the Field of Intergroup Relations

FROM: Louis Wirth, President
American Council on Race Relations

Since you received our last release on plans and activities of agencies throughout the country regarding the implementation of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a number of significant agency activities have been launched and many plans for the future are now under way. We want to continue to report to all national, state and other organizations concerned with minority group problems on current activities and plans for the next several months.

Will you please send us -- if possible, before September 15 -- a brief statement summarizing your current activities and plans for the implementation of the recommendations of the President's Committee Report, "To Secure These Rights"?

* * *

uopwa-39-cio

1- Amer. Council on Race Rels.

(See Subj. file "Intercultural Educ.", for program

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Ill.

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

October 13, 1948

AIRMAIL

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 14 1948 Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations has been scheduled for November 18-20 at International House and the Public Administration Clearing House at the University of Chicago. The conference is sponsored by the American Council on Race Relations and the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, marking its second annual meeting, and is being held in cooperation with the National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights.

We wish to extend to you and your staff a cordial invitation to participate in the conference. We are also inviting to the conference delegates from other national, state and local agencies, both public and private. The meetings will provide opportunities for these delegates to review current problems and techniques in the field and will also provide the national agencies with an opportunity to become better acquainted with activities on the state and local level.

Examination of the enclosed program will show you that the conference includes among its general sessions a discussion of current activities in intergroup relations, a review of professional standards in the field, organization for legislation, the implementation of the recommendations of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and reports on current national issues by national and federal agency representatives.

Eleven round tables are scheduled for the delegates. These will deal with administrative problems and techniques of state and local official agencies and of citizens' community councils; citizens and civil rights; the role of fair employment practices consultants in federal agencies; the provision of equal facilities in the fields of health and welfare; the role of

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church groups in the realization of our American creed; problems in higher education; the integration of minorities into employment; the elimination of segregation in housing; techniques of program interpretation and the use of media of mass communication. The conference will be brought to a close by a luncheon discussion of the problems and prospects for 1949.

A general announcement of the conference has been sent out to all agencies in the field and specific invitations have been directed to discussion leaders and participants. We are sending this invitation to you in order to make sure that all members of your staff will have this conference called to their attention. Enclosed you will find mailback cards on which you can indicate whether we can count on your presence, and that of others of your staff. May we hear from you soon.

Done GSM.

Sincerely yours,

Louis

Louis Wirth

uopwa-39-cio

1- Amer. Council on Race Rels.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

~~89 WEST RANDOLPH STREET~~ ~~CHICAGO 1~~ PHONE CENTRAL 3066
4901 S. ELLIS AVE. CHICAGO 15, ILL.

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Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

January 14, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of January 10, which arrived in Mr. Hosch's absence, does give us some information which we did not have about the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Hosch will probably want to follow up on your suggestion that he contact the Committee's secretary.

Thank you so much for your helpfulness.

Very truly yours,

Hazel M. West

Hazel M. West
Secretary to Mr. Hosch

1-Amer. Council on Race Relations

January 10, 1949

Mr. Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

You could get in touch with the Catholic Committee of the South directly through its secretary, the Reverend Father Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M., 2901 South Carrollton Avenue, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.

While I have personally been favored with many contacts with the Catholic Committee of the South, I would not trust the accuracy of my own general impressions as to its purposes and methods. I think you would find Father O'Connell friendly and helpful, and it is clearly right to get anything descriptive of the Committee of the South from it.

My guess is that the Committee has no specific intergroup purposes. I should think that the Committee, as composed of Catholics, regards southern souls as souls, and simply makes no distinction. Certainly the Catholic Committee of the South, to my observation, includes members of both races, and obviously just as souls.

The enclosed article will throw some light on your problem. The language at the beginning of the next to the last paragraph

is odd and, I should suppose, not technically accurate. The Catholic Committee of the South in most years makes a modest and welcome contribution to the finances of the Southern Regional Council, but the two organizations have no formal affiliation agreement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

[redacted] STREET
4901 S. ELLIS AVE.

[redacted]
CHICAGO 15, ILL.

PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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December 23, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I note in the November issue of the New South a reference on page seven to the New Orleans unit of the Catholic Committee of the South. Could you tell us something about this committee, its functions, and the various units of the committee in the South or elsewhere? If you could also supply us with an address, we would like to communicate with them if a considerable part of their program is concerned with intergroup relations.

My best wishes for a Happy New Year and a good holiday season.

Cordially,

Louis

Louis E. Hosch
Executive Assistant

uopwa-39-cio

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
4901 South Ellis Avenue ~~[illegible]~~ CHICAGO 15 PHONE KEnwood 6-8101 ~~CENTRAL [illegible]~~

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January 14, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You were right that we are also interested in the National Conference on Rural Health to be held in Chicago February 4th and 5th. I shall arrange to attend some of the sessions and if there appear to be others that should be covered, I can see that two quite able field work students attend them for us and give us a full report of how our interests are, or are not, included in the program.

You may expect a report from me the second week in February, but whether there will be enough in it for you to get an item for "New South", I do not know.

Sincerely yours,

Lois Gratz

Lois Gratz

uopwa-39-cio

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December 23, 1948

Miss Lois Grats
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Lois:

Here is a letter and some dope about the forthcoming February conference of the AMA on Rural Health.

We are too broke to send anybody up there to sit through it, much as I would like to know about some of the things they will discuss.

Could you talk to Louis Hosch and contrive to get permission to sit in some of the meetings, for the joint benefit of the American Council on Race Relations and the Southern Regional Council?

For our part of the deal, we would greatly like a note to run in New South on ideas current at the meeting. More particularly, ideas useable in this part of the world.

Maybe if you are not Louis's expert on this, he will send somebody else, but for my judging, you are as good an expert as can be found!

I have written Dr. Crockett and asked for my entitlements, if any,

to be transferred to you. So if you can go, you fill out the post card and send it to them.

If you can go and cover appropriate parts of the meeting for the Council, the Council will buy you and your beau each a four-dollar luncheon ticket. If you take us up on this, add a bill for that and for fare on the IC Railroad, if any, to your note to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

cc: Mr. Louis Hosch
GSM:t

December 23, 1948

Dr. F. S. Crockett, Chairman
Committee on Rural Health
American Medical Association
535 North Dearborn Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Dr. Crockett:

I greatly appreciate your invitation in your letter of December 16 to be present at the meeting of the AMA's Committee on Rural Health, in Chicago February 4 and 5.

Because of distance and because our poor Council is skimpy on funds, I am asking a friend living in Chicago who is well informed on these matters to attend on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. She is Miss Lois Grats, 4901 Ellis Avenue. She has had wide experience in rural social and agricultural work in the South.

I have taken the liberty of sending the reservation card to her, and trust that if it is possible for her to send in reservations, she will be accepted, in lieu of myself, as representative of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Miss Lois Grats

1 - Am Council on Race Rel.

February 21, 1949

Miss Lois Grats
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Lois:

Mighty kind of you to go to the meeting for us. Sorry it wasn't a better meeting.

We are glad to know how stodgy those guys are, anyway.

Tell us what the expenses were and we will reimburse you.

We miss you. Come back to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS
4901 South Ellis Avenue KEnwood 6-8101
~~32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET~~ CHICAGO 15 PHONE ~~CENTRAL 3-0855~~

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February 16, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I attended the Friday afternoon meetings of the National Conference on Rural Health and a mature field work student attended the Saturday sessions, hearing the full reports of the round table committees and the luncheon speakers. We agreed that this conference did not have much "meat" in it for your agency or ours, except indirectly, as it reminds us how seldom the American Medical Association concerns itself with minorities as such.

I saw two Negroes at the meetings and Miss Harris saw two. We have no way of knowing whether these represent an unduplicated total of 2, 3, or 4! But in any event that is a small number for a conference of 400 or 500 people. We saw no other persons other than Caucasians.

Such reports as The Nation's Health a Ten Year Program, were not mentioned. The speeches and discussions hinted at an undercurrent of intense feeling against health insurance, but it was not brought out openly or frankly explored.

There was a general air of optimism, and no recognition of the limited facilities for training doctors. There were speakers from the south, but they were content to describe their own ingenuity at meeting their own problems rather than dealing with the south's problems in providing health services. For example, a doctor from Augusta, Georgia told us about a streamlined baby delivery service he has for Negroes, whereby with four cots in his office and an arrangement for ambulance service, Negro women can be brought in for delivery, bring a friend with them and go back home when the baby is 24 hours old. This removes the necessity for maternity hospitals for Negro mothers.

It was agreed that Americans are the luckiest people in the world and that the standard of health is so high that the main problem is a simple one of raising it a little here and there. However, it was admitted that the rural areas

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lag behind the urban, and that more can be done there, and there was a mild admission that there are some "underprivileged" in the rural areas.

One solution for dealing with the underprivileged is to "let them do the travelling" instead of the doctor. Where the doctor used to go out and make his calls all over the county, he is now learning to stay in his office 85 or 90 percent of the time and let the sick come to him. The problem of transportation for the sick was not dealt with.

Dr. Cloud, Vice President of the American Medical Association, stated that the problem is not a shortage of doctors but one of redistribution. But a number of other doctors disagreed and felt that there is no excess of doctors in cities and the problem is more serious than one of redistribution.

Dr. Elmer Henderson stated "when the government steps in, medicine deteriorates". It is better to let the American Medical Association fight for the great American public.

I could go on in some detail, but I think this gives you an idea of the gist of the conference. The audience was tired, sleepy and restless, and I had the feeling that more was going on outside the official sessions than within them. I would suggest that if this is an annual affair, and I think it is, you might try to get a number of good southern speakers on the program next year and that we might at least remind the program committee well in advance that there are such reports as the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the Nation's Health, and that these deserve objective presentation, even if the group cannot achieve objective discussion and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Lois Gratz

Lois Gratz

uopwa-39-cio

1-Amer. Council on Race Relations

February 24, 1949

Mr. Louis Hosch
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Louis:

Somebody in Baltimore wrote me that people up there have started a new group called the Association for Civic Unity. Address is 1510 West North Avenue, Baltimore 17, Maryland.

I don't know who runs it. This one was a new one to me, and I thought you might want to add it to your collection. Maybe you started it!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RESERVE THESE DATES NOW

ON
YOUR
CALENDAR
NOVEMBER
S M T W T F S
1 2 3 4 5

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

SHORELAND HOTEL
NOVEMBER 3, 4, 5

5454 SOUTH SHORE DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CONVENED BY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
INTERGROUP RELATIONS
OFFICIALS

AMERICAN COUNCIL
ON
RACE RELATIONS

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM ANNOUNCING TOPICS, SPEAKERS, AND HOTEL RESERVATION PROCEDURE
WILL BE SENT TO ALL AGENCIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS - 4901 ELLIS AVENUE - CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

1- American Council on Race Relations

August 29, 1949

Mr. Louis Hosch
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hosch:

Here is the latest New South. Observe analysis of Groveland, Florida business.

One main lesson is that the mob is now on wheels and old timey methods of law enforcement aren't enough to cope with mechanized violence. That comes out on page seven and eight.

It occurred to me that this finding might merit a place in some forthcoming notes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

1- American Council on Race Relations

August 29, 1949

Mr. Joseph Lohmann
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Lohmann:

Right after the mob violence around Groveland, Florida, Mr. Fleming from this office went down and took a good look. Here are his conclusions. The thing I want to reach your attention is the part on page seven and eight where the mobility of the mob is brought out. That means that old fashioned methods won't be able to cope with the new kind of mob on wheels.

In this case, the Fla. National Guard used a lot of jeeps and a fancy intercommunications system, and they had a spotting plane overhead. Still, they could not stop the mob from burning people's houses. A new angle on police matters that I thought you would be interested in.

Cordially and sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

1- American Council on Race Relations

September 30, 1949

Mr. Louis Hosch
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Louis:

I am a little ashamed to show my face, even with a letter, but here I am again.

Time Magazine for this week gave us a good play on page 55 for Race in the News. Also Newsweek, page 58.

My next would-be conquest is REPORT.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

1- American Council on Race Relations

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

~~[illegible]~~ ~~CHICAGO 15~~ ~~PHONE CENTRAL 2866~~
4901 South Ellis Avenue Chicago 15 Phone: KE 6-8101
LOUIS WIRTH
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LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

September 28, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Hosch has asked me to acknowledge your letter of September 15 and to thank you for sending us the pamphlet, "Race in the News". We are listing it in the Current Material Section of the next issue of REPORT.

May we suggest that you bring a supply of the pamphlet to the Third National Conference on Intergroup Relations, November 3-5.

Sincerely yours,

Mari Sabusawa

Mari Sabusawa
Staff Assistant

uopwa-39-cio

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Secretary-Treasurer

GM has written

January 5, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Because of your known concern with the problems of minorities, I am writing to request your cooperation in our efforts to compile reports on state civil rights legislation.

During the year 1949 the American Council on Race Relations initiated a monthly legislative reporting service, through which we acquainted our readers with civil rights developments on both the state and local levels. Our continuing efforts to improve the quality and scope of legislative reporting were rewarded, we feel, by many letters advising that the information disseminated made it easier to relate state legislative efforts to major trends within the civil rights movement as a whole.

We hope to continue this reporting service throughout the 1950 legislative sessions. It is necessary for us to depend this year, as last, upon volunteer informants who are thoroughly acquainted with civil rights activities in the states whose legislatures are currently in session. Will it be possible for you to assume this responsibility in the state of Georgia?

All that is necessary is that you report to us, by the 15th of each month, if possible, the titles and numbers of civil rights measures introduced, their sponsorship, and their progress (forms will be provided regularly for your convenience in replying). The types of bills which are to be included are evident in the enclosed compilation "Civil Rights Legislation in the American States, January 1 to September 1, 1949". When possible we should like to receive copies of bills for our files.

Can we count on your help? The assistance which you can give will be indispensable in this difficult task. May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

Betty Goldiamond

Betty Goldiamond
Staff Assistant

Enclosure

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1- Amer. C. on RR.

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February 21, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Thank you very much for the complete and concise report on civil rights legislation introduced in Georgia this session. Although the report arrived a day or two too late for use in the preparation of copy for the February REPORT, it will be most useful for subsequent reporting.

I want to express my sincere gratitude for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Betty Goldiamond

Betty Goldiamond
Staff Assistant

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February 17, 1950

Miss Betty Goldiamond
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Goldiamond:

I am sending off to you today, separately, the legislative report for the state of Georgia. I am sorry that it is so late getting to you, but this session of the Legislature has just ended and we were unable to complete the report until after the session had wound up all its business.

If you have any questions about any of the bills or acts, I would be glad to try to answer them as best I can.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Act #'s Sec. of State / Clerk of House (Boone) / Sec. Senate } Bill #'s

LEGISLATIVE REPORT: GEORGIA

RE-REGISTRATION

To postpone the effective date of the 1949 (Voters' Qualification) re-registration law from May 1950 to April 1952, with the provision that local registrars may purge persons from the 1948 voters' list in accordance with provisions in the 1949 law.

Number: HB 870 ; SB 168 Senate: LeCraw & others. House: Twitty & others

Sponsorship: Talmadge administration requested measure

Progress: Passed both Senate and House, 39 to 8, and 140 to 11, respectively. Signed into law by Governor Talmadge.

To repeal the 1949 re-registration law.

Number: HB 771 (Laurens County delegation)

SB 160 (Smith of Carroll) LeCraw of Fulton, Purdom)

Progress: Reported unfavorably by the House State of the Republic Cttee. Reported out favorably by Senate General Judiciary Cttee, but tabled indefinitely by a Senate vote of 22 to 18.

ANTI*MASK BILL

To ban the wearing of masks, hoods, or any other device designed to cover the face, while in public, upon the public ways of the State or upon prop. of any municipality or county or by persons over 16 yrs of age, except at certain celebrations and places. upon property of the State —

Number: HB 803 ; SB 183 } Greer of Lanier - House; Lunsford - Senate

Sponsorship: Georgia Jr. Chamber of Commerce, Ga. Exchange Clubs, Georgia American Legion, Atlanta Council of Church Women, Atlanta Council of Christian Churches, Georgia Young People's League for Better Government.

Progress:

Senate: Reported favorably by State of Republic Cttee; Senate action held pending House action.

House: (Similar bill indefinitely postponed in 1949; therefore, Speaker ruled that a 2/3 vote (137 votes) would be necessary to bring the measure to the floor for consideration.)

Measure endorsed, 15 to 0, by House Public Welfare Committee.

Did not receive necessary votes (137): 114 for
45 against
46 not voting (absent)

SUFFRAGE

To repeal the proposed constitutional amendment, passed in 1949, to extend the county unit system into the general elections.

Number: SB_____ (LeCraw, of Fulton)

Progress: Approved by Senate Constitutional Amendments Cttee.

~~Buried.~~ Not brought to a vote.

ANTI*LYNCHING

To provide $5000 payment in State and County funds to the families of victims of lynch mobs, and to further provide that the victim, if not killed, shall be reimbursed for actual injury or damage up to the amount of $5000.

Number: HB 839. (Johnson of Hall and Howard of DeKalb) State of Rep. Cttee

Progress: ~~Buried in committee~~ Not brought to a vote.

CENSORSHIP

To create a 3-man State Board of Censorship, to be appointed by the Governor, to pass on motion pictures, theatrical and stage performances in the State, with power to make arrests for violation of the censorship laws.

Number: SB_____ (Stark of Monroe)

Progress: Reported out favorably by the Senate State of the Republic Cttee. ~~Buried.~~ Not brought to a vote.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

To authorize the Governor to order officers of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation into any county to make investigation and enforce the laws if he deems that local officers are failing to carry out their duties and "the public interest demands such action". (~~At present,~~ Therefore, ~~the~~ GBI help ~~must~~ has to be requested by local officials.)

Number: HB_____; SB_____.

Progress: Passed by both houses; signed into law by Governor Talmadge, 8 February 1950.

Sec. of State - for copies of bills passed
Clerks of House & Senate -
for cc. of bills introd.
but not passed.

aCRR

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS

Race News
9 ville Report q
Manual
Sent. 29 May 1950
by JPS

May 5, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1950
Southern Regional

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations is a quarterly publication of the Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago and the American Council on Race Relations. It is devoted to the presentation of abstracts and references to published and unpublished research in the field of racial and cultural relations.

Our abstracts of published research are based upon the articles appearing in the Journals and upon books and pamphlets that come to our attention. We would appreciate receiving copies of any of your publications for abstracting.

In order that we may have as full a coverage as possible of research in progress in this field we annually canvass research workers and agency administrators to obtain accounts of research planned, under way or completed.

The value and usefulness of the Inventory depend upon the extent to which we are able to secure the cooperation of all persons and agencies carrying on research in this field. We are, therefore, asking you to fill out the enclosed questionnaire for any such research in which you are currently engaged, or which you have completed during 1949. We would also appreciate your bringing to our attention the names of any persons or agencies associated with you or your institution engaging in such research.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Louis Wirth

Louis Wirth

LW:bws
Encl.

AMERICAN COUNCIL

ON

RACE RELATIONS

The ***AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS*** is:

- A national agency providing essential services to organizations concerned with minority group problems on a local, state and national level,
- A center for the exchange of information on racial and cultural relations,
- An organization concerned with *all* of our racial, religious and cultural minorities and with *all* of the problems they encounter as minorities,
- An organization dedicated to the aim of bringing to all Americans irrespective of race, creed or national origin, the opportunities of full participation in American life.

OBJECTIVES

The program of the American Council on Race Relations has these major objectives:

- To encourage and facilitate improved communication and cooperation among the numerous official and private national, state and local agencies concerned with race relations and minority problems,
- To collect and compile authentic information, experiences and techniques for dealing with race relations problems and to disseminate such information systematically to the action agencies in the field,
- To maintain a current account of agencies, program, and activities in the field of race relations and minority problems,
- To provide for all the action agencies in the field those common services which can be more economically and more effectively maintained by a single national agency,
- To stimulate the discovery, application, and dissemination of new knowledge, methods and techniques for the improvement of race relations.

SERVICES

To accomplish its objectives, the American Council on Race Relations provides the following services:

- INQUIRY SERVICE to agencies and to interested individuals,
- REGULAR REPORTING on minority groups' problems and on the programs and activities of race relations agencies through publications and special reports,
- CONSULTATION AND ADVISORY SERVICES through correspondence and through national and regional conferences of local, state and national race relations agencies,
- AID IN PLANNING and in execution of surveys, evaluation of programs and in preparation of plans for race relations organizations,
- MANUALS, FACT SHEETS, AND DIGESTS on race relations problems prepared for the use of operating agencies,
- DIRECTORY SERVICE on programs, personnel and services of race relations agencies,
- LIBRARY SERVICE, including selected current bibliographies, reference service, and loan library materials to agencies on race relations and minority group problems,
- PERSONNEL EXCHANGE serving agencies and communities with personal records of qualified personnel.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES

The central function of the American Council on Race Relations is to promote the integration of minorities into every phase of American life. Some of the more important areas of practical importance in which the Council operates to that end are:

- HOUSING—work toward the elimination of unequal opportunities, discrimination, segregation, restrictive covenants,
- EMPLOYMENT—integration of minorities into the economic structure, involving work with unions, industry, business and government,
- EDUCATION—development of effective measures leading to equal opportunities of minorities in both public and private institutions at all educational levels,
- RELIGION—collaborative action with church councils and religious bodies, to reduce prejudice,
- HEALTH, WELFARE—elimination of differentials in service, treatment and facilities provided minorities,
- RECREATION, SPORTS—extension of the principle of fair play and wider opportunity for participation,
- COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION—aid to citizens' groups and official agencies in achieving improved organization and planning to deal with local race relations problems,
- LEGISLATION, ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY—continuation of coordinated efforts to extend civil liberties and rights through improved legislation and more effective administration and public interpretation,
- PUBLIC OPINION AND MASS COMMUNICATION—cooperation with and service to the press, radio and other mass communication media to make available to the public more adequate information concerning minorities and to develop a climate of opinion more conducive to democratic solution of minority problems,
- RESEARCH, TRAINING AND EDUCATION—in cooperation with the University of Chicago and other centers of education, training and research, to develop a more effective concerted program for discovery of new knowledge, for minimizing areas of public ignorance concerning racial and cultural relations, for general education and for training of competent professional personnel.

PUBLICATIONS

The American Council on Race Relations issues:

- REPORT, a monthly release which describes significant developments in the organization and programs of the numerous race relations agencies,
- SPECIAL RELEASES, special letter releases on important or significant program developments or special needs of immediate concern to the action agencies,
- PAMPHLETS, FACT SHEETS and other descriptive materials on basic problems, successful programs and techniques and similar information,
- DIRECTORIES of race relations agencies classified by location, and providing tabular descriptions of programs and activities.

SUBSCRIPTION TO PUBLICATIONS

For $5.00 per year, any individual or agency may subscribe to *REPORT* and receive also all the publications, except directories, issued by American Council on Race Relations. All publications are sent systematically on an exchange basis to race relations agencies in the United States. Individual copies of publications and a list of publications available upon request.

The **American Council on Race Relations** was established in 1944 and is incorporated in the State of Illinois; it is a non-profit organization providing essential common services to race relations agencies. The **American Council on Race Relations** relies for its support upon the voluntary contributions of foundations, race relations agencies, organizations, industries, labor organizations, and individuals interested in its work. Contributions to the Council are deductible in computing federal income tax.

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The Council maintains a staff and consultants in the several special areas of its program.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET

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New Orleans, Louisiana

President Harold L. Trigg
Elizabeth City State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

1-18-64

American Field Service
FROM THE Enc. of Associations

Founded 1914 - promotes better international understanding, primarily through exchange students 16 to 18 years old. It has a publication called "Our World".

When a community wishes to participate, it must raise its own funds to subsidize the student sent abroad, and it must have built up a credit by having extended hospitality to a foreign student. Our community raises funds thru PTA, Service Clubs, or any device that can be thought up. The program is a summer one as well as a school term one. The problem in Atlanta is finding homes which are eager to have these people.

Clifford Bailey, 355-1808, home phone, is the Area Chairman. 424-3749

BSM

1-18-64

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE
from the Enc. of Associations

Founded 1914 - promotes better international understanding, primarily through exchange students 16 to 18 years old. It has a publication called "Our World".

Tonight, I shall try to contact a person whose daughter went abroad under the program. Also, the PTA handbook of "Northside" may be helpful in finding the person wh o has handled the program for the school.

BSM

4-21-65 Phoned Mr. Bailey for literature

HOW TO SPONSOR A FOREIGN STUDENT

1963-EDITION

This booklet has been prepared for the guidance of those who wish to form an American Field Service Chapter and introduce the American Field Service International Scholarship programs in their community.

Other aspects of the American Field Service programs are covered in:

- *The Selection of the U. S. Family.* Procedures and criteria for selecting the American families with whom the foreign students will live.
- *Your Student and You.* Guidance booklet for the American families.
- *Through the Year.* Guidance booklet for the foreign students.
- *Handbook for School Advisers.* Guidance booklet for the school advisers of foreign students.
- *Handbook on Selection for the Americans Abroad Programs.* Description of the Americans Abroad programs, and procedure and criteria for selecting the American students to take part in them.
- *Look Where You're Going.* Guidance booklet for the Americans Abroad students.

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PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES

Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
British West Indies
Cambodia
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany
Great Britain
Greece
Guatemala
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Italy
Japan
Kenya
Laos
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Rhodesia
Singapore
Republic of South Africa
Spain
Swaziland
Sweden
Switzerland
Thailand
Turkey
Uganda
Uruguay
Venezuela
Vietnam

ABOUT AFS

The American Field Service, founded in 1914 as a volunteer ambulance service, has since 1947 undertaken an international scholarship program with secondary schools for students in the 16- to 18-year age level. More than 22,000 boys and girls from the United States and 65 foreign countries have taken part in this AFS program.

The adminstration of the AFS comprises a Board of Governors and a staff of 150. Headquarters are at 313 East 43rd Street, New York 17, New York, and offices are maintained overseas in 27 countries.

It is in the belief that international good will can best be furthered through a proven program that we call your attention to this booklet in the hope that you will wish to participate.

WHO THE STUDENTS ARE

AFS students are:

- boys and girls
- between 16 and 18 years old
- from more than 50 countries
- all able to speak English, passably well if not fluently
- carefully chosen for personal qualities as well as for academic ones

AFS students come to the U.S. for one year only. They are required to return home at the end of the year.

AFS deals only with the secondary school level. Its students from abroad come to attend American high schools and private schools.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

To sponsor an AFS foreign student, the following needs to be done:

Generally:

- interest a school in accepting the student, tuition free
- raise the ~~$700~~ 750 Participating Contribution to AFS
- form an authorized Chapter to watch over the student and AFS matters during the school year
- choose a suitable family to take the student in as a member of the family, without pay, during the year

Specifically:
The following four forms in the required number of copies must be submitted to American Field Service/New York by February 15th.*

I. REQUEST FOR FOREIGN STUDENT—three copies for each student

II. CHAPTER PROPOSAL—two copies for each Chapter

III. FAMILY APPLICATION—three copies for each family

IV. FAMILY INTERVIEW RECORD—three copies for each family

Any of these forms may be forwarded to New York for processing any time prior to the date mentioned above, but Family Application and Family Interview forms will not be *cleared* for placement of a foreign student until all Chapter forms have been approved and the Chapter authorized.

When a student has been selected for placement in a particular family, the student's application is forwarded to the Chapter for acceptance by the Chapter and prospective family, and if acceptable, the application papers are retained by the Chapter for local use.

As soon as a student is accepted, AFS sends him an Award of Scholarship and other official papers. At the same time, AFS confirms the placement with the Chapter and the U.S. family so they may begin correspondence with their student.

At this time, AFS also notifies the Chapter that payment of the Participating Contribution is due.

As soon as the travel arrangements are complete, AFS notifies the U.S. family of the student's arrival in the U.S.—usually any time between late July and September 15.

* As forms are revised annually, only current forms are acceptable. If you do not have the up-to-date forms, write AFS/NY to send them to you.

THE SCHOOL

It is essential that the school administration, faculty, and student body have a part in the AFS project from the beginning. Much of the value of the program to the school and community and to the student comes only when the school takes advantage of the student's presence in the school.

Unless the desire to have a student originates with the school, the first step is to consult the proper local school authorities to gain admission for a student from abroad and to obtain a waiver of any school or other fees.

In all cases, the administrative and teaching staff, as well as the student body, of the participating school should be represented on the AFS Chapter.

FINANCES

THE $750 ~~$700~~ PARTICIPATING CONTRIBUTION TO AFS

The $750 ~~$700~~ Participating Contribution is just that—what a chapter must contribute to the American Field Service to take part in the foreign student program.

The $750 ~~$700~~ Participating Contribution to AFS is only a part of the operational cost of each student. The remaining amount comes from foreign participation and private donations.

The Participating Contribution cannot be geared to whatever the chapter's student actually costs because:

1. The student's ability to pay is not considered until *after* he is placed.
2. The wide range of individual student costs, which vary from $300 for some to $2,000 for others.

Because of this, the Participating Contribution is the same for each and every chapter.

Although a chapter's student one year may have needed less than the ~~$700~~ 750 in financial aid, the next year it may have a student who would need the maximum in financial aid. For both of these students, the Community's Participating Contribution to AFS remains at ~~$700~~. 750

WHAT THE ~~$700~~ 750 COVERS

The ~~$700~~ 750 Participating Contribution is put into the general AFS scholarship fund along with the scholarship payments from foreign families (averaging between $300-$350 per student) and general donations. Out of the general fund come such direct expenses for all students as ocean passage, personal allowance, medical payments, transportation within the U.S., arrival and departure expenses, baggage charges, and the bus trip.

The General fund also provides indirect program expenses such as processing applications abroad, maintenance of offices abroad, supervision of students, and the operating expenses of the New York office. Payment of the ~~$700~~ 750 Participating Contribution to AFS is due when a student is confirmed for placement with a family.

WHAT THE ~~$700~~ $750 DOES NOT COVER

There are often various local expenses that occur during the year which are not covered by the ~~$700~~ $750 and which the student cannot pay for out of his $14.00 monthly personal allowance check. Whether there will be such expenses and how much they will be depend on local circumstances. Those most common are:

- transportation to and from school
- school lunches
- school books and supplies
- gym clothes and equipment

- student activity card
- graduation expenses (yearbook, yearbook photographs, dresses, rental of caps and gowns)
- class ring
- items of clothing which make up the "uniform" at the school and are not available abroad
- expenses in connection with any trips which may be considered for him

If there are such expenses, arrangements should be made *in advance* to take care of them locally. (For instance, if the student is sponsored by the community, these local expenses may be contributed by a school organization.) These expenses may not be paid out of contributions for which the donor will claim a deduction under the Internal Revenue Laws.

However, please bear in mind that the student should not be spoiled with unnecessary and excessive gifts.

No provision should be made for paying the U.S. family, for this is contrary to AFS policy, as it breaks down the basic foundations of the AFS program and changes the relationship between the student and the family.

MEDICAL EXPENSES

AFS pays for any medical expenses, due to accident or illness, that are incurred by the AFS foreign student during his stay in the U.S. Such benefits are provided voluntarily as a matter of policy, which may be revoked at any time at the sole discretion of the AFS.

AFS does not pay for any preventive medical care, for routine medical examinations and inoculations, or for eye care and dental care.

HOW FUNDS FOR AFS CAN BE RAISED

Funds for AFS can be raised in various ways:

- through individuals
- through businesses
- through service clubs
- through the student body of the high school or a student organization
- through women's clubs, church groups, and other organizations

Detailed information on fund-raising methods and projects is contained in a booklet titled "Notes on Fund Raising," which is available upon request.

Any and all funds solicited in the name of the American Field Service must be sent directly to AFS and will be credited to the Chapter's account.

AFS CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

In order to sponsor an AFS student, it is first necessary that an AFS Chapter be formed and authorized, according to the regulations set forth by the Board of Directors of AFS, as follows:

REGULATIONS CONCERNING U.S. CHAPTERS

PREAMBLE

The size and growth of the American Field Service scholarship programs place an increased responsibility on all those connected with them, and the directors and officers have determined that the programs will be more efficiently administered if the relationship between the head office in New York and the chapters representing the American Field Service in various localities be formalized and their respective responsibilities be clearly defined. These are the purposes of these Regulations.

Section I—Definitions

1. "AFS/NY" shall mean the head office in New York, New York, of American Field Service, Inc. (hereinafter called "AFS").

2. "Scholarship Programs" shall mean all scholarship programs of the AFS including, but not limited to, the Winter Program and the Americans Abroad Programs.

3. "Winter Program" shall mean the scholarship program which brings foreign students to the U.S.A.

4. "Americans Abroad Programs" shall mean the scholarship programs which send American students to foreign countries.

5. "Board of Directors" shall mean the Board of Directors of AFS and shall include the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors.

6. "Participating Contribution" shall mean the cost to a Chapter for one student in the Winter Program or Americans Abroad Programs, as the case may be, as determined each year by AFS/NY.

Section II—Chapters

1. The AFS shall be represented in localities throughout the U.S.A. by AFS Chapters. The Director General shall have the power to appoint such Chapters to represent the AFS in its scholarship programs in localities designated by him, provided that each such Chapter agrees to abide by these Regulations and amendments thereto.

A Chapter must submit its membership on the Chapter Proposal form (in duplicate) by the designated date and be approved before an AFS student will be placed under its care.

Authorization is a yearly grant—from July 1 to June 30. Therefore, an existing Chapter must be re-authorized every year.

A Chapter shall hold yearly elections. None of the six key member positions listed in Section III, paragraph 1, may be held by the same individual more than twice in succession, except for the Member for Finance and Member from School.

A Chapter shall provide for continuity in its work by making provisions for training members to fill the six key member positions listed in Section III, paragraph 1.

Yearly elections should take place before February 1 in order that new Chapter personnel may be listed on the new Chapter forms which are due in New York by February 15. These early elections also enable the new people to work closely with outgoing key members.

2. The grant of authority to an AFS Chapter may be revoked by the Director General with the approval of the Board of Directors upon finding that such Chapter has failed to comply with these Regulations or for any other action which in the judgment of the Director General is contrary to the objectives and principles of the AFS.

3. The duties and responsibilities of an AFS Chapter shall be to:

(a) Further the purposes of the AFS programs in accordance with policies of AFS/NY.

(b) Promote the welfare of AFS students in its locality.

(c) Raise the necessary funds in its locality (1) to pay the Community Participation Contributions for AFS Winter Program students in its locality and (2), if it agrees to do so, to assist (in raising funds and otherwise) the Americans Abroad students selected from its locality.

Section III—Chapter Organization

1. A Chapter shall have the responsibility for the scholarship programs in one or more high schools as AFS/NY shall designate in consultation with the Chapter. It shall consist of at least six members, as follows, and such other members as it may deem advisable.

(a) Chapter President

(b) Member for Finance

(c) Member for Homes and Student-Family Adjustment

(d) Member from School

(e) Americans Abroad Coordinator

(f) Student Representative

Six members are the minimum number of members that an AFS Chapter should have. Additional mem-

bers to take care of Publicity and Projects are usually necessary for a smoothly functioning organization. (Refer to section on "Functions of the AFS Chapter and its Members" on page 16.)

No more than three of the above listed chapter members may be members of the school administration or student body.

2. Each Chapter shall elect annually from among its members a President who shall be its chief executive officer and shall represent it in its dealing with AFS/NY.

The Chapter President is actively involved in the program. Therefore, the position of Chapter President cannot be an honorary one.

The Chapter President coordinates the activities of the Chapter members, presides at meetings, and is responsible to AFS/NY and to other representatives designated by AFS/NY for the carrying out and implementation of AFS policy and requirements.

The Chapter President cannot be a member of a host family.

No person may be President of a Chapter more than twice in succession.

3. Each Chapter may be organized in such form as it may deem advisable; however, no chapter may incorporate. As a guide to Chapters that wish to formalize their organization, suggested sample By-Laws are offered on the final pages of this booklet.

Section IV—Fund Raising

1. Each Chapter shall be responsible for raising the Participating Contribution for each Winter Program student in its locality and shall forward the amount collected to AFS/NY.

2. A Chapter may raise any funds towards the cost of the students selected from its locality for the Americans Abroad Programs, and all sums so raised shall be forwarded to AFS/NY.

3. A Chapter may raise funds by any legal method it deems advisable, except that any method which in the judgment of AFS/NY is contrary to the objectives of the scholarship programs shall not be used.

4. No money raised by a Chapter in the name of the American Field Service or for its scholarship programs may be retained by a Chapter, and all money raised by a Chapter in excess of the Participating Contribution for its Winter Program students and in excess of its contribution towards the cost of the Americans Abroad Programs shall be sent to AFS/NY, where it will be credited to the Chapter's account. In exceptional cases, however, the Director General in his discretion may permit a Chapter to retain any such excess, provided that the Chapter accounts for same as provided in paragraph 5 hereof.

5. An accounting of all money raised for the American Field Service programs, including funds raised to cover local expenses, shall be submitted to AFS/NY as of June 30 each year covering the previous twelve months, and at such other times as the Director General may specify.

6. Payments of any extraordinary fund-raising and other local expenses by a Chapter from any excess funds in its account must be approved by AFS/NY.

Section V—Final Authority

1. AFS/NY has the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the program.

2. AFS/NY has the final authority to determine the type of Chapter and membership thereof necessary to further its aims.

Membership for the AFS Chapter shall be drawn from the entire community.

Membership shall include members of various community organizations and shall not be limited to those of one organization.

Membership of the AFS Chapter must include both men and women.

Membership of the AFS Chapter shall be adults, except for the Student Representative from the participating school(s).

Members of the host family are encouraged to be members of the Chapter during the year the student is living in their home. No host family member, however, shall hold the position of Chapter President, Member for Homes and Student-Family Adjustment, Member from School, or Student Representative.

In the event that the AFS program is initiated by the students or faculty of a school, an adult AFS Chapter shall be formed, with membership distributed between school personnel and other community members, and an AFS Club may also be organized, with membership from the student body of the school.

These rules for membership are established in order that the AFS become a truly community-wide endeavor which will bring the maximum benefit to the entire community as well as to the student.

3. In any conflict between a Chapter and an American Field Service Representative, or between a Chapter and AFS/NY, the decision of AFS/NY is final and absolute.

FUNCTIONS OF THE AFS CHAPTER AND ITS MEMBERS

Although the following discusses the area of responsibility for each member of the Chapter, it is to be understood that the Chapter President, as well as all members of the Chapter, shares the responsibility for various functions of the Chapter.

1. Member for Finance

The responsibilities for this member are discussed fully under the section on Fund Raising in the Regulations. (Refer to page 13.)

2. Member for Homes and Student-Family Adjustment

This member shall be responsible for interviewing and screening host family applications so the Chapter can submit to AFS/NY those families it considers suitable for a student from abroad.

After a student has been placed in a family and has arrived in the U.S., the Member for Homes shall establish close relations with the student and help with any matters of student-family adjustment.

He shall take the initiative in looking after the student's welfare and happiness during the year. He shall recognize the fact that the student looks to him for help and understanding.

This member shall be willing to make any changes in family placement if such a move is indicated by the lack of student-family adjustment. Such changes, however, shall be made in consultation with AFS/NY and only after AFS/NY's approval of the new U.S. family.

3. Member from School

The Member from School shall be a member of the faculty or administration of the participating school.

He shall insure that the participating school is aware of and approves of the AFS program.

He shall act as the school's liaison with the Chapter and insure that the school authorities are kept abreast of all developments.

He shall see to it that a School Adviser is assigned to give academic and social counseling to the student and shall keep himself and the Chapter informed of the student's adjustment in the school during the year.

He shall be the adult sponsor of the AFS Club, if any, within the school.

He shall insure that the student body as well as the school authorities are aware of the existence of the student and that the student is introduced to the student body early in the school year.

4. *Americans Abroad Coordinator*

He shall act as liaison between the Chapter and AFS/NY on all Americans Abroad matters. (Refer to page 20.)

He shall be responsible for the formation of a competent selection committee, made up both of school personnel and community representatives, to screen and select suitable candidates to be submitted for the national screening for Americans Abroad conducted by AFS/NY.

All correspondence and communication regarding Americans Abroad will be sent to the Americans Abroad Co-ordinator, (not the Chapter President).

He shall, upon the selection of any candidates by AFS/NY, help to prepare them for their experience abroad.

5. *Student Representative*

Although the Student Representative may represent an existing school organization (such as the Student Council, the International Club) that takes care of AFS matters on

campus, ideally he should represent an AFS Club. The Student Representative shall work closely with the chapter's Member from School to see that the AFS Club (or the student group bearing the responsibility for AFS in the school) is coordinating its efforts with those of the Chapter in seeing to the student's social, academic, and transportation needs at school.

The AFS Club, working with the Member from School, can help to promote the welfare of the AFS student (s) in the school and to stimulate interest in AFS among the student body. Club members can also contribute to Chapter efforts in fund raising, home selection, and other duties and projects. (An AFS Club handbook is available upon request.)

6. Member for Projects

He shall insure that the student's experience is not limited to his host family and school, but includes experiences with other families in the community and of all civic and cultural aspects of the life of the community.

He shall take on special tasks, such as the setting up of a clothing pool, if necessary.

7. Member for Publicity

He shall publicize the activities of the student and the Chapter in the local press and by whatever other means are available.

He shall act as a Speaker's Bureau for the student and clear all requests for speeches, setting up a schedule which will not interfere with the student's school work or his family life. He shall also arrange for an adult member of the Chapter to accompany the student to all speech assignments.

He shall send three copies of any publicity to AFS/NY, as set forth in the pamphlet "Notes on AFS Publicity," copies of which are available on request.

AFS REPRESENTATIVES

In order to assist the Chapters in fulfilling their responsibilities, AFS/NY has appointed a number of Regional, Area, and District Representatives.

These representatives will assist the Chapters as needed by helping to keep the problems and needs of the Chapters before AFS/NY and coordinating AFS policies, as well as promoting additional interest in the AFS program.

THE SELECTION OF THE U. S. FAMILY

Selection of the U.S. Family is covered in detail in a separate booklet which is sent to all Chapters when they receive the Family Application forms, but in general the qualifications are:

- A heart—large enough to share a portion with another child from another land for a year—and probably forever.
- A mind—open to the different life and culture the student will bring with him, open to accepting him for his differences and not for his similarities.
- And a share of laughter and gaiety to shrink the problems that may come up and to strengthen the bonds of communication.

AMERICANS ABROAD

After a school has received an AFS student from abroad, its students are eligible that year to apply for the American Field Service Americans Abroad programs, of which there are two:

> The *Summer Program,* under which U.S. teenagers live in families abroad during the months of July and August.
>
> The *School Program,* under which U.S. teenagers live in families and attend schools abroad for eight to twelve months.

There is no guarantee that every participating school will automatically send one of its candidates abroad under Americans Abroad. Final selection is conducted on a nationwide basis.

Complete information about procedures for selection, qualifications of candidates, and details about the various programs is sent to the Chapter in early September, and candidates are to be selected and submitted to AFS/NY by the November 15 deadline.

Briefly, candidates are limited to the junior year of high school, must have completed two years of a foreign language, and must fulfill requirements of health, scholarship, and personal qualities.

Note: Candidacy for the School Program has been opened on an experimental basis to seniors, who would go abroad after graduation from their U.S. high school.

SAMPLE BY-LAWS FOR AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE CHAPTERS

Article I – Name

The name of this Chapter shall be the (name of city and state) Chapter of the American Field Service.

Article II – Purpose

The purpose of this Chapter is to promote international understanding through the exchange of students under the American Field Service programs and to carry out the objectives of the American Field Service programs as directed by AFS/NY.

Article III – Membership

Members shall be drawn from the community as a whole.

Article IV – Meetings

Sec. 1. The Chapter shall hold an annual meeting on ....., or the closest practicable date thereafter prior to February 1st, for the election of officers and the 5 key members (listed in Section III, paragraph 1 of this booklet), whose terms shall commence the following July 1 for a period of one year, and for other necessary business.

Sec. 2. In addition, the Chapter shall hold regular monthly meetings of officers and members for the discussion of policy and Chapter affairs.

Sec. 3. Each member of the Chapter shall have an equal vote at all meetings.

Sec. 4. A majority of Chapter members, whether present in person or by proxy, shall constitute a quorum for all purposes.

Article V – Officers

The officers of the Chapter shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer, to be elected by a majority vote at the annual meeting as provided in Article IV. The President shall coordinate the activities of the Chapter members, shall preside at meetings, and shall be responsible to AFS/NY and to other representatives designated by AFS/NY for the carrying out and implementation of AFS policy and requirements.

In addition to the officers listed above, the Chapter shall elect, by a majority vote at the annual meeting, the five additional key members listed in Section III, paragraph 1, of this booklet.

Article VI – Committees

Sec. 1. The Chapter shall have the following committees:

1. Executive Committee
2. Standing Committees
   a. Homes and Adjustment
   b. Finance
   c. School Relations
   d. Americans Abroad
   e. Junior AFS Club (or committee)
   f. (Projects)
   g. (Publicity)

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers and the chairmen of the Standing Committees. The Executive Committee shall carry out the purposes of the Chapter and its functions in the implementation of policies as directed by AFS/NY. The President shall be the chairman of the Executive Committee. (Chairmen of the first five committees listed above shall be the corresponding key members listed under Section III, paragraph 1 of this booklet.)

Sec. 3. Chairmen of additional committees deemed necessary from time to time by the Executive Committee shall be appointed by the President subject to subsequent ratification by the members of the Chapter at the next regularly scheduled meeting.

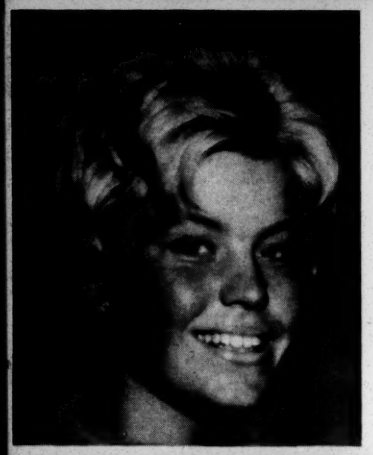
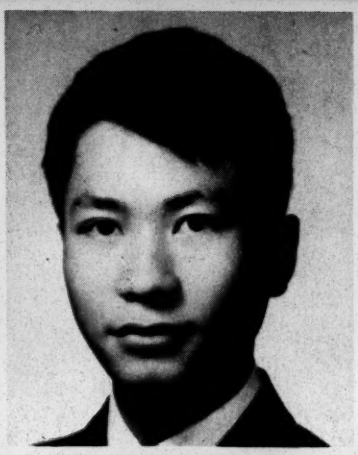
Article VII – General

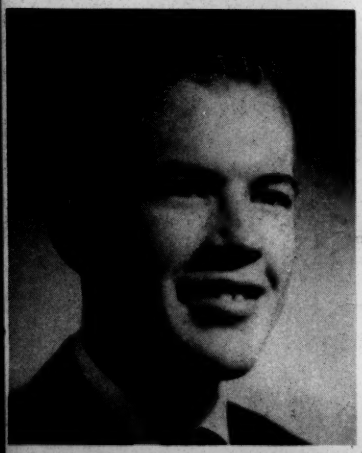
Sec. 1. The Chapter is organized under the provisions of the AFS Chapter Regulations and shall be governed by them as to its duties, functions, and obligations.

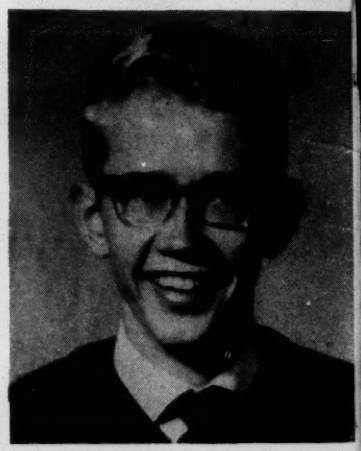
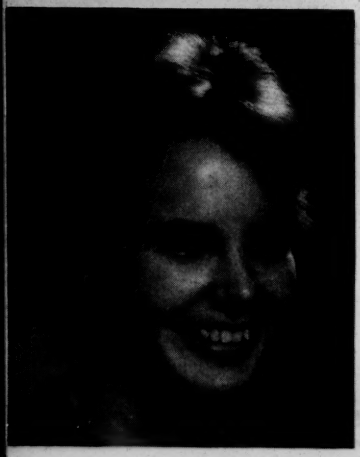
Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the President to see that each member of the Chapter has read and understood the provisions of the AFS Chapter Regulations and to receive their acknowledgments.

Article VIII – Amendment

These By-Laws may be amended upon two-thirds affirmative vote of the members. However, no such amendment shall become effective until approved by AFS/NY.



AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE
313 East 43d St., New York 17, N. Y.

Rec'd 11/16/64

T A Sanders
PWG advise
please

AH/AFG

11th November, 1964

Dear Leslie,

Many thanks for your cordial note concerning my appointment at the American Field Service. Needless to say I look forward with great anticipation to assuming my responsibilities in New York on February 1. At the moment I am disengaging myself from what were to have been my responsibilities here in Oxford during a Sabbatical year from Yale.

Assuming that you are familiar with the American Field Service programme, I am wondering what your feeling would be about our undertaking a comparable programme involving the exchange of students between different regions of the United States. We have 2,600 Chapters in various parts of the United States and each of these is gradually accumulating a great deal of experience in the delicate business of finding host families and nominating students from the community for participation in our programmes. In many ways we have the "know how" both in these Chapters and in our New York office, and in addition have the confidence of schools throughout the country in such a degree that we could make an unusual contribution this way. The implications for the part of the country with which the Southern Regional Council is concerned would seem to me to be particularly important. At the moment this is merely the wild thought of a new President who has not even taken office, but I should welcome your comment upon it.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Arthur

To open slit along here

Sender's name and address:

Arthur Howe, Jr.,

4 Elsfield Road,

Old Marston,

Oxford, England.

To open slit along here

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

First fold here

Second fold here

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

OXFORD 11.45AM 11 NOV 1964 A

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,

Atlanta 3,

Georgia, U.S.A.

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE

International *Scholarships*

313 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., 10017

MURRAY HILL 9-1780 • CABLE ADDRESS: AMERIFIELD, NEW YORK

ARTHUR HOWE, JR.
President

VE -
could you, when convenient, find out for me a little more about AFS?

February 16, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Leslie:

I am most grateful for your report on the "Southern Teaching Program", and it is particularly gratifying to be reminded of the degree to which our Yale students supported the undertaking.

There is no urgency to respond to my questions some weeks ago concerning the American Field Service program. I am currently so involved in the process of learning my new job that it will be some time before I shall attempt to launch any new programs.

I should love to have you call me at this office in New York if you ever find yourself in the vicinity.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Arthur

Arthur Howe, Jr.
President

AH:HB

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE

International *Scholarships*

STEPHEN GALATTI
Director General

GEORGE H. EDGELL
DOROTHY FIELD
BLAIKIE FORSYTH
STEPHEN GALATTI, JR.
SALLY J. HOWELLS
SACHIYE MIZUKI
CLAUDIA POST

EDWIN R. MASBACK, JR.
Treasurer

GEORGE ROCK
Secretary

313 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 9-1780 • CABLE ADDRESS: AMERIFIELD, NEW YORK

946 Hatchcliffe Dr NW.
Atlanta Ga
April 21, 1965

Mrs Morrison

Enclosed is a copy of "How to Sponsor a Foreign Student". This is an old edition, but I have made corrections to give the latest information.

As soon as my literature supply is replenished I will send you a copy of the latest edition

C. D. Bailey
Area Representative
Atlanta.

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Consulting Physician, William Alden Gardner, M.D., New York, New York
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Auditors, Arthur Andersen & Co., New York, New York

April 27, 1965

Mr. Arthur Howe, Jr.
President
~~American Field Service~~ — Make folder
313 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Arthur:

I have to be in New York much of the week of May 10, and if you were there and had some time I would like to come by. I am still in the process of making appointments with some people I have to see, and so if you did not mind, I would want to write to you later or call you when I get into town.

There are a couple things I would especially like to discuss with you. I don't know whether you are still a member of CEEB Committee on testing center policy, but even if you aren't, I would like your advice regarding the forthcoming meeting. I suspect it has been called, at least in part, because of my having raised some questions about Westminster schools, and this very delicate matter will be on the agenda. Secondly, I would like to discuss your unanswered query to me of many months back about extending American Field Service to embrace regional exchanges; I have some concerns about this, though generally think there is also promise in the idea.

I am scheduled to go to South Africa next year from late January through March, under the auspices of the U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program. We would like to take our 16-year-old son along. Frank Loescher suggested to me that I ascertain from the American Field Service whether he might go for this short period under its program. I told Frank that I was sure this was not possible, as I have always understood that your students had to be abroad for a year. But if that is not the case, I would be interested in knowing.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Maybe folder

via air mail

May 3, 1965

Miss Anne C. Revoire
Secretary to Mr. Arthur Howe, Jr.
American Field Service
313 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Revoire:

Thank you for your letter of April 30. I am afraid that I cannot see Mr. Howe as early as 11:30 on May 10. My plane will not arrive in New York until 1:08, and it will be 2:30 or 3:00 p.m. before I could reach your office. This would be satisfactory for me, though a more convenient time for both of us might be the early morning or the early afternoon of Friday, May 14. I would be grateful if you could let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE

International *Scholarships*

313 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., 10017

MURRAY HILL 9-1780 • CABLE ADDRESS: AMERIFIELD, NEW YORK

ARTHUR HOWE, JR.
President

GEORGE H. EDGELL
Director of Programs

SACHIYE MIZUKI
Associate Director of Programs

April 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

This note is to acknowledge your letter of April 27, which has arrived during Mr. Howe's absence from the office. Since Mr. Howe will be away most of May 11 and all of May 12 and 13, I should like to suggest that the best time to see him would be May 10. Would 11:30 a.m. be a convenient time for you?

I know Mr. Howe will look forward to talking with you about the matters you mention in your letter.

Sincerely,

Anne C. Revaire

Secretary to
Arthur Howe, Jr.

Make folder

file

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE

International *Scholarships*

313 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y., 10017

MURRAY HILL 9-1780 • CABLE ADDRESS: AMERIFIELD, NEW YORK

ARTHUR HOWE, JR.
President

GEORGE H. EDGELL
Director of Programs

MISS SACHIYE MIZUKI
Associate Director of Programs

EDWIN R. MASBACK, JR.
Treasurer

ROBERT APPLEWHITE
Secretary

May 20, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

I am very grateful for the chance to have talked to you here in this office, and I want you to know that on May 18 I quite unexpectedly attended a College Board meeting at which Bill Pressley was present. I took this opportunity to review with him the matter about which you talked to me, and I know he will be in touch with you before long. I hope that this will be helpful.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur Howe, Jr.
President

AHjr:sp

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

LWD—

"Found" this in my "in" basket last week. Had forgotten it. Glad you said <u>when</u> <u>convenient</u>.

Bernice M. obtained attached booklet. This should answer your questions about AFS.

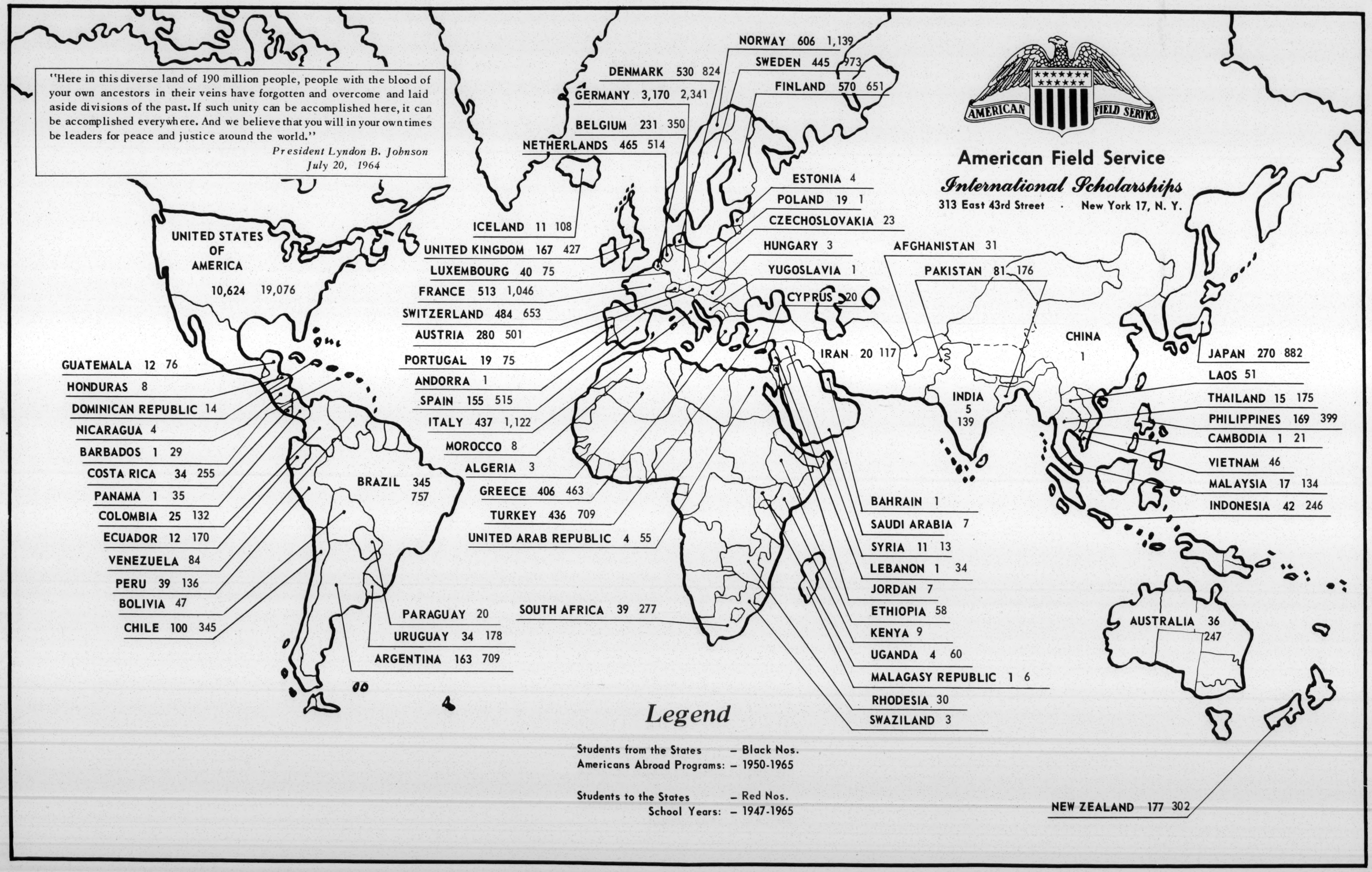
"Here in this diverse land of 190 million people, people with the blood of your own ancestors in their veins have forgotten and overcome and laid aside divisions of the past. If such unity can be accomplished here, it can be accomplished everywhere. And we believe that you will in your own times be leaders for peace and justice around the world."

President Lyndon B. Johnson
July 20, 1964

American Field Service

International Scholarships

313 East 43rd Street · New York 17, N. Y.



Legend

Students from the States – Black Nos.
Americans Abroad Programs: – 1950-1965

Students to the States – Red Nos.
School Years: – 1947-1965

Make folder

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE

STUDENTS TO THE UNITED STATES

Country	47-48	48-49	49-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	58-59	59-60	60-61	61-62	62-63	63-64	64-65	Totals
Afghanistan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	21	31
Algeria	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	3
Andorra	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Argentina	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	4	25	32	43	76	110	113	185	115	709
Australia	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	20	39	52	63	66	247
Austria	–	–	5	11	17	14	7	15	19	22	31	18	36	80	58	51	56	61	501
Bahrain	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	—	1	1
Barbados	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	9	10	8	29
Belgium	–	4	4	8	8	9	13	21	21	16	28	16	16	29	29	33	45	50	350
Bolivia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	4	8	6	7	7	8	47
Brazil	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	11	11	46	64	88	127	178	225	757
Cambodia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	9	2	–	–	21
Chile	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	14	25	49	73	72	104	345
China	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Colombia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	10	32	33	47	132
Costa Rica	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	4	2	11	25	61	65	83	255
Cyprus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	12	20
Czechoslovakia	10	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23
Denmark	–	2	3	2	1	1	3	13	31	40	56	72	114	117	103	97	98	71	824
Dominican Republic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	4	14
Ecuador	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	2	2	–	1	6	11	10	22	52	60	170
Estonia	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
Ethiopia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	5	6	22	22	58
Finland	–	4	5	7	10	10	20	40	30	41	64	48	73	63	62	56	67	51	651
France	18	20	23	21	14	27	27	37	50	68	64	95	88	112	111	81	84	106	1046
Germany	–	2	4	124	121	126	112	77	146	116	139	184	189	209	191	191	206	204	2341
Greece	1	6	5	7	1	3	13	32	23	24	37	35	47	34	59	48	52	36	463
Guatemala	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	6	4	4	4	8	12	7	28	76
Honduras	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7	8
Hungary	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Iceland	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	9	8	12	17	17	21	16	108
India	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	76	48	139
Indonesia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	13	22	37	37	48	82	–	–	246
Iran												6	11	14	18	21	21	26	117

STUDENTS TO THE UNITED STATES

Country	47-48	48-49	49-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	58-59	59-60	60-61	61-62	62-63	63-64	64-65	Totals
Afghanistan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	21	31
Algeria	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	3
Andorra	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Argentina	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	4	25	32	43	76	110	113	185	115	709
Australia	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	20	39	52	63	66	247
Austria	–	–	5	11	17	14	7	15	19	22	31	18	36	80	58	51	56	61	501
Bahrain	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	—	1	1
Barbados	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	9	10	8	29
Belgium	–	4	4	8	8	9	13	21	21	16	28	16	16	29	29	33	45	50	350
Bolivia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	4	8	6	7	7	8	47
Brazil	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	11	11	46	64	88	127	178	225	757
Cambodia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	9	2	–	–	21
Chile	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	14	25	49	73	72	104	345
China	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Colombia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	10	32	33	47	132
Costa Rica	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	4	2	11	25	61	65	83	255
Cyprus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	12	20
Czechoslovakia	10	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23
Denmark	–	2	3	2	1	1	3	13	31	40	56	72	114	117	103	97	98	71	824
Dominican Republic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	5	4	14
Ecuador	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	2	2	–	1	6	11	10	22	52	60	170
Estonia	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
Ethiopia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	5	6	22	22	58
Finland	–	4	5	7	10	10	20	40	30	41	64	48	73	63	62	56	67	51	651
France	18	20	23	21	14	27	27	37	50	68	64	95	88	112	111	81	84	106	1046
Germany	–	2	4	124	121	126	112	77	146	116	139	184	189	209	191	191	206	204	2341
Greece	1	6	5	7	1	3	13	32	23	24	37	35	47	34	59	48	52	36	463
Guatemala	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	6	4	4	4	8	12	7	28	76
Honduras	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7	8
Hungary	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Iceland	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	9	8	12	17	17	21	16	108
India	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	76	48	139
Indonesia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	13	22	37	37	48	82	–	–	246
Iran	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	11	14	18	21	21	26	117
Italy	–	2	2	6	7	10	14	30	35	45	73	79	137	144	169	101	119	149	1122
Japan	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	8	29	34	49	61	71	101	125	151	131	120	882
Jordan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	1	7
Kenya	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	4	–	–	9
Laos	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	11	6	8	20	51
Lebanon	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	6	3	10	4	6	3	34
Luxembourg	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	6	10	5	8	9	4	3	7	6	7	8	75
Malagasy Republic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	3	6
Malaysia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	8	11	16	13	29	33	20	134
Morocco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	2	3	8
Netherlands	7	9	8	6	4	6	11	15	19	27	31	35	40	33	72	73	54	64	514
New Zealand	2	4	2	2	1	2	5	10	17	18	23	22	22	24	28	29	45	46	302
Nicaragua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	4
Norway	3	8	6	8	16	20	11	34	43	74	88	92	128	119	126	159	94	110	1139
Pakistan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	12	9	9	13	24	47	57	–	–	176
Panama	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	7	2	8	7	3	35
Paraguay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	12	20
Peru	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	2	24	42	65	136
Philippines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	22	27	39	49	49	71	72	59	399
Poland	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Portugal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	8	8	7	9	11	8	5	7	7	75
Rhodesia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	6	8	7	7	30
Saudi Arabia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	7
South Africa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	14	50	60	74	73	277
Spain	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	26	30	39	47	35	30	27	67	83	67	60	515
Swaziland	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	3
Sweden	–	1	2	4	4	4	16	34	60	56	84	79	97	94	105	106	119	108	973
Switzerland	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	14	23	30	42	49	53	97	76	83	94	86	653
Syria	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	9	–	13
Thailand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	72	89	175
Turkey	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	9	22	27	45	48	56	53	90	136	111	110	709
Uganda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	10	14	14	18	60
United Arab Republic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–	24	24	55
United Kingdon	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	22	28	20	30	21	42	47	49	59	75	427
Uruguay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	3	8	8	22	26	32	47	29	178
Venezuela	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	4	5	20	25	27	84
Vietnam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	10	9	9	15	46
Yugoslavia	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
TOTALS	52	84	72	209	206	235	265	445	653	769	1,039	1,170	1,524	1,846	2,222	2,559	2,822	2,904	19,076

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

November 13, 1956

Called him & said come ahead.

Mr. George Mitchell
906 Lull Water Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Although I have never met you I have heard a great deal about you and your work through mutual friends, among them Emory Via. I don't suppose that you know very much about the American Foundation for Political Education, if indeed you have heard of it. We are an adult education organization which develops discussion programs in World Politics and American and Russian Foreign Policy throughout the country. The enclosed brochures present our programs in some detail.

After nine years of growing activity in the area of international affairs education, we are now going into the field of domestic American politics. Although we are a nation-wide organization and have had discussion groups operating in several cities throughout the South, we have had fewer groups there than in any other region and it is about our plans for these new programs and prospects of developing them in the South that I am most anxious to talk to you.

It happens that I will be in Atlanta to conduct a leader training institute at Emory University on Friday night and Saturday, November 30 and December 1, and I am planning to stay over Sunday, December 2. I am sure that your weekends are as sacred to you as they are for anyone in the field of organization and public policy formation and so I hesitate to ask whether it might be possible for us to meet for an hour or so on Sunday, December 2. But I am afraid that is the only time I will have, since the institute will take all my hours on Friday and Saturday. I believe you would be much interested in our work and I would be grateful for any comments and suggestions you could offer upon it. Since this is the first time that I will have been in Atlanta, I thought I ought to try to see you if it is at all possible that we could get together. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Ziegler

Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director

Enclosures
JMZ mag

American Foundation for
Political Education

12/10/56

JC:

This is probably something
pretty good.

CSM

Encl. "The Case of the Lively Ghost"
(A Case-Story on Desegregation)
by American Foundation for
Political Education.

December 10, 1956

Mr. Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director
American Foundation for Political
Education
19 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ziegler:

I do appreciate your kind letter and the prospect of corn meal on Confederate Memorial Day!

I have not yet read the good things, but I will. And I did read the leaflet all about what you do, and I am for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

December 5, 1956

Mr. and Mrs. George Mitchell
906 Lull Water Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell:

It was a great pleasure for Harry Boardman and Duke Harlan and myself to meet you the other night and may I thank you both for your graciousness and hospitality in not only giving us a wonderful dinner but in listening so patiently to our problems. I am sure you have heard the same thing many times before from countless persons and we are indeed grateful for the suggestions you made.

I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed material to your home, inasmuch as I do not have the Council's address. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of "The Case of the Lively Ghost" - a study in desegregation of the public schools.- written jointly by Don Shoemaker and Robert A. Goldwin, who was our Research Director until a few weeks ago. We expect to use the case-story material as the basis for discussion groups organized by our sponsoring organizations and institutions throughout the country. The particular case, while it is the first one we have finished, will be only one of several on different domestic political problems. I should be extremely interested in any comments or criticisms you would care to make about it or its use.

I hope that it will be possible for one of us to see you again before you leave for Scotland and in any case, we have made a pact among ourselves to send you a five pound sack of cornmeal on all appropriate Southern holidays.

Again, many thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome M. Ziegler

Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director

JMZ mag

Enclosures

American Foundation for Political Education

March 29, 1957

Mr. Jerry Ziegler
American Foundation for Political Education
19 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Jerry:

Thanks for the copy of the "Lively Ghost." I have not read it with full care as yet, but think it excellent and useful. I'm having others on the staff read it and good comments have come forth thus far.

Could you send us about seventeen copies or so? We would like to send them to each of our state affiliates and a few of our consultants.

I've seen Harry here on several occassions. Best wishes to you and family. Sara Pickus visited us recently and it was just wonderful to see her even for a short time.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

AFPE

June 27, 1957

Mr. Jerry Zigler, Director
American Foundation for Political Education
19 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Jerry:

I could use twenty-five copies of "The Case of the Lively Ghost," with a Union Staff Seminar which we are running in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

If you have a promotional piece giving a broader view of AFPE, I would be happy to include it with the distribution of the "Lively Ghost."

Bill me if necessary.

Things stay very bad here.

Margaret continues to make progress. We look forward to seeing the Pickuses in a few weeks. Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

BC sent to: Mrs. William ~~Foley~~ Pawley

May 29, 1958

Mr. Harry Boardman
American Foundation for Political
Education
336 East 43rd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Boardman:

This is a brief note of appreciation to the Foundation for making possible the series of discussions on World Politics here in Atlanta.

The principal concern of the Southern Regional Council is with improvement of race relations in the South. Thus, we have watched with particular interest and gratification the development of this local program in which the participation of people of all races was welcome. It has long been our belief that one of the most effective ways to advance human relations is for people of different groups to get together on an equal basis around some common and unifying concern. The discussion groups on World Politics have exemplified this process, in a field which is critical to our national welfare.

I very much hope that the American Foundation for Political Education will find it possible to continue such activity.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

819 — 13th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C. • PHONE DISTRICT 3807

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NATHALIE E. PANEK, *Ass't. Director*
JOHN F. P. TUCKER, *Legislative Director*

December 27, 1946

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In answer to your wire I am sending the enclosed full memorandum on the January 4th Conference. Not only is the meeting going ahead as scheduled, but the response has been such that we are very hopeful that big things may be in the offing and we are very happy that you can be with us.

I also enclose an invitation to a dinner which the UDA is giving the Friday evening before the Conference in case you plan to be here then. Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Cordially,

James Loeb Jr.

James Loeb, Jr.
National Director

JL/sg

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PEARL L. WILLEN
New York

WILLIAM WITHERS
New York

HORTENSE YOUNG
Kentucky

New name - Americans for Democratic Action

819 - 13th St., N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE ON JANUARY 4TH CONFERENCE (1947)

Memorandum On

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVES

It is proposed that steps be taken by this Conference to establish an organizational machinery on as broad a scale as possible to lay the basis for an American progressivism explicitly devoted to democratic principles and opposed to all forms of totalitarianism.

This machinery can be established in one of two ways: (1) the setting up of an entirely new organization, or (2) the complete reorganization and expansion of the Union for Democratic Action.

It is suggested that the structure, policy and program of the organization be worked out on the basis of a one-year organizing period, at the conclusion of which further organizational decisions can be made on the basis of accomplishments.
Following are suggestions in terms of the one-year period:

(1) A brief, explicit statement of simple principles should be the overall guide to the organization's policy. Subsequently both an immediate legislative program and a long-range program should be worked out. The long-range program should constitute one of the important projects of the organization and should be the fruit of several months of deliberation and consultation.

(2) The January 4th Conference should name an organizing committee, with a chairman and secretary. The organizing committee should be empowered to set up the structure of the organization and, after consultation with the participants in the January 4th Conference, to name provisional officers, a national board, and an executive committee.

(3) The first year's work should concentrate on organization, education and an action program on national legislative matters and local issues. Decisions regarding national electoral activities should be postponed for this first year of organizing work. Such a postponement will make possible more careful decisions on the basis of the first year's accomplishment. Furthermore, the political picture will have clarified somewhat by late 1947 or early 1948. The postponement of political decisions on a national level should in no way prevent local affiliates from taking political action in their own communities.

MORE

American Liberals for Democratic Action

suggested by continuation committee

voted down new name. Americans for Democratic action

(4) At the earliest feasible time, but no later than one year from now, there should be called a National Convention at which the organization will be formalized and basic decisions of policy and structure taken.

(5) A number of special organizational problems will require special attention. Among these are the following:

(a) Special efforts should be made to encourage democratic youth and student groups, for the obvious reason that the liberal leadership of tomorrow must come from these groups. On the campuses the United States Student Assembly affiliates should receive particular assistance.

(b) Special efforts should be made to establish and maintain relationships with trade union, farm, cooperative and other special groups. This might be done through the establishment of special divisions of the National Organization, or, more informally, by assigning staff members to these specific fields.

(6) An important function of the Continuations Committee should be an investigation of the financial requirements for such an organization as is proposed, and the potential financial resources available. Organizational proposals should be carefully weighed in the light of the results of this investigation.

(7) In the event that it is decided to establish an entirely new organization, the National Office of the UDA should be considered the interim secretariat of the Continuations Committee.

Union of American Liberals

819-13th St.N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL
Item I

PARTIAL LIST OF ACCEPTANCES
(as of December 18)

(Note: Several of those listed are as yet not absolutely certain that they can be present. Organizations are listed only for purposes of identification.)

ALSOP, Joseph and Stewart (columnists)
ANDERSON, Douglas (Sec.-Treas.,Railroad Workers, CIO)
APPLEBY, Paul, (Asst.Dir., Bureau of the Budget)
BALDANZI, George (Exec.Vice-Pres., Textile Workers, CIO)
BERGER, Clarence (Director, Massachusetts Independent Voters Assn.)
BIEMILLER, Andrew (Representative from Wisconsin)
BINGHAM, Barry (President, Louisville Courier-Journal)
BOLTE, Charles (Chairman, American Veterans Committee)
BOWLES, Chester (formerly Price Administrator)
BROWN, Harvey (President, Int'l Association of Machinists, Ind.)
BUCKMASTER, L.S. (Pres., United Rubber Workers of America, CIO)
CAREY, James B. (Sec.-Treas.CIO, representing President Philip Murray)
CARTER, Alison E. (Exec.Sec., U.S.Students Assembly)
CARTER, Hodding (Editor, Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.)
CHAPMAN, Oscar (Under-secretary of the Interior)
CHERNE, Leo (Director, Research Institute of America)
CHILDS, John L. (Vice-Pres.,American Federation of Teachers,AFL)
CHILDS, Marquis (columnist)
CLUCK, Jack A. (Chrmn, Progressive Citizens of Seattle, Washington)
CRAWFORD, Kenneth (Washington correspondent, Newsweek)
DAVENPORT, Russell (writer, former adviser to Wendell Willkie)
DAVIES, A.Powell (Unitarian minister;chrmn.,Board, Food For Freedom)
DAVIS, Elmer (commentator, former Director,Office of War Information)
DAVIS, William H. (formerly chairman, War Labor Board)
DOUGLAS, Helen Gahagan (Representative from California)
DUBINSKY, David (Pres., Int'l Ladies Garment Workers-AFL)
EDWARDS, George (Pres., Detroit Common Council)
EPSTEIN, Ethel S. (Chairman, Executive Committee,UDA)
ERNST, Hugo (Pres., Hotel & Restaurant Workers, AFL)
ETHRIDGE, Mark (Publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal)
GILBERT, Richard (formerly Chief Economist, OPA)
GALBRAITH, J.Kenneth (formerly Deputy Price Administrator)
GINSBURG, David (formerly Chief Counsel, OPA)
GRANGER, Lester B. (Nat'l Director, National Urban League)
GREEN, John (Pres., Marine & Shipbuilders, CIO)
HARRISON, Gilbert (Exec.Vice-Chrmn., American Veterans Committee)
HARRISON, Marvin B. (Senatorial candidate, Ohio)
HAYES, A.L. (Vice-Pres., Int'l Assn.of Machinists, Ind.)
HAYWOOD, Allan (Vice-Pres.,CIO, representing President Philip Murray)
HEDGES, Marion (Research Director, Int'l Br' Electrical Workers,AFL)
HENDERSON, Leon (former Price Administrator)
HILDRETH, Melvin D. (War Relief Control Board)
HIRSCH, Max (Treas.,Progressive Citizens Committee, Cincinnati)

(more)

HOAN, Daniel (Gubernatorial candidate,Wis.;chrmn.,Wis.Liberal League
HOFFMAN, Sal (Pres., Upholsterer's Int'l Union, AFL)
HOOK, Frank (Representative from Michigan)
HUMPHREY, Hubert (Mayor, Minneapolis)
JOHNSON, F.Ernest (Sec., Federal Council of Churches)
KNIGHT, O.A. (Pres., Oilworkers, CIO)
KOPPELMANN, Herman (Representative from Connecticut)
KUENZLI, Irwin (Sec.-Treas.,American Federation of Teachers, AFL)
LEHMAN, Herbert H. (former Governor of New York)
LERNER, Leo A. (Chrmn., Independent Voters of Illinois)
LINDEMAN, Eduard C. (Prof., New York School of Social Work)
McCULLOCH, Frank (Vice-Chrmn.,Independent Voters of Illinois)
MOWRER, Edgar Ansel (columnist)
MUNGER, m.L.(Exec.-Sec.,United Hatters;AFL,representing Pres.Zaritsk.
MURRAY, Milton (Pres., American Newspaper Guild, CIO)
MURROW, Edward R. (Vice-Pres.,Columbia Broadcasting System)
NATHAN, Robert R. (Director,Robert R.Nathan Associates)
NIEBUHR, Reinhold (Chairman, Union for Democratic Action)
NILES, David K. (Executive Assistant to the President)
OXNAM, Bishop C.Bromley (Retiring Pres.,Federal Council of Churches)
PHILLIPS, Paul L. (First Vice-Pres.,Paper Makers, AFL)
POPE, Liston (Prof., Yale Divinity School)
PRICHARD, Edward F.,Jr.(formerly Deputy Director, OWMR)
REUTHER, Walter (Pres., United Auto Workers, CIO)
RIEVE, Emil (Pres., Textile Workers, CIO)
ROOSEVELT, Mrs. Franklin D.
ROOSEVELT, F.D.,Jr.
ROWE, James H.,Jr. (formerly Executive Assistant to the President)
SCARLETT, Rt.Rev.William (Episcopal Bishop of St.Louis)
SCHACTER, Harry (Pres., Kaufman-Straus, Louisville, Ky.
SCHLESINGER, Arthur M.,Jr. (writer)
SEVAREID, Eric (CBS Commentator)
SHISHKIN, Boris (Chief Economist, AFL)
TAYLOR, Barney (Organization Dir., Nat'l Farm Labor Union, AFL)
TOWNSEND, Willard S. (Pres., Transport Service Employes, CIO)
VOORHIS, Jerry (Representative from California)
WHITE, Walter (Director, Nat'l Assn.for Advancement Colored People)
WOLCHOK, Samuel (Pres., United Retail,Wholesale Workers,CIO)
WYATT, Wilson W. (formerly Housing Expediter)
WOODHOUSE, Chase Going (Representative from Connecticut)
ZANDER, Arnold (Pres., State,County,Municipal Workers, AFL)

ADD:
KILLEN, James S.(Vice-Pres.,Pulp,Sulphite Workers,AFL)

- - - -

(Participants in this conference attend as individuals coming together to seek, and to implement if possible, a path for American liberalism. Their participation does not commit them beyond the meeting.)

819-13th St., N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL
Item 2

TENTATIVE AGENDA

for January 4th Conference
Hotel Willard, Washington, D.C.

9:30 A.M. (promptly)

The Conference will be called to order by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr with a brief statement of the general problem.

The morning session will be devoted to a general discussion of the principles, program and strategy of democratic progressives in America. The discussion, focussed by the attached statements (items 3, 4 and 5), will be chaired by Mr. Elmer Davis.

At the conclusion of the morning session, an effort will be made to determine whether sufficient consensus has been achieved to make the afternoon session on implementation fruitful.

12:30 to 2 P.M.

Luncheon. No formal luncheon meeting has been scheduled so that the participants may have the opportunity for an informal exchange of views.

2:00 P.M.

The afternoon session will be called to order and, assuming that sufficient consensus will have been reached in the morning, will be devoted exclusively to the problem of implementing the common convictions of the participants. The session will be chaired by Mr. David Ginsburg, chairman of the Arrangements Committee.

5:00 P.M.

The Conference will be adjourned as close to five o'clock as possible.

819 - 13th St., N.W.
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CONFIDENTIAL
Item 3

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

All over the world there are millions of men and women to whom the democratic idea has deep personal validity.

People of all races and creeds fought a world-wide war against fascism because, amid bewildering power-struggles and diplomatic intrigue, they recognized that this was a war of ideas, a conflict in which fascism was making a ruthless bid for the conquest of men's minds even as it sought physical domination of the world. They were fighting more than a defensive war; they were fighting to establish for themselves and their children those conditions of economic security which must form the foundation of expanding political democracy. Their goals were freedom and economic justice; the goals were indivisible.

Now the military war is over; yet throughout the world there is uneasiness among democrats. In America, as elsewhere, liberals face great decisions. A new wave of the future is being heralded by men to whom democracy is merely a strategic slogan. We are asked to believe that we now face a simple, inexorable choice between imperialist and fascist reaction and communist totalitarianism. We are told that rigid adherence to a one-party line is a necessary discipline to insure economic security, that we must blindly accept the foreign policy of Soviet power or align ourselves with the makers of a new war.

American progressives must reject these alternatives. They must assert their conviction that liberalism is a positive, dynamic force, the faith of free men.

The responsibility resting on American liberals is particularly heavy. Throughout the world progressives awed by the post-war power of this nation are wondering apprehensively how that power will be used. Will America again go through a period of false prosperity to be followed by an economic disaster leading inevitably to world chaos? Or will this country find within itself the vision and the courage to build a stable and equitable economy which alone can serve as the basis for lasting peace? Will the America which served so successfully and so heroically as the arsenal of democracy become, after the military victory, the powerful center of world reaction and imperialism? Or will the leadership which we have acquired through our human and material resources be used for the reconstruction of a democratic and peaceful world? Will America be a symbol of hope or of fear?

This is the challenge to American progressives. It is a challenge that can be met, and met successfully, only by individuals and organizations whose devotion to democracy is unquestioned, whose faith in the principles of political freedom has stood the test of this chaotic period in history. American progressives must, at this time when democratic principles are again being called in question, reassert their belief in the dynamic of freedom as an instrument of social progress. In so doing, they must make clear that freedom can survive only in a climate of economic stability and well-being.

Reinhr - People in Europe afraid of U.S. economic tail spin - fear of complete withdrawal from Europe

819-13th St., N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOREIGN POLICY

Item 4

(Important Note: This statement is obviously not intended to cover the whole field of foreign policy. Nor is it submitted for approval by the Conference or for release to the press in any form. It is merely an effort to focus the discussion and to achieve a consensus in terms of direction.)

Economic policy - (Soft) very precarious

- - - - - - -

1. Our objective in foreign policy is to lay the foundations of an enduring peace -- that is, a peace which can provide mutual security and can move steadily toward world community. Such a peace must be based neither on the anxious balance created by the sharp confrontation of two power blocs, nor on the quicksands of appeasement.

2. Central to the problem of peace are the relationships between the United States and the USSR. These relationships cannot be solved by continuous surrender to Soviet political or territorial demands, since experience has taught us that the effect of appeasement is to encourage, not the moderates in the country appeased, but those constantly insisting upon further aggressions. On the other hand, we do not believe that the problem can be solved by indiscriminate resistance or by indiscriminate endorsement of all anti-Soviet groups everywhere in the world. Because of the absence of any central and compelling political conceptions of our own, our dealings with the USSR have frequently taken on a niggling and negative character, and have brought us dangerously close to underwriting fascist or semi-fascist forces merely because of their anti-Soviet character -- Chiang Kai-shek and Franco.

3. The most likely basis for an abiding solution is the development of a positive democratic program, both political and economic, which alone can prevent the conditions which invite the extension of totalitarianism -- that is, to prevent hunger, poverty, and want. The United States is the only country rich and powerful enough to back and carry through comprehensive policies which will raise mass standards of living throughout the world. Our policy must endeavor, by loans, trade agreements, investments, to create the economic conditions under which governments of the non-Communist left have a reasonable chance of success. If such governments fail, they will inevitably be succeeded by totalitarian governments either of the left or right.

4. If Soviet policy is benevolently concerned with the interests of the international working-class, then no policy would be more likely to dispel Soviet suspicions of the United States than a policy of support to progressive democracy in Europe. If Soviet policy is the expression of a new form of totalitarian expansionism, then no policy would be more likely to improve our moral and political position and to confirm our democratic bridgehead in Europe than a policy of aid to the non-Communist left. Such a policy is thus compatible with either extreme interpretation of Soviet intentions.

5. It should be added that this policy is suited particularly to Europe and Latin America. In those parts of Asia, and particularly China, where there is no middle class, no labor movement, little or no non-Communist left, the alternatives are more brutal. The hope for these areas lies in a US-Russian agreement stabilizing the political situation so that democratic habits and traditions have a chance to

Gen. Marshall - ~~conflict between C.~~ K. Shek.

(more)

growth in both China & India of middle class & movement

develop in an increasingly industrialized society. Such an agreement will become increasingly feasible as our relations with the USSR are successfully worked out in Europe.

6. Where American foreign policy has supported the democratic process in opposition to police state methods, it deserves the support of progressives. The democratic faith is obviously on the defensive throughout the world. The best source of faith is works. A militant policy of support for democratic forces may rekindle the old revolutionary vigor of the democratic faith. Especially must such a policy be undertaken affirmatively and on a broad front before despair over the United States convinces Europe and Latin America that the Moscow stereotype of the capitalist and imperialist colossus is correct and thus drives all but the fascists into the arms of the Communists. If pursued with conviction for the next few years, a strong progressive policy may (a) persuade the USSR that we have positive values and interests for which we will fight if pushed too far and (b) demonstrate to the world that we have no aggressive or imperialist intentions. It should also assist vitally in laying down the political and economic foundations -- democracy and prosperity -- upon which any long-term peace must ultimately depend.

- - - - - -

no mention of U.N.O.

3 add. Points
1- affirm lib point of view - one world - unless succeed thro UNO - no hope
2. overshadow all else use of atomic energy for peace. (Baruch policy in U.N.O.)
3- affirm - Am. liberals belief in, interest & sympathy with British labor party

Reuther - Emphasis economic policy
Amer has a 2nd Bank - if we fail to solve our econ problems here we'll blow up the world

the tone of the release
1. communist have carried on a campaign -
2.

819-13th St. N.W.
Washington, 5, D.C.
12-19-46

CONFIDENTIAL
Item 5

DOMESTIC POLICY

Every generation must secure, extend and redefine the content of its political heritage or jeopardize its survival. Our generation has an especial obligation in this regard since in this country and everywhere else in the world the liberal political tradition is under heavy attack.

Throughout history bread and liberty have been inter-dependent. Hundreds of millions of people in the world have never won liberty because they lacked bread. Other millions have sacrificed liberty as the price of bread. But there are millions more who are determined as free men both to defend their political and spiritual freedom and to take whatever steps may be necessary to assure a high level of material well-being.

In the United States political liberties are jeopardized, and the full use of economic resources denied, by aggregations of economic power so great as to undermine and challenge the power of government to serve the general welfare. We must recapture full enjoyment of our political liberties and remove these barriers to economic progress in pursuit of the objectives of progressive liberalism.

1) Our basic objective in domestic policy is to reformulate and carry through a progressive program which will permit the exercise of political freedom to assure economic security and greater opportunit for human self-development.

2) Our political objectives are the traditional American objectives of freedom and equal opportunity for all men, under law, to think, to worship, to speak, and to vote without regard to race, creed, or color.

3) Our economic objectives are aimed at the achievement of equal opportunity and economic security for all men. It is not sufficient merely to defend the great gains of the past, including the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. As a minimum, achievement of these objectives requires full and steady production; full and steady employment, without discrimination; equitable distribution of the national income, and a system of social insurance which will eliminate the major hazards of life in a modern industrial society and will establish standards of nutrition, medical care, and housing below which no one will be permitted to fall.

4) We recognize that in order to establish such measures of social control as are desirable for the achievement of these goals we must regulate, disperse or eliminate those aggregations of economic power which challenge the authority of the state. The power of government must be adequate to subordinate the exercise of private power to the general welfare, but we must also guard against undue concentration of governmental authority. We therefore recognize the need for increased emphasis on local authority and initiative, and the need for greater public participation in the governmental process.

(more)

5) The fundamental threat to democratic institutions lies in the failure to provide for the well-being and security which it is the ever deepening anxiety of men to achieve in their daily affairs. It is this security which the demagogic forces of the extremes, both fascist and communist, will always be quick to offer at the price of freedom. In a world troubled by insecurity, and in the explosive contrast between poverty and luxury within our own country, the danger is real that people will surrender their liberty for economic security, and that freedom, as we know it, will be abandoned. We further believe that doctrines of militarism are incompatible with human freedom, and we see danger in the growing role of the military in civil affairs, in this country and elsewhere throughout the world.

6) Liberalism is a demanding faith. Its basis is neither a set of dogmas nor a prescription of specific measures. Liberalism is based on a deep concern for all men, a profound faith in human reason, and an attitude of inquiry -- a willingness to examine facts and to re-examine them in the light of conflicting opinions which other men may hold. Liberalism is a fighting conviction that the social and technological potentialities of this age, harnessed to the dynamic of human freedom, and guided by human reason, can preserve the best traditions of our civilization and stimulate progress to far higher human achievement than the world has ever known.

- - - -

Confidential 11-15-46

A PRELIMINARY AND PROVISIONAL STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

All over the world there are millions of men and women to whom the democratic idea has deep personal validity.

People of all races and creeds fought a world-wide war against fascism because, amid bewildering power-struggles and diplomatic intrigue, they recognized that this was a war of ideas, a conflict in which fascism was making a ruthless bid for the conquest of men's minds even as it sought physical domination of the world. They were fighting more than a defensive war; they were fighting to establish for themselves and their children those conditions of economic security which must form the foundation of expanding political democracy. Their goals were freedom and economic justice; the goals were indivisible.

Now the military war is over; yet throughout the world there is uneasiness among democrats. In America, as elsewhere, liberals face great decisions. A new wave of the future is being heralded by men to whom democracy is merely a strategic slogan. We are asked to believe that we now face a simple, inexorable choice between imperialist and fascist reaction and communist totalitarianism. We are told that rigid adherence to a one-party line is a necessary discipline to insure economic security, that we must blindly accept the foreign policy of Soviet power or align ourselves with the makers of a new war.

American progressives must reject these alternatives. They must assert their conviction that liberalism is a positive, dynamic force, the faith of free men.

The responsibility resting on American liberals is particularly heavy. Throughout the world progressives awed by the post-war power of this nation are wondering apprehensively how that power will be used. Will America again go through a period of false prosperity to be followed by an economic disaster leading inevitably to world chaos? Or will this country find within itself the vision and the courage to build a stable and equitable economy which alone can serve as the basis for lasting peace? Will the America which served so successfully and so heroically as the arsenal of democracy become, after the military victory, the powerful center of world reaction and imperialism? Or will the leadership which we have acquired through our human and material resources be used for the reconstruction of a democratic and peaceful world? Will America be a symbol of hope or of fear?

This is the challenge to American progressives. It is a challenge that can be met, and met successfully, only by individuals and organizations whose devotion to democracy is unquestioned, whose faith in the principles of political freedom has stood the test of this chaotic period in history. American progressives must, at this time when democratic principles are again being called in question, reassert their belief in the dynamic of freedom as an instrument of social progress. In so doing, they must make clear that freedom can survive only in a climate of economic stability and well-being.

file

AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION

819-13th St., N.W.
Wash.5, D.C.
DIstrict
3807

January 7,1947

To the Members of the Committee of the Whole:

For your information we are sending you the following material covering the January 4th Conference and the first meeting of the Organizing Committee:

(1) the full press release issued following the Conference;
(2) a copy of the Report of the Committee on Continuation as amended and passed by the Conference;
(3) a summary of the important decisions reached by the Organizing Committee at its first meeting following the Conference; and
(4) a list of the sub-committees named by the Co-Chairmen, with an indication of the alternates already named.

In addition, it is encouraging to be able to report the deep sense of responsibility with which the Organizing Committee approached the enormous task ahead. It was the general feeling that the Committee should move rapidly but solidly toward the perfection of the ADA's organizational structure.

This office will keep you constantly informed. You will hear from us within the next few days. We hope by that time to have more presentable stationery. It goes without saying that we appreciated your participation on January 4th and trust that you share our enthusiasm for the challenging job before us.

Cordially,

James Loeb, Jr.
Secretary-Treasurer.

819 - 13th St., N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.
DIstrict 3807

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Jan.4,1947

More than 150 leaders of liberal and labor groups agreed today on creation of a new liberal organization called Americans for Democratic Action.

They rejected any alliance with totalitarian forces of the Left or Right. They affirmed support -- both political and economic -- for democratic movements based on the four freedoms throughout the world.

Participants in the meeting agreed on the urgent need for reconstruction of the U.S. liberal movement free of totalitarian influence.

The conferees agreed that no formal manifesto resolving all the problems of the nation and the world could be drafted at a one-day meeting. But they found complete harmony on the basic principles underlying the organization. This consensus included:

1. The New Deal program must be expanded to insure decent levels of health, nutrition, shelter and education.

2. Civil liberties must be protected from concentrated wealth and overcentralized government. They must be extended to all Americans regardless of race, color, creed or sex.

3. Any sound foreign policy requires a healthy and prosperous domestic economy.

4. The United States must continue to give full support to the United Nations. The conference endorses the American plan for international control of atomic energy.

5. Because the interests of the United States are the interests of free men everywhere, America must furnish political and economic support to democratic and freedom-loving peoples the world over.

(More)

6. Within the general framework of present American foreign policy steps must be taken to raise standards of living and support civil and political freedoms everywhere.

These policies are in the great democratic tradition of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with Fascists or their sympathizers. Both are hostile to the principles of freedom and democracy on which this republic has grown great.

-30 -

AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION
819-13th St., N.W.
Wash.5, D.C.
DIstrict
3807

Jan.7, 1947

REPORT of the COMMITTEE ON CONTINUATION
(as amended and unanimously passed by the Conference)

The Committee on Continuation has met and as its report offers the following resolution:

"That the Committee of the Whole hereby resolves to establish a national organization to formulate and carry through a genuine, American liberal program; that to this end, an organizing committee is established, and, after consultation with the participants of this conference, is authorized to prepare a detailed program and to name provisional officers and a provisional national board; that we accept the offer of the Union for Democratic Action, take over its offices and facilities for the interim period, and, unless the organizing committee shall otherwise decide, we take the name of Americans for Democratic Action; that all participants in this meeting consider themselves members of the Committee of the Whole unless they signify otherwise with the secretary of the organizing committee; that the following members of the Committee of the Whole are named as members of the organizing committee with the understanding that the Committee may add to its numbers, and that any member of the Committee is authorized to name an alternate with power to act in his absence:

Charles G. Bolte
Harvey Brown
Elmer Davis
David Dubinsky
George Edwards
Ethel S. Epstein
Hugo Ernst
John Green
Leon Henderson
Hubert H. Humphrey
Mrs. Clyde Johnson
James Killen
Frank McCulloch
B.F.McLaurin
Reinhold Niebuhr
Mrs. Gifford Pinchot
Edward Prichard, Jr.
Walter P.Reuther
Franklin D.Roosevelt, Jr.
Bishop William Scarlett
Willard Townsend
Walter White
Wilson W.Wyatt

James Loeb, Jr., Secretary "

Respectfully submitted,
Committee on Continuation:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevel
Chairman
Mr. James B. Carey
Mr. Hugo Ernst
Mr. David Ginsburg
Mr. Leon Henderson
Mr. Joseph Rauh, Jr.

AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION

819-13th St.N.W.
Washington 5,D.C.
DIstrict
3807

January 7,1947

Following are the important motions made and carried at the meeting of the Organizing Committee of Americans for Democratic Action, on Saturday, January 4, 1947:

1. That Mr. Leon Henderson serve as chairman for this meeting.

2. That Mr. Leon Henderson and Mr. Wilson W. Wyatt be elected temporary co-chairmen of Americans for Democratic Action, and that Mr. James Loeb, Jr., be elected temporary secretary-treasurer.

3. That three subcommittees be created: (1) organization; (2) finance; and (3) program; and that the two co-chairmen be authorized to designate a chairman for each subcommittee and to build the committee around that chairman.

4. That the co-chairmen establish a public relations and education committee and agree to draw from members of the organization outside of the Organizing Committee.

5. That the Organizing Committee of Americans for Democratic Action take over the staff and facilities of the National Office of the UDA on January 6, 1947; that the National Office of the UDA will undertake any preparations necessary to facilitate its dissolution simultaneously with the establishment of the permanent organization of ADA; and that the local chapters of the UDA continue in existence pending their affiliation with the ADA when its permanent organization is established.

6. That applications for membership in the ADA be received, and that the Secretary inform the applicants that their applications will be held until the ADA is formally established as a membership organization.

7. That the secretary-treasurer be authorized to call a meeting of this Organizing Committee on January 16, 1947.

-ADA-

AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION

819-13th St., N.W.
Washington ,D.C.
DIstrict
3807

Jan.7,1947

SUB-COMMITTEES of the ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Co-Chairmen Henderson and Wyatt, following the instructions of the Organizing Committee, named the following sub-committees. Alternates are indicated in parenthesis where alternates have already been named.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Leon Henderson (Chairman
(David Ginsburg)
Reinhold Niebuhr
Frank McCulloch
Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot
Edward F. Prichard, Jr.
(Arthur Schlesinger,Jr.)
James F. Killen
(J.C.Turner)
Walter Reuther
(Don Montgomery)
Harvey Brown
(A.J.Hayes)
Walter White

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Wilson W. Wyatt (Chairman)
(Joseph Rauh, Jr.)
Charles G. Bolte
(Chat Patterson)
George Edwards
(Andrew W.L.Brown)
Hubert H. Humphrey
(Arthur Naftalin)
Franklin D. Roosevelt,Jr.
(Chat Patterson)
Bishop William Scarlett
Hugo Ernst
(Nelson Cruikshank)
John Green
(James Carey)
Samuel Wolchok
(Jack Altman)
B.F.McLaurin
(A.Philip Randolph)

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Ethel S. Epstein
Mrs. Clyde Johnson
(Max Hirsch)
David Dubinsky
(Boris Shishkin)
Willard Townsend
(George Weaver)

-ADA-

January 10, 1947

Mr. James Loeb, Secretary
Americans for Democratic Action
819 - 13th Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Loeb:

As I seemed to have been the only one present at our meeting last Saturday from any city South of Louisville, Kentucky, I am taking the liberty of suggesting the names of liberals from our South.

I believe after your careful screening you will find the people I am suggesting have no connection whatever with Communism. They are people who have much to contribute to our organization.

I will appreciate it if you will give consideration to the list attached.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

T:p

1/10/47

PERSONS SUGGESTED BY MRS. M. E. TILLY FOR MEMBERSHIP IN
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Rabbi Stanley R. Brav
1209 Cherry
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Hodding Carter
Editor, Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dr. Rufus E. Clement (Negro)
President, Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Virginius Dabney
Editor, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. C. Sylvester Green
Editor, Durham Herald
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Henry Havens
Women's Auxuliary, Episcopal Church
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville 5, Florida

Dr. Charles S. Johnson (Negro)
President-Elect, Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ralph McGill
Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. N. C. McPherson
St. John's Methodist Church
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. F. D. Patterson (Negro)
President, Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dr. Raymond Paty
Chancellor, University System of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Edgar Ray
Managing Editor, Tampa Daily Times
Tampa, Florida

G. D. Rogers (Negro)
President, Central Life Insurance Co.
Tampa, Florida

C. C. Spaulding (Negro)
President, North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Co.
Box 301
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Harold L. Trigg (Negro)
Associate Executive Director, Southern
Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul D. Williams
Vice-President Mentzer, Bush & Co.,
Educational Publishers
President, Southern Regional Council
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney-at-Law
Conway, South Carolina

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1740 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., EXecutive 8160
SOUTHERN OFFICE: 215 Madison, Rm. 209
Memphis, Tennessee

Wilson W. Wyatt
National Chairman
Leon Henderson
Chairman, Executive Committee
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice-Chairmen

Louis H. Harris
Treasurer
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Secretary, National Board
James Loeb, Jr.
National Executive Secretary

National Board

Harvey M. Brown
Melvyn Douglas
David Dubinsky
George Edwards
Ethel S. Epstein
Hugo Ernst
William Evjue
David Ginsburg
Lester B. Granger
Sal B. Hoffman
James S. Killen
Frank W. McCulloch
B. F. McLaurin
Othmer J. Mischo
Reinhold Niebuhr
Mrs. Gifford Pinchot
Paul A. Porter
Edward F. Prichard, Jr.
Bishop William Scarlett
Arthur M. Schlesinger
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Monroe M. Sweetland
H. L. Mitchell
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

July 31, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

An important meeting of liberals will be held Tuesday, August 5th at 8PM at 353 Courtland Street, N.E. You are invited to attend.

We expect this meeting to result in the formation of an Atlanta Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, the new dynamic liberal organization now engaged in mobilizing progressives throughout America.

An active chapter has already been formed in Memphis and has achieved complete labor unity for prospective political action. Organizing committees are functioning in many other southern cities.

Mrs. M.E. Tilley ADA Executive Board member from Atlanta, is being asked to be chairman of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Barney B. Taylor

Barney B. Taylor
Southern Representative

BBT/kc

February 10, 1961

Mr. Wade Mackie
American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge 2, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Mackie:

Paul Rilling has turned over to me your letter of February 8 in which you request a photograph and biographical data for Mr. Wright. I am pleased to send the material to you, enclosed.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MCF
enclosures - 2.

PL 8-1701

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Baton Rouge Office • 1608 Government Street • Baton Rouge 2, La. • DI 2-2157

February 8, 1961

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Enclosed is two programs of our Institute of Religion which I thought you would be interested in seeing.

You will notice that Marion A. Wright does not have his due in the programs. I want background materials for advance publicity in the press on Mr. Wright including a cut or photograph which I did not have for programs prior to placing in hands of the printer.

He asked me to get this from Southern Regional Council.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Wade Mackie

Wade Mackie

WM/ygc

Enclosures

file AFSC

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ramsay, Richard
Director, College Program
~~FA~~ AFSC, High Point, North Carolina

REGARDING

AFSC Citizenship Education Project in South Carolina

DATE

March 18, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Original ltr. and green copy returned to Paul - 3/22/66

file
AFSC

May 10, 1966

Miss Catherine Naysmith
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Miss Naysmith:

Just a note to thank you for the copy of your salary study. We found it most helpful and will be referring to it frequently in the future.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

PA

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOcust 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 29, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Organizations which cooperated in the AFSC Salary Study

We appreciated very much the salary data you sent to us. A copy of the data collected together is attached for your information. Based on our study of the data, the National Personnel Committee of the American Friends Service Committee approved the following salary ranges for National staff:

	CATEGORY RANGES	PRESENT RANGE	ACTUAL RANGE 10/1/65	PROPOSED RANGE*
G	Associate Executive Secretaries, Division & Department Heads, & Finance Secretaries	Minimum of 9,000	14,250-9,250	Minimum of 9,000
F	Major Program & Administrative Staff	10,500-6,000	10,500-7,750	12,000-7,000
E	Program & Administrative Staff	8,000-5,000	8,500-6,000	9,500-6,000
D	Administrative Secretaries, Administrative Assistants, & Research & Writing Assistants	6,000-4,000	6,500-4,100	7,500-4,500
C	Secretarial	5,200-3,500	5,600-3,300	6,500-3,500
B	Clerk-typist	4,000-3,000	4,050-3,100	5,000-3,500
A	Maintenance, Warehouse, & Skilled Staff	5,200-3,000	5,500-3,000	6,500-3,500

NOTE: Your organization is F.

Personnel Department of the
American Friends Service Committee

* Approved by National Personnel Committee on April 14 to be effective October 1, 1966.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.
Catherine Naysmith
Assistant Personnel Secretary

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SALARY STUDY - FEBRUARY, 1966

Special Notes:

Eight organizations sent salary data to us in the form of frequency distributions. We reviewed these data and worked out the lowest, highest, median, and first and third quartile ranges. In these cases N equals the number of salaries included in the frequency distribution. These data are in the first two pages of the Study.

Data from the other organizations, which responded to our request, were not given in the form of frequency distributions. We arranged this information in as comparable a way as possible. The number of salaries involved in these cases is not given. These data appear on the last two pages of the Study

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDED IN THE SALARY STUDY (listed alphabetically)

FEBRUARY, 1966

1. AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE
2. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF PHILADELPHIA
3. COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA
4. EARLHAM COLLEGE
5. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH
6. FEDERAL AGENCIES INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROFESSIONALS
7. GERMANTOWN FRIENDS SCHOOL
8. HEALTH AND WELFARE COUNCIL OF PHILADELPHIA
9. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
10. PEACE CORPS
11. PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
12. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
13. UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST SERVICE COMMITTEE
14. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE USA
15. WILMINGTON COLLEGE
16. Y.W.C.A., NATIONAL

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE-PROGRAM STAFF SALARIES IN EIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

JANUARY, 1966

N=95	AFSC National Office	Eight Organizations total distribution N=837	A N=126	B N=68	C N=58	D N=27	E N=34	F N=17	G N=100	H N=407
Highest	14,000-14,999	15,000 & Over	15,000 & Over	15,000 & Over	10,000-10,999	15,000 & Over	13,000-13,999	15,000 & Over	15,000 & Over	15,000 & Over
Q 3	9,000- 9,999	11,000-11,999	10,000-10,999	8,000-8,999	7,000-7,999	11,000-11,999	10,000-10,999	14,000-14,999	6,000-6,999	13,000-13,999
Median	8,000- 8,999	8,000- 8,999	9,000- 9,999	7,000-7,999	6,000-6,999	9,000- 9,999	9,000- 9,999	10,000-10,999	5,000-5,999	9,000- 9,999
Q 1	6,000- 6,999	6,000- 6,999	7,000- 7,999	6,000-6,999	5,000-5,999	8,000- 8,999	9,000- 9,999	8,000- 8,999	4,000-4,999	7,000- 7,999
Lowest	4,000- 4,999	3,000- 3,999	3,000- 3,999	5,000-5,999	5,000-5,999	7,000- 7,999	5,000- 5,999	6,000- 6,999	3,000-3,999	5,000- 5,999
	Excludes Executive Secretary's salary				Excludes Principal's Salary	Excludes Executive Director's Salary				

AFSC PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

STUDY OF SECRETARIAL-CLERICAL STAFF SALARIES IN EIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

JANUARY, 1966

N=70	AFSC National Office	Eight Organizations total distribution N=443	A N=50	B N=18	C N=13	D N=30	E N=19	F N=12	G N=33	H N=268
Highest	5,000-5,999	8,000-8,999	6,000-6,999	5,000-5,999	5,000-5,999	5,000-5,999	6,000-6,999	5,000-5,999	6,000-6,999	8,000-8,999
Q 3	4,000-4,999	5,000-5,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-5,999	5,000-5,999	5,000-5,999	6,000-6,999
Median	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	5,000-5,999
Q 1	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999
Lowest	3,000-3,999	Under 3,000	Under 3,000	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	3,000-3,999	Under 3,000	3,000-3,999
Totals	N=165	N=1280	N=176	N=86	N=71	N=57	N=53	N=29	N=133	N=875

AFSC PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

SALARY STUDY (continued) January, 1966

AFSC JOB CATEGORIES & SALARY RANGES	I	J	K	L	M
G Assoc. Executive Secys, Div. & Dept. Heads, & Finance Secys. 14,250-9,250	27,500-16,500	15,000-12,000	Professors 14,500-10,000	Directors 25,840-13,680 Asst. Dir. 18,840-13,080 Adm. Asst. 18,240-12,480 Supervisor 17,340-11,580 Twelve months salary schedule	Professionals 25,382-12,510
F Major Program & Adm. Staff 10,500-7,750	22,000-10,800	12,000- 7,000	Assoc. Prof. 11,000-8,000	Principals 16,700-10,900 Vice-Prin. 15,200-10,400 Supervisor 14,450- 9,650 Teachers *10,400- 5,500 Ten months salary schedule	Professionals Starting Grade GS-12 13,931-10,619
E Program & Adm. Staff 8,500-6,000	18,000- 6,000	7,800- 4,680	Some Adms. 9,900-6,500		Other Adm. Grades GS-11 to 8 11,715- 6,869
D Adm. Asst., Adm. Secys, Research & Writing Asst. 6,500-4,100	5,202- 4,164		Asst. Prof. 9,000- 7,000 Instructors 7,500- 6,000	Secys. Grades 73, 74, 75 7,876- 5,828	
C Secretaries Some Clerical Staff 5,600-3,300	4,680- 3,696	5,200- 4,160	Secretaries & Office Managers 3,800- 3,000	Secys. Grades 72, 71 6,460- 3,990	Secretarial Clerical Grades GS-7 to 3 8,132- 4,149
B Clerk-Typist 4,050-3,100	4,164- 2,862	4,680- 3,380	Clerk-Typist 3,000- 2,600	Secys. Grades 70 4,623- 3,833	Clerical Grades GS-2 & 1 4,975- 3,507
A Maintenance, Warehouse & Skilled staff 5,500-3,000	4,680- 3,276	6,240- 4,680			
	Gen'l Secy's salary is included	June, 1964 Director's salary is not included	Assume President's salary is not included	*1965-66	

AFSC PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

AFSC CATEGORIES	N	O	F
G	17,550-10,830	Salaries are negotiated	22,000 - ?
F	14,200- 7,969		
E	9,269- 6,539	9,700- 7,400	
D	7,579- 5,889	6,864	
C	6,539- 3,939	4,160	
B	4,849- 3,120	5,200- 3,224	? - 2,860
A			

Above represents 1963 situation. They are anticipating making increases.

AFSC PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

Copy sent to H.W. Whitman 1st Natl Bank 6/27/66 See SRC Gen. Corresp.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Rec'd 6/16/66 file

June 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter is to inform you of a very unfortunate incident that occurred Friday, June 10, 1966 at the First National Bank.

I went to the First National Bank to cash a check in the amount of $1,000.00 drawn on the Southern Regional Council's account. I went to a teller named Mrs. Forrest Collins. While Mrs. Collins was counting the money for me I asked her for a sack so that I would not have to carry so much money in the open. Mrs. Collins said she would give me a paper bag and went on to remark that she never gave a woman money in the open when there were colored people around. She said you know how it is when there are niggers around. I told Mrs. Collins that Negroes were the same as anyone else and left her window.

I write this to you in the event that you would like to take steps to see that this sort of remark is not made to other customers cashing checks on your account.

Sincerely,

Winifred Falls

Winifred Falls
American Friends Service Committee
School Desegregation Task Force
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

WF/ar

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

American Friends Service Committee

REGARDING

ltr 10/20/66 to Miss Connie Curry enclosing $75.00 check for scholarship for Miss Gloria Lamons for travel expenses to AFSC High School Seminar

DATE

10-20-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

New World Foundation - Contingency #1

MJ

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

file
cc. ref - New Loved Fd - Contingency Fund #2

November 3, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wish to express my appreciation to you and to your organization for the financial assistance you provided which enabled Gloria Lamons, of Albany, Georgia, to participate in our National Seminar. I am looking forward with pleasure to having her with us.

Enclosed is a schedule and participants list so that you may more fully understand the week's content.

My best wishes to you in your good work.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Brecht

Barbara M. Brecht
Director
National High School Program

BMB:ghl

encl.

file
Amer. Friends Ser.
Atlta
1966

file

1184 E Clark
Albany Georgia
Nov 8, 1966

Dear Mr Paul

My name is Gloria Lamons I am one of the student that you and the members of the Southern Regional council granted the travel Scholarship to.

I am writing to let youall know just how much I appreciate what youall have done for me I thank youall very much.

Miss Eleanor sent me the money October 26, and I was very glad to receive it.

My mother and Father say that they thank you very much for granting me the money and they are very Happy over the trip that I will be taking because I have always wanted to take and important trip and meet some important people.

From Gloria Lamons

Sec
Amer. Friends Ser. Ctee

March 23, 1967

Miss Barbara Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

Finally, I have read the report prepared for the Commission on Rural Poverty. It's an excellent document, and deserves wide circulation.

Would you consider condensing or have condensed the report into an article of about 5,000 words that we could run in New South? It seems to me that simply reletion would accomplish this and leave an excellent piece.

In lieu of this, we will be willing to take on the job of condensing the report and check it with you before publication. But we would much prefer you or your staff doing it.

Either way, we would be very grateful if you would allow us to publish an article over your by-line.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

P. S. -- In the meantime, may we have several extra copies of this report?

File
Amer. Friends Ser. Ctee

April 3, 1967

Mr. Bill Moyer
Director
Housing Opportunities Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
431 S. Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Bill:

Thank you for taking the time to share your reactions about the pamphlet Ghettos.

We could not agree more with you about the causes for the lack of action and what must be done.

You may be surprised to know, however, that several of the more enlightened mayors in the region have asked us for just such information. Our rationale was to go to an established and sound consulting firm and have it, in effect, summarize a blueprint of what should be done if anyone was so inclined. While it was intended specifically for mayors, we also thought it would be valuable

to provide concerned citizens with a checklist, as it were, of specifically what was not being done on the part of municipal leadership that could easily be done.

Again, thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AFSC 50

R. Ogden Hannaford
Regional Chairman

Kale Williams
Executive Secretary

Howard Bartram
Associate Executive Secretary

Jane Weston
Associate Executive Secretary

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Chicago Regional Office for Illinois and Wisconsin

431 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605

HArrison 7-2533

March 29, 1967

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

I appreciated the copy of Ghettos in Your Town which you sent me last week. After reading it I had some thoughts which I would like to share with you.

The pamphlet does cover many of the points relevant to the causes, problems and programs relating to city ghettos, although I feel that a major emphasis should have been placed on the real estate and building industries.

My over-riding response, however, does not lie in the specific commissions or omissions in the details of the pamphlet, but rather in your assumptions or, more accurately, presumptions of such a proposal. The pamphlet presumes that (1) mayors don't know the information included; (2) if they did, they might be more willing to resolve the problem.

I would suggest that mayors full well already know the problems and various proposals for solution. However, most mayors gain and hold their office by vesture of "block" votes. In most cities the biggest block of votes is that of the white majority. Mayors believe that most whites voted for them, at least in part, because they are men who will keep Negroes in the ghetto. Many of these same mayors, usually of the Democratic Party, feel that they already have control of the Negro block of votes so they don't have to add effective efforts at fair housing. Moreover, many mayors using patronage, threats, or other techniques, believe they can maintain better control over the Negro block of votes when the Negro is on welfare, in public housing, and in one geographical area.

In summary, it seems that the "housing dilemma" to which you refer is not the mayors' (they don't have any such dilemma), but our dilemma. Therefore, the question is not what the mayors are going to do to solve the problem of housing, but what can concerned groups

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Gilbert F. White, *Chairman* Henry J. Cadbury, *Honorary Chairman* Colin W. Bell, *Executive Secretary*

and individuals do to make the mayors feel it is their dilemma too. Trampling feet in the streets is a last resort which some people have, and increasingly will be using.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bill Moyer

Bill Moyer
Director
Housing Opportunities Program

BM:bc

Jale
Amer. Friends Ser. Ctte

via air mail

April 27, 1967

Mr. C. A. Webster, Jr.
Director
College Program
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
P. O. Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina 27261

Dear Charles:

I am talking with Otis Cochran later today about participation in the AFSC program in Ghana this summer. Certainly we will be able to provide the $250 scholarship you suggest and you may consider this our commitment. Please let me know when you want the funds. Should it be necessary in order to make this experience possible, we may also be in a position to consider further help.

We look forward to your coming to Atlanta and will be happy to do anything possible to assist you in settling in.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 SOUTH MAIN STREET • PHONE 919-882-0109
P. O. BOX 1791, HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA 27261

AFSC 50
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
"To See What Love Can Do"

April 21, 1967

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

I am writing in regard to the possibility of raising necessary funds to enable Otis Cochran to participate in an AFSC program in Ghana this summer. Our national office and regional office combined will be able to pay scholarship totaling $450. which will leave a total amount of $500. yet to be raised. I don't feel that it would be fair to ask you to cover so large an amount for one individual, therefore, I would like to inquire as to the possibility of the Southern Regional Council providing one half of the remaining $500.

I am looking forward to moving my program office to Atlanta on May 1. It will be a fine opportunity to talk with you further and to share our many common concerns more frequently. Meanwhile, I will look forward to hearing from you with regard to Otis Cochran's attempt to realize another level of involvement in his search for a meaningful contribution to the South and to people of color.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Webster

C. A. Webster, Jr., Director
COLLEGE PROGRAM

CAW/h
cc: Wilton Hartzler
George Marshfield

File
American Friends Service Cttee
cc-ref
" Co "
re: Travel Expenses for Otis Cochran to Travel Abroad to Ghana.

May 31, 1967

Mr. George Marshfield
Summer Projects Abroad
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mr. Marshfield:

Enclosed is our check for $250.00 as a partial scholarship for the travel of Otis Cochran to Ghana.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

cc: Mr. C. A. Webster, Director
College Program, 41 Exchange Pl.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth H. Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please issue a check in the amount of $250.00 to the American Friends Service Committee toward Otis Cochran's travel to Ghana and take this out of General Operations - Miscellaneous.

PA/km

AFSC 50
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 Phone 215-563-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

5/29/67
WY

May 26, 1967

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

It would be helpful to have you or your secretary forward the check for $250.00 (two hundred fifty dollars) toward Otis Cochran's travel to Ghana to Mr. George Marshfield, Summer Projects Abroad, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. It should be made out to the American Friends Service Committee.

So far I have not had any definite committments on the remaining amount to be raised by Otis Cochran, but I am hopeful that we will be hearing in the very near future from a couple of other sources that have been contacted.

Sincerely,

Charles Webster

C.A. Webster, Director
College Program
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

File
Amer. Friends Ser.
Atlta. Inc.

November 22, 1967

Mr. Noyes Collinson
Director
Employment on Merit Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Noyes:

We are very interested in further consideration of a joint publication of the housing program report. And, after the first of the year it is likely we can provide much, if not all, of the publishing costs.

I would like to read the report, and will do so promptly when I receive it. After that, I will be in touch with you again.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Moreland Smith

MEMO

Moreland Griffith Smith FAIA
P. O. Box 494
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Moreland Smith

SUBJECT: SWAP Publication

- for routing
- circulate
- answer
- return
- destroy
- to files

Following our chat about writing a companion publication to Margaret Price's booklet, NEIGHBORHOODS, I spoke to Noyes and asked him to write a memo to you concerning this. The attached are results.

Do you want to answer it or shall I?

Moreland

MGS/vmb

Moreland Griffith Smith FAIA
P. O. Box 494
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

TELEPHONE 523-6629

Employment on Merit Program
NOYES COLLINSON, *Director*

Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.

November 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You have probably seen "The Atlanta Housing Program of the American Friends Service Committee, A Compilation Report" on the formation and activities of SWAP (Southwest Atlantans for Progress), January through August 1967. People who have examined it opine that it is both comprehensive and impressive. Moreland Smith suggested that it would be an instructive guide for other communities confronted with stabilization programs and asked that a limited number of copies be made available to him in the event AFSC reproduced it in quantity. We were thinking in terms of possibly one hundred, some of which would have been for free distribution, some on loan and others for sale at cost.

We are advised the budgetary stringencies make impossible our Atlanta Community Relations Program underwriting production costs. We think that careful editing, condensing minutes and deleting all sample notices of meetings, etc. without detracting from the value of the report will reduce production costs substantially.

I am writing this informal note to ask whether you can extract some time from your crowded schedule to examine the report carefully and if, in your opinion, it merits reproduction for a limited circulation, consider whether SRC and AFSC can manage joint sponsorship and underwriting for production and distribution.

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

GILBERT F. WHITE, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

I think there is merit in making the report available in view of the increasing talk about integrating neighborhoods and the simultaneous paradoxical acceleration of white flight to suburbia which, as a consequence, accelerates the trend toward more intensive ghettoization.

Greetings,

Noyes

Noyes Collinson

NC:vbm
CC: Moreland Smith

File
Amer. Friends Ser.
Office

November 28, 1967

Mr. M. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
Suite 704, Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Hayes:

The White House Fellows program sounds like a very logical next step for you and I shall be more than pleased to recommend you highly.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. BOX 1791 ZIP CODE 27261 TELEPHONE 919 882-0109

November 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have applied to participate in the 1968 White House Fellows program. As you perhaps know the White House Fellows program provides an opportunity for young people to work for one year in the Federal Government at the policy level. Fellows are assigned as assistants to White House staff members, the Vice President, Cabinet officers, or other top Government officials.

In the past White House Fellows have studied, evaluated, and helped coordinate major Federal programs; conducted research and suggested alternative ways of carrying out Federal programs; conducted research and developed new programs and led the staff work necessary to put them into effect. They have traveled, written speeches, attended conferences, answered congressional inquiries, chaired meetings, drafted reports, conducted briefings, and otherwise assisted high-level government officials with their daily work.

It is hoped that at the end of the program the Fellows will carry with them a deeper awareness of national issues, a better understanding of the government process, and the skills and knowledge to assume greater responsibilities in their own communities or in public service should they be asked to serve again. Needless to say, the White House Fellows program is extremely competitive and only a small number of Fellows are selected after a rigid and lengthy selection process.

I have just completed my written application and have taken the liberty of listing you as one of my references. It is likely

that within the near future you will receive a recommendation form from the White House Fellows Commission. I would, of course, appreciate it very much if you would give me a good recommendation and evaluation.

Thank you very much for your courtesy and kindness.

Sincerely,

Hayes

M. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
Suite 704, Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

MHM/seg

AFSC 50
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 Phone 215-563-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

file

June 18, 1968

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I was sorry we did not have the chance to talk after Friday's session a week ago. I know you were as upset by the assassination as I was. Perhaps this was reflected in the discussions. But in any case as a result of Stillwater and our two meetings and a lot of thought, I want to make some suggestions and comments.

First, I am afraid that I had a misconception of the purposes of the Brotherhood-In-Action/SRC Rural-Urban Migration sessions. I had not realized we were getting together to develop a statement or a political action program to deal with current poverty. I did think, in line with SRC's tradition, we were attempting a fact finding effort to determine the causes and effects in human and national terms of the rural-urban migration. And it was on this basis that I enthusiastically became a participant.

We have had problems with non-attendance and with drastic changes in attendance. We have perhaps had problems because of our inability to agree on what our purposes were. All this had made your task difficult.

It is against this background that I want to make a major suggestion to you, and if you feel it appropriate, perhaps you will want to share it with Nathan Perlstein. The suggestion is this: that SRC, together with (if it seems appropriate) Brotherhood-In-Action, the new Southwestern Regional Council and the AFSC, jointly establish an intensive Working Party to produce a major report on Rural-Urban Migration, its causes, nature and consequences. SRC has the knowledge of the South, the skill, the resources and the experience to guide such a Working Party. The AFSC because of its urban and rural work, its field experience and its history of utilizing the working party technique, could bring strength to the effort. The new S.W. Council should bring special knowledge of the migration of Mexican and Spanish-speaking Americans as well as Indians and some facts about the phenominal growth of Tucson, Phoenix, etc. And Brotherhood-In Action has this real concern already developed.

The members of such a Party might well be drawn from private agencies, business, education and perhaps government. Its make-up and mandate would be important. Certainly it should be not just another Commission. It should be designed to destroy myths, stop rural-urban feuding, make sufficiently major recommendations to enable people to see the picture as a whole <u>and</u> make an impact.

Such a Working Party should, in my opinion, address itself to the fundamental issue of patterns of migration and the causes and effects of this migration and then move on to suggested remedies. Frankly, it does not seem to me that this Working Party should concern itself with short term or bandaid type solutions. Not that they are not needed, but each of us through our own organization and affiliations are seeking to do something about this. What is needed is leadership in looking at the nation as a whole, urban, suburban, rural, semi-rural and desert; and its people as a whole - rich, middle-class, poor, black, brown, white.

Currently 70% of our people live on 1% of the land. x% (I don't know the figure) control the land and national resources. Without getting into the argument as to whether urban life is more desirable than rural or visa-versa, can't we objectively analyze what this means for the expanding population of the U.S. and of the world in human and survival terms?

As a goal then, the Working Party should be asked first to briefly analyze the current nature of our rural areas, not just the black belt, and of our urban areas and of our suburban areas in terms of population, health, housing, education, transportation, pollution, taxation, government. This should just be factual. Then, second, it should be asked to come up with an analysis of (1) why our rural areas are being depopulated, (2) why our urban centers (not SMSAs) are becoming increasingly chaotic, unliveable and ungovernable and (3) why people and industry are, when possible, moving to suburbia.

(Am I right in assuming we can take 1, 2 and 3 as givens for the purposes of this study and not get hung up on the question of the rate of migration, is it slowing down, etc.?)

Then, third, the Working Party should analyze the reasons for both the migration and the situations in our rural, urban and suburban areas.

For example, why do people, rich and poor, move out of rural areas? Is it because of lack of income opportunities, amenities, political and social opportunity? Is it because of discrimination? Is it because of land costs, the capital required for farming, for industrialization, no tax base for amenities? What are the political factors? (I think of the power of the Kentucky school superintendent, the power of a rural landowner to deliver the vote, the power of county governments.) Or do people move because of specific pulls to the city and what are these pulls? Of these pulls, what are the result of conscious legislative actions? What are unconscious? direct? indirect? Is television the factor people assume? (The biggest migration was in pre-TV days.)

Why does industry move to suburbia and the "belts"? Land costs? Tax structure? Labor? Social amenities? To be near its competitors? (The Boston Rte. 128 development has been attributed to the resources of MIT and Harvard. What part does this factor play?)

Then as to causes (as opposed to reasons). Quickly, I think of the colonial-type exploitation of our natural resources by absentee owners who made fortunes and plowed little or none of these profits back into the area for services, roads, etc., etc. The Boston and Cleveland fortunes made out of the copper mines of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the iron mines of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Who are the lumber interests in Michigan and the Northwest and where do the profits go? The coal in Appalachia made money for Pennsylvania. The fruits of the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys make profits for the Bank of America, the Southern Pacific, Schenley, etc. And then there is oil. And now the pulp and paper industry in the South. And there are many more such examples.

Why are Indians encouraged off reservations? Who wants the land and for what purpose? The situation for Spanish-speaking people in northern New Mexico likewise needs exploration.

And is this colonial or absentee ownership not part of the problems of our ghettos? Years ago I did a study of Gary, Indiana, practically owned by U.S. Steel in New York and Pittsburgh who would play no part in ridding the city of crime syndicates, etc. because they did not live there. Is the role or lack of it of Tennessee Iron and Coal in Birmingham comparable in racial terms?

These may be false assumptions, but the facts remain that the poorest parts of our land in terms of income, services and opportunities for people are among the richest in natural resources - the black belt, Appalachia, the Texas and California Valleys, western South Dakota, the northern parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Are they really less inhabitable in terms of climate? Do they lack commerical resources such as rivers, potential electric power and transport? Some may.

We also need to look at tax structures as they contribute to the exodus of people and industry. (See, for example, and please do read it "America's Land Boom - 1968" by Daniel M. Friedenberg in the May Harpers.)

As I see it, these are just some of the facts that need to be put together in an analysis. Then and then only can basic reform measures be advocated. These may be land and tax reform or totally different things. Maybe this concentration of people is not bad, in spite of your and my personal convictions that it is.

Finally, I don't quarrel with the efforts to eliminate the U.S.D.A. as a Department, a program of government provided services for rural areas, or even with "New Town" concepts. I approve your draft statement. But these things don't get at causes and stand little chance of implementation unless we destroy a lot of myths with facts and ask America where it wants to go.

This is a long and not too well organized letter. I hope you can find time to read it and to react. If the idea has merit, perhaps there are human resources that could be pooled without rivalry to produce such a study. I know time is of the essence but some other things can go on simultaneously.

Yours,

Eleanor

Eleanor A. Eaton

EAE:lw

cc: Barbara Moffett
Constance Curry

P.S. I shared this with a colleague and he suggests that a brief survey of current literature on rural-urban movement would be a first step in identifying topics for a Working Party.

July 12, 1968

Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norman:

This is just a note to say that I really did seriously try to get to the Conference held in North Carolina today, July 12, but the pressures here were such and my trip to California had been advanced so that I have to be there tomorrow morning, July 13, and that just ruled it out.

I do hope you came to some successful decisions and that your key people turned up.

My best to Cassandra and know of my deep interest in this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor A. Eaton

EAE:lw

cc: Paul Anthony ✓
Barbara Moffett

file

July 15, 1968

Miss Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Eleanor:

We did have a good meeting at Quail's Roost on Friday, though there is a naivete within the group that can be disturbing. The group drew up the first draft of a statement that primarily calls for a privately sponsored national commission on migration. As soon as I have a copy, on which Dwane Walls of the Charlotte Observer is now working, I will share it with you. We must, I think, give considerable thought to how this idea and those who are interested in sponsoring it ties in with your suggestions.

I shall be out of the office most of the remainder of the month. After that, either in late August or very early September, I will

definitely plan a visit to Philadelphia after checking with you and Barbara on dates. Perhaps, also, the next several weeks will give me an opportunityh to come up with some further reaction of value to both your idea and the one now emerging from the conference group.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AFSC 50
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 Phone 215-563-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

July 12, 1968

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

The enclosed reached me this morning from Fred Harris. I thought you might be interested in the second paragraph.

I relayed to Barbara your and my conversation relative to the possibility of a Working Party or some joint AFSC/SRC effort to produce a really significant document. She joins me in hoping very much that we can find a way to do this and would like very much to see us do it together. I told her that you would be glad to pay us a visit sometime when you were coming north. We want to hold you to this and, if it would be helpful to set a date, we can do this. In the meantime, let me give you the following non-dates - that is, when Barbara will be taking a bit of a vacation or when I will be out of the office.

Avoid: The week of July 15, July 24 through August 16th. Otherwise it looks as though both Barbara and I would, if we had some notice, be here on the scene and very eager to have a visit with you.

My personal vacation will probably come the end of September, but I certainly hope that we could be getting together before then.

I will be very interested in anything that you can relay to me about the Conference that is going on today in North Carolina. I did try to come, but the pressures here and the fact that I now have to leave for the West Coast at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning ruled it out. I have sent a note to Norman to that effect.

With best wishes and looking forward to seeing you and hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor

Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division

EAE:lw

cc: Barbara Moffett

Copy Bud Q -

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RESEARCH
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 227, 90TH CONGRESS)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 8, 1968

Miss Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee Inc.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Miss Eaton:

I was glad to learn that you attended the National Manpower Conference, "The Rural to Urban Population Shift--A National Problem", and of your interest in this important matter. I believe the conference was truly a great success. The proceedings will be published in the near future and you will receive a copy at that time.

I tentatively plan to have the Subcommittee follow-up on the conference by holding, perhaps, a seminar on the salient issues some time later this year.

Let me thank you for the generous comments about the conference and for expressing your concern on this crucial national problem

Sincerely,

Fred R. Harris

FRED R. HARRIS
Chairman

FRH:jbm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
STEPHEN G. CARY
Acting Executive Secretary

160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Phone 215-563-9372

July 26, 1968

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your good letter of July 15. I am so glad you had a good meeting at Quail's Roost and look forward very much to the report thereof.

I am about to take off for five days vacation, but both Barbara and I do hope you can find an excuse to come up in late August or early September to discuss further the possibility of a Working Party either in relation to the National Commission on Migration or separately.

I will be away from September 5 through 12, I think it is. The NACD is having a conference on rural poverty in Kansas City the first three or four days of the week of September 10 and I am at present hoping to go. Will you be going?

Have a good vacation and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Eleanor

Eleanor A. Eaton

EAE:lw

cc: Barbara Moffett

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. Box 1791 Zip Code 27261 Telephone 919 882-0109

Claude C. Shotts
Regional Chairman
Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary
B. Russell Branson
Finance Secretary

August 23, 1968

RE: Frederick Shoenberger

Dear Friend,

The above named person is applying for a position with the American Friends Service Committee and has given your name as a reference. It is our understanding that you are acquainted with the applicant and therefore, we would appreciate having your evaluation.

The form enclosed may be used as a guide to your thinking and any additional comments you care to make will be helpful. If, instead of using the form, you prefer to write a letter, the form suggests the type of information which we find helpful. Please send the form or letter to the American Friends Service Committee, P. O. Box 1791, High Point, North Carolina, 27261.

We hope that you will give us a frank statement of the applicant's strengths and weaknesses. Every effort is made to keep all reference materials confidential. While we would like to acknowledge all references received, the volume of our work prohibits this. On behalf of the applicant we would like at this time to thank you for this reference and to assure you of our appreciation of the time and thought devoted to writing us in regard to this person.

Sincerely yours,

Wilton E. Hartzler

Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary

Encl.

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Gilbert F. White, *Chairman* • Henry J. Cadbury, *Honorary Chairman* • Colin W. Bell, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
P. O. BOX 1791
HIGH POINT, N. C. 27261

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

REFERENCE FORM - CONFIDENTIAL

Sent to Paul Anthony

Sent by SERO/WEH

Name Frederick Shoenberger Address 420 Lynhurst Drive, S.W. Atlanta, Ga.

Being considered for:

Community Relations Program

How long have you known this person (Dates) and in what capacity?

Please feel free to omit any question you are not prepared to answer, or to write a letter instead of using this form.

****

1. JUDGMENT: (a) objectivity of approach to problems (b) soundness of decisions affecting self and others

2. MOTIVATION: (a) evidence of unselfishness (b) religious insight (c) application of professed ideals in daily life situations

3. EMOTIONAL STABILITY: (a) mental health history (b) degree of adjustment to his own problems (c) emotional reaction to conflict or strain (d) emotional effect upon others

4. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND KNOWLEDGE:

a. Ability to grasp ideas:

b. Knowledge of social, economic, political, and cultural conditions:

c. Ability to communicate and interpret: (1) with small groups and individuals (2) through public presentations (3) through writing

5. ACTIVE INTEREST IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS: evidence of participation in related programs

6. DEGREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY:

a. Staff supervision:

b. Program planning:

c. Execution of details:

d. Sensitivity to staff interests and needs:

e. Willingness to implement group decisions:

7. COOPERATION: (a) sense of humor (b) ability to work with others (c) acceptance of group decisions (d) respect for others' convictions (e) appreciation of differences in others

8. RESOURCEFULNESS, FLEXIBILITY: (a) ability to carry on without supervision when necessary (b) adult sense of responsibility (c) adaptability to primitive conditions and limited supplies

9. PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND VIGOR:

10. For what kind of responsibility is this person best fitted?

11. Are there particular qualities or limitations which we should take into consideration in placing the applicant?

12. Additional comments:

Signature _____ Position or Title _____

Address _____

Date _____

1/68 1M

August 26, 1968

Mr. J. Griffen Greene, Director
Guided Studies
Daytona Beach Junior College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Greene:

Enclosed is a copy of our Publications List. We will be pleased to send you any items on it that may seem of interest to you. Under separate cover we will also send you the last two issues of our quarterly magazine NEW SOUTH.

We shall also be happy to add you to our mailing list should you feel this would be of value to you.

Also our Research Department is now planning a bibliography on the Negro in American history. When it is completed we will be happy to share this with you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Publications List

cc: Mr. Phillip D. Goldhagen

DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

August 22, 1968

COLLEGE DIVISION

PHONE 255-1476

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Daytona Beach Junior College is initiating this year a two-semester course, "The Negro in American History."

In a recent conversation with Mr. Phillip D. Goldhagen, he suggested you might be able to provide me with a listing of SRC publications.

I would be very appreciative to hear from you in regard to such material.

Very respectfully,

J. Griffen Greene

J. Griffen Greene, Director
Guided Studies

/sfw

cc: Mr. Phillip D. Goldhagen

August 26, 1968

Mr. Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
P. O. Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina 27261

Dear Will:

Our phone conversation of last week basically covers my comments about Fred Shoenberger. I hope you will not mind if rather than filling out your reference form I simply comment further in this fashion.

As I indicated, Fred first came to our attention some three or four months ago and I, and several others here, were very impressed with him. We have since commissioned him to work with us for about six weeks to prepare an accounting of the West End neighborhood here in Atlanta which has undergone the typical transition stage. As you know, Fred has been very involved in this. We continue to be very impressed with him. He strikes me as being quite sincere, emotionally very stable and very hard working. Mind you, these impressions are based on this relatively short exposure, but had we a position available I would have no hesitation in offering it to Fred.

Finally, he strikes me as the kind of person that has a high potential as an employee of AFSC and

to me, quite sincerely, that's a compliment of the highest order.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file
afsc

October 1, 1968

Miss Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19102

Dear Eleanor:

A combination of factors, including the Ford Foundation and serving on the present Grand Jury have completely upset my schedule. It is for this reason that I have been unable to make the visit to Philadelphia.

Please know that my failure to do so is based on no lack of interest. I shall call you soon in the hopes that we can establish a date to get together.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

THE WAR ON POVERTY RECONSIDERED

To be published in Irving Howe and Jeremy Larner (eds.)
Poverty: Views from the Left
N. Y. Morrill Publ., 1963

S. M. Miller
Pamela Roby

The War on Poverty has been greeted by sharp criticism from those on the political right as well as those on the left ... If the war were to default, it would not be clear where its supporters could be found. We suspect that nothing succeeds like success - if the program succeeds, it will develop supporters. If it fails, it will be disclaimed by those who are already critical of its mission. [1]

[1] S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "The War on Poverty - Perspectives and Problems." in Ben B. Seligman, ed., Poverty as a Public Issue, New York, Free Press, 1965.

These words, written in December 1964, unfortunately describe the course of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the War on Poverty. From the start OEO lacked a constituency, and it has failed to develop one in succeeding years. Instead, enormous dissatisfaction has emerged. We have had a striking escalation of expectations with a very small payoff for the poor - particularly the Negro poor. Why have the returns been so small?

An appraisal of the War on Poverty should not begin with the Johnson administration or the Office of Economic Opportunity. Rather, the difficulties of OEO are to be found in the enabling legislation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This law, which provided the War on Poverty with very narrow boundaries, rested on a set of compromises among competing government bureaus, Congressional sentiments, and budgetary restraints. The Act had no job provisions. Housing was untouched. Economic policy was fundamentally unaffected. (Many still believed that aggregate economic policy would sufficiently increase employment and demand so as to absorb a large proportion of the poor.) There was no effort to deal with the sizable number of the poor who were dependent upon cash transfer allowances, welfare, and social security. For these reasons, the major blame should not be placed on the OEO. Only limited gains could be expected from OEO, given the limited activities it was permitted to pursue.

Under such restrictions, it was important that its activities be viewed not as final, tested programs but as probes to uncover new and better approaches. Programs which were obviously failing were to be succeeded by those whose potential had not been tested. Experimentation, unfortunately, occurred on a very limited basis. Similarly, considering the narrowness of its legislative mandate, OEO has been guilty from the start of overselling its programs. In a few short years, no program could produce stunning results. OEO's leadership refused to see that; officials from the top down took an extraordinarily short-sighted view of the poverty problem. It has been reported that an important White House aide said shortly after the OEO bill was passed, "Now that we've licked poverty, we lack issues to deal with." Because the OEO did not recognize that the poor were so starved for hope that any offer of aid would be expected to show immediate gains, the consequence was disappointment among both the poor and the backers of OEO when results were as slow as they inevitably had to be. Headlines are not programs; nor programs a guarantee of results.

Essentially, OEO was designed to coordinate and improve social services. To some extent, it hoped to build an independent school system under the guise of "training" and Headstart, so as to compete with or prod the regular school system, and except for the participation theme, OEO was permitted little else in its early days. But social services and coordination could not provide jobs or income. Consequently, it is important to recognize that while the overselling by OEO led to many of its problems, the fundamental difficulty lay in its narrow mandate.

Although much of the political power behind the development of an Economic Opportunity Act came from the "Negro Revolution," there was a general failure to recognize that the Negro problem was largely a problem in the reduction of inequality. In Washington, however, the emphasis was upon bringing the poor, especially Negros, up to a fixed poverty line rather than upon changing American society and its economic functioning so that the gap between those at the bottom and the affluent majority would be reduced. The targets of OEO were too low and lacked a time schedule.

Many of those involved in drawing up the OEO legislation had a very peculiar view of poverty. They believed essentially that the problem of poverty was that of a culture: it was necessary to change the practices of individuals, and then the economy would be prepared to receive them. Consequently, the legislative emphasis was upon rehabilitation, social services, and training. By contrast, there was no emphasis upon guaranteeing jobs at the end of the production line. To some extent this occurred because the administration feared that a bill containing a direct job component would not be passed by Congress.

Many of the planners seemed to believe very strongly in the importance of changing attitudes among the poor rather than drastically expanding opportunities. Undoubtedly, some of the poor do suffer from a lack of motivation and psychological difficulties, but to argue that the problem is mainly one of motivation is misleading. Rehabilitation and training without assurance of some return at the end of the line is a dangerous political game. It is a game which might nevertheless have been played if one did not arouse large expectations from meager programs. But the combination of high expectations and incoherent programs could only produce controversy, difficulty, and dismay.

Whatever one felt about the panoply of programs developed under OEO, one thing soon became obvious: there was considerable ambiguity of goals, and this could only compound OEO's difficulties. Was the Job Corps an effort to train "hardcore" youth in skills, a device for social control over some youth, or an "aging vat" to keep youngsters out of the labor market? Did it have some other purpose in terms of vocational education? If the emphasis was upon especially difficult youth, the program lacked a deliberate screening device to guarantee that only certain kinds of youth entered the program. If it were meant to further vocational education, there was neither a definite connection between what took place in a Job Corps and what might occur elsewhere, nor a clear-cut reason for the residential program.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was billed as a program designed to develop "human

resources" by increasing the skill capacities of low-educated youth. But there was little skill development in either the in-school or out-of-school program. Indeed, many of the problems of the youths in the program were questions of how to appear to be working. Little skill development or supervision occurred on the job. In effect, the in-school program provided cash income to families and little training. The out-of-school program was a form of work relief with very little training. Both types of programs are eminently desirable at particular times, but the difficulty arose from their being presented as something more than they really were. This led to confusion among youth and to public disappointment. And what is still more disturbing, we have no data as to what kind of jobs these youth have six months or a year after their "training" experiences.

The Community Action Program evolved into OEO's deciding on a national level how funds should be used, rather than into an effort to promote each community's competence in deciding what it needed. One result was that communities which did not even have kindergartens began to have Head Start programs because money was available for one and not the other. In the determination of priorities, competition between localities and the national office led to incomplete and underdeveloped plans at the local level and a strain between local priorities and shifting national emphases. The result was, in many cities, hastily drawn-up programs and poorly delivered services.

But it was not these crises and deficiencies which propelled OEO into deep trouble. The theme of "maximum feasible participation" did that. OEO took a courageous stand by making a large issue out of participation of the poor in poverty programs. As a result, considerable local opposition emerged and participation of the poor became largely symbolic, though not unimportant.

The radical critics of OEO attacked the organization for its failure to push more strongly the theme of participation; but this criticism seems to reflect a misreading of what really took place. The failure was at the local level, where groups did not actively and forcefully fight to make sure that participation did occur. OEO's staff moved way beyond what one would conventionally consider the role of a federal agency in pushing

localities to make real the idea of representation. No other government agency exerted anything near OEO's pressure for participation. But, as it happened, civil rights and other groups were not effectively organized to implement the OEO charter - here was the failure of participation. Nonetheless, the burden of blame was placed upon national OEO, and consequently the possibility of developing a constituency among grass-roots groups collapsed.

The enormous concentration on the participation issue began to provide OEO with a special character. With the inevitable failure of the other OEO programs markedly to affect poverty, "maximum feasible participation" carried a heavy burden.

OEO's administrative difficulties were huge at the local as well as the federal level. City agencies did not cooperate with one another, nor did the federal. A coordinated, concentrated attack upon poverty did not emerge. Agencies failed to cooperate and frequently even to inform each other of what they were doing. Programs did not start when they should have; funding was frequently so late that programs could only be hurriedly jammed through. The quality of many was sickeningly low, especially at the start.

Since there was no strong supporting constituency, the implementation of programs depended greatly upon immediate local conditions. Where the mayor was strong - usually where he was a Democrat with both business and labor support - there was a chance of getting a program which had effective services. But at the same time, little grass-roots participation in decision-making occurred in these cities. Participation was important in cities where the mayor was weak. In some cities, such as Philadelphia and San Francisco, the local groups won out immediately over weak mayors and seemed, for a while, to gain in importance. But as services were not delivered, the mayor began to reassert his power. In the end, in cities like New Haven and Chicago, with strong mayors, there was efficient servicing but little participation. Finally, in just about all cases, participation became mainly nominal.

The broader economic policies of the federal government, concerned with growth and not poverty reduction, also failed OEO to a sizable extent. The reduction in unemployment rates which resulted from Vietnam proved that the structuralists and the aggregationists were both wrong. While the growth in the economy reduced unemployment, it did not sharply reduce unemployment among the low-educated, the unskilled, and Negros. (The 1967 en-employment rate for youths aged sixteen to twenty-one was 11.8 per cent for whites and 24.8 per cent for nonwhites.) The difference in unemployment rates between Negros and whites was reduced, yet the Negro rate remained over twice the white rate: in July 1967 the white unemployment rate was 3.5 per cent while the nonwhite was 7.2 per cent. Obviously, special economic activities are necessary to reduce the Negro and unskilled unemployment rates, but these were not built into the War on Poverty. The Concentrated Employment Programs were hopefully designed to aim at the worst-off of the unemployed, but they were not created until 1967, and inadequate planning and guarantees preceded the programs in many of the cities involved.

Nevertheless, many of the difficulties of the War on Poverty might have been overcome if the economy had expanded in useful ways and poverty-reduction expenditures increased. Vietnam was the great obstacle which led to the reduction of the expansion rate of OEO's activities. The data on national expenditures are illuminating: about a twentieth of the increase in gross national product in 1965 went for military purposes; in 1966, a fifth; and in the first quarter of 1967, Two-thirds of the increase was devoted to military activities. The projected increases in OEO expenditures are kept a state secret with the actual rate leveling off as a sacrifice to "the other war."

Nor was the impact of Vietnam only financial. It created an atmosphere, especially in Washington, which made domestic issues seem less significant. Our society seems able to concentrate on only one concern at a time. Vietnam <u>or</u> poverty could be center stage; not both. America turned outward rather than inward. Perhaps the race riots will redirect the nation's attention. But during the crucial years of OEO, concern moved swiftly away

from domestic to interantional issues. Consequently, the War on Poverty was at best a skirmish.

The difficulties of OEO, however, should not obscure its accomplishments. The greatest of these was its selective attention to the problems of the poor. Instead of depending upon economic growth and general national policies to improve the conditions of the poor, we instituted programs which were directly aimed at benefiting the poor. In this way the poor were provided not only a voice within the national establishments, but a set of programs which could be experimentally developed into something more effective.

Yet OEO has brought about few institutional changes: The principal difficulty lies within education. OEO has attempted to influence education through Head Start and job training. These efforts to build a parallel system were made because there is little expectation of directly influencing educational systems to become more relevant to students who have trouble with school. Hopefully, with more pressure, the emergence of large-scale programs may eventually have some impact on schools. Evaluations of Head Start by Max Wolff and others have demonstrated that Head Start graduates do not maintain their gains in regular school programs. This unsurprising conclusion has led to the development of a program (naturally called "Follow Thru") attempting to affect education in the early grades.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was perhaps the most important distillate of the poverty program. Although we do not have an adequate accounting of the use and impact of these funds, it is important that funds are now specifically allocated for the education of the poor. Behind this lies a growing acceptance of the notion that more should be spent on the education of the poor than on the education of others. And while inequalities in the distribution of educational expenditures have not been reduced, the emergence of a War on Poverty has spotlighted the need for providing more funds for the education of low-income youth.

Among other achievements of the War on Poverty are innovations in the extension of

legal aid to the poor. While our society prides itself that all are equal before the law, lack of available legal aid has been one of the great inadequacies of the poor. The Office of Economic Opportunity, in promoting legal services to the poor, has reduced the disparities between the poor and the non-poor. But a gap remains.

Similarly, OEO has innovated in medical care by developing comprehensive neighborhood medical services. While this program is still in the demonstration and pilot phase, OEO may inaugurate significant changes in the delivery of medical care in this country.

The War on Poverty has had a crucial impact upon Negros, not all of which is a contribution. It turned the problem of Negros from that of civil rights to poverty, or echoed the change beginning to take place. It importantly affected the transition from "Negro" to "black." The early emphasis upon the War on Poverty's great achievements rapidly escalated expectations which could not be realized. Negro discontent and frustration were heightened by the struggles over "maximum feasible participation." What followed was the expression of "white power," and then a "black backlash" toward separatism.

OEO has had some impact upon discrimination in the United States. Particularly in the South, the War on Poverty has made important steps. For the first time in many communities, Negroes are represented on official boards. In Mississippi the Head Start program had an enormous political consequence. Some parents, concerned about what was happening to their children, began to have an income base through employment in the Head Start program. They became involved in positions of importance. In effect, OEO helped push many communities toward the development of interracial groups and activities in which the poor had some influence. Although the role of the poor and blacks has frequently been token, in many cases it has actually allowed the development of new political forms and new political leaders.

OEO's most significant and lasting achievements may be political. The War on Poverty is helping to change the political structure of cities. As cities become more and more Negro, they are slowly developing new ways of getting Negro representation. At the local level, the War on Poverty has been offering Negros means of representation and political

jobs and leverage. It has also focused increasing attention upon the slowness with which cities adjust to the new citizen. With all its difficulties, "maximum feasible participation" has ushered in an important new right in this country, raising the question of the relationship of the citizen to the bureaucracies of the welfare state.

Thus the War on Poverty, despite its ballyhoo, has produced some important changes in the American scene. Although its publicity far outstrips what it could possibly have done, there have been significant beginnings, even in these brief years. How far these will go depends mostly upon the development of political support.

The character of poverty is quite varied. Poverty is a condition not only of income insufficiency but also an insufficiency of housing, basic services, education and political and social participation. Similarly, the poor are varied. There are the poor who are young who might be in the labor force; the poor who are aged; the poor who are female heads of households; the males who are employed but do not make enough to support their families. This diversity means that no one program can adequately deal with all the issues and people involved in what we call "poverty."

Nor is poverty only income-deficiency. It is, we have argued, an issue of inequality in assets, basic status, social mobility, social status, and self-respect.

The diversity of the poor and the numerous dimensions of poverty and inequality result in first dealing more with one kind of poor person rather than another or one problem rather than another. Consequently, a War on Poverty will have phases or stages. We see three.

Poverty War I is OEO up to now with emphasis upon social services. As this approach proves inadequate in linking people to jobs and income, considerable talk has begun to arise about a job or income component in the War on Poverty. The major plank of Poverty War II, if it emerges, will be to extend new forms of welfare or transfer income to the poor. Whether these are in the form of a negative income tax or family allowances, they will probably be connected to a program which will directly guarantee jobs to the poor rather than emphasize training. After the violence of summer 1967, there seems to be hope that

the government will serve as "employer of last resort." Public sentiment is growing in support of the notion that jobs are important for the poor, especially the black poor. Prominent business leaders are accepting the idea of a direct job program.

The crucial support of this program came through Congressional action rather than OEO. The Javits-Kennedy, Nelson and Scheuer amendments in the post-1964 programs pushed towards direct jobs. OEO was not at the center, as it should have been, in seeking these expansions of mandate. In part, this reluctance was due to the fact that expenditures for new programs might have meant less money for older programs. But if OEO had been willing to drop activities which seemed weak, it could have moved toward a direct jobs proposal which was believed to be unacceptable to Congress in 1964. The Office of Research at OEO did, however, support the idea of a negative income tax, and it is to be commended for helping to keep this idea in discussions.

The jobs program will probably move in two directions: the utilization of non-professional employment in the expanding public and quasi-public basic services; and the subsidization of private employers in order to induce hiring and upgrading of hard-to-place workers. In both cases, the former emphasis on "training" for indefinite, uncertain jobs will be succeeded and balanced by the much more sensible approach of "jobs first, training later."

The emphasis upon improving the income of persons who are outside the labor force or are receiving inadequate incomes from work is desirable for a variety of reasons. But it is not a panacea for the problems of the poor. Marginal improvements in income will neither solve the health, housing, and educational problems of the poor, nor guarantee a high level of participation within the society. Unless we recognize the limitations of income programs, much dissatisfaction will arise in Poverty War II. We will find that many problems are not easily or automatically eradicated by increases in income.

It will be important to turn economic policy from a concern with general growth towards specific efforts to reduce poverty and inequalities. The 1964 tax cut, for example,

benefited the relatively well-to do. It would be useful to consider the income tax not only as a measure to secure funds and to provide economic stabilization, but also as a way of reducing income inequalities. Now that inequality seems to be growing, we might develop some standard by which we could begin to use tax rates to create change.

Rather than hoping that general economic advance will be of some assistance to the poor, we need economic programs which have specific value for them. Most economists have underemphasized the importance of selective economic programs for reaching the poor who are outside the usual income streams and who now benefit only marginally from general economic expansion.

The poverty war needs to be strongly extended to poor whites and other ethnics. Otherwise, as a black program, the poverty war is unlikely to gain large funding at this time. For the poverty program to win support, it needs to be connected with a general economic program rather than being an enclave of rather minor programs which appear to be unrelated to the general economic advance of the United States.

Rural as well as economic development should be stressed in these programs. Various kinds of economic development are specifically needed in rural areas because migration cannot swiftly depopulate these areas which have high reproduction rates. Large numbers will be left behind. Consequently, direct measures should be taken to improve the economic prospects of the rural poor, who are in many ways the poorest of the poor in the United States.

Some chance of a housing program now seems to be appearing. Its shape is unclear. If it does emerge, it will most likely subsidize private enterprise for producing housing for the low income.

At this moment, the possibility of better programs rests largely on the connection of business profit with poverty reduction. Many liberals and radicals will be in a quandry about how to react. What if IBM could really do a better educational job in running the schools than the New York City Board of Education? The reshaping of the American Society

through an expanding "public sector" may not diminish the significance of business as much as change its source of funds. Bureaucratic encrustations may be fewer and freedom of choice greater in business-operated programs. But the end result may not be to diminish inequalities.

Poverty War II, as it is developing, is narrowly economic, neglecting the political dimension of poverty and inequality. Even some humanistic socialists when they turn to political action seem now to be unable to think beyond economism. The failure of Poverty War II to emphasize participation should lead to a following wave of action (Poverty War III) in which the involvement of the poor will again be important.

In order to begin to generate support for participation, it is now time to make clear that the problem of participation is not exclusively a problem of the poor. All groups in society have difficulty relating to bureaucratic organizations today. We should broaden the principle of participation so that it benefits other groups. The poor may benefit from society's growing acceptance of the theme of participation and its consequent expansion.

Administrative simplicity is greatly needed in the War on Poverty. This is part of a broader problem in American society. We have developed numerous techniques and regulations to insure impartiality and honesty. The extent to which our administrative techniques achieve these two goals is uncertain, but it is clear that they produce an enormous amount of red tape and difficulty. As Nathan Glazer put it in his classic title, "Is New York City Governable?", the problems of administration have outstripped our capacities to move rapidly. While these difficulties extend beyond the War on Poverty, they deeply affect the Poverty War because it extends across many jurisdictional lines in its efforts to deal with urban and other immediate problems.

As we move along the War on Poverty, it will be important to look upon it in longer terms. Looking in these longer terms requires having some fairly specific goals or targets. It will be important to try to reduce poverty by a specified amount in each of the succeeding years.

The difficulties of OEO are filled with "ifs." If the programs have expanded as planned, would they have had more impact? If civil rights groups had organized in the ghettos, would maximum feasible participation have taken another course? The absence of achievement in certain substantial forms means neither that we should abandon our belief in the importance of a poverty war, nor that we should accept the war as we have known it.

The War on Poverty is an important, though inadequate instrument for dealing with our present problems. Our society is now struggling to resurrect an interest in poverty and to build acceptance of the heavy expense a real War on Poverty would require. To obtain substantially more funding today probably requires expanding the poverty appeal by attuning more poverty programs to the non-Negro poor, connecting poverty programs to economic development and growth, and vitalizing local organizational groups in the United States. The efforts of intellectuals, labor, civil rights groups, radicals, liberals, and others need to be linked in building a political constituency which will permit expanding expenditures. But will this happen where there is so much disagreement simply in defining the problem? We doubt it.

Discontent with the War on Poverty has led to a variety of recommendations. Congressman Goodell and other Republicans have advocated dismantling OEO and placing its varicus programs in other federal agencies. We argue against this because we do not think that significant institutional change can be obtained through this approach. At the present time, we believe that despite all its difficulties, it would be best to maintain OEO as it is - a beleaguered agency playing many different kinds of roles, but centering its efforts upon the poor.

POVERTY PROGRAMS AND POLICY PRIORITIES

MARTIN REIN
S. M. MILLER

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Poverty Programs and Policy Priorities

Value judgments will decide the ultimate fate of poverty programs—and of the poor themselves

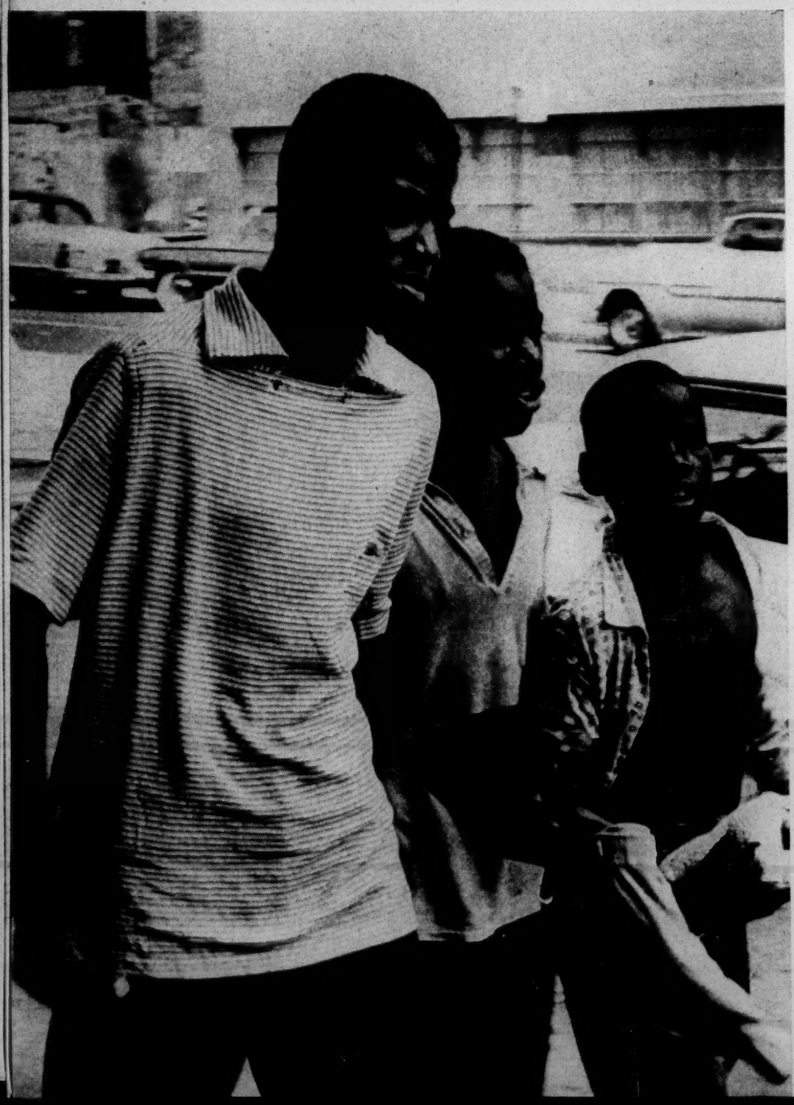
MARTIN REIN
S. M. MILLER

The war on poverty is financially boxed in—on the one side, by the military priorities for the war in Vietnam, and on the other, by conservative domestic politics and assaults. In this state of siege, its progress is limited. But even if the conflict in Vietnam—and in Congress—were to end tomorrow, the anti-poverty program would still face major battles and possible defeat. For success in any program depends on strategy as well as resources. Given vastly greater funds and lowered political opposition, basic questions would still have to be answered: Which projects should the government support? How well are they planned? What can they realistically accomplish? What goals come first?

It is not the purpose of this article to recommend specific programs, whether old or new, which should be continued or started. Rather, we are concerned with helping to construct a workable framework for making such decisions—a framework needed under any circumstances of war or peace.

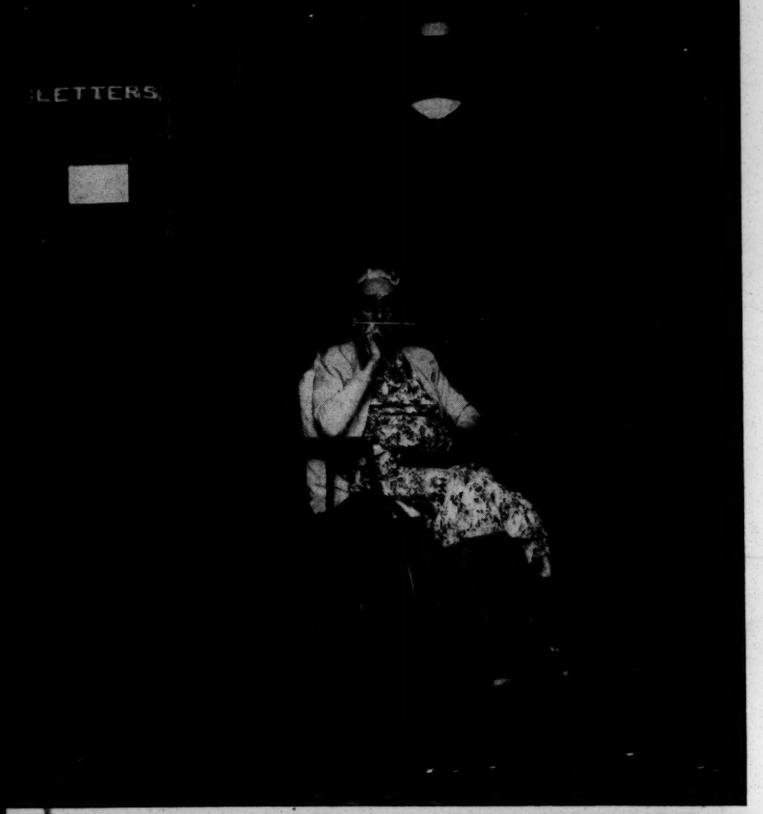
To set up priorities, we must consider what is wanted (values), what could be effective (rationality), and what is politically and organizationally *feasible*. We must not only know what benefits we seek, and why, but what we are willing to pay, or give up, to achieve them. Goals very often conflict; to promote one may not only mean neglecting others, but even working against them. Values must not be buried under technical considerations—the "whys" lost sight of because of the "hows." The kind of nation and life we think worthwhile—our view of the good society—must help determine the programs we choose.

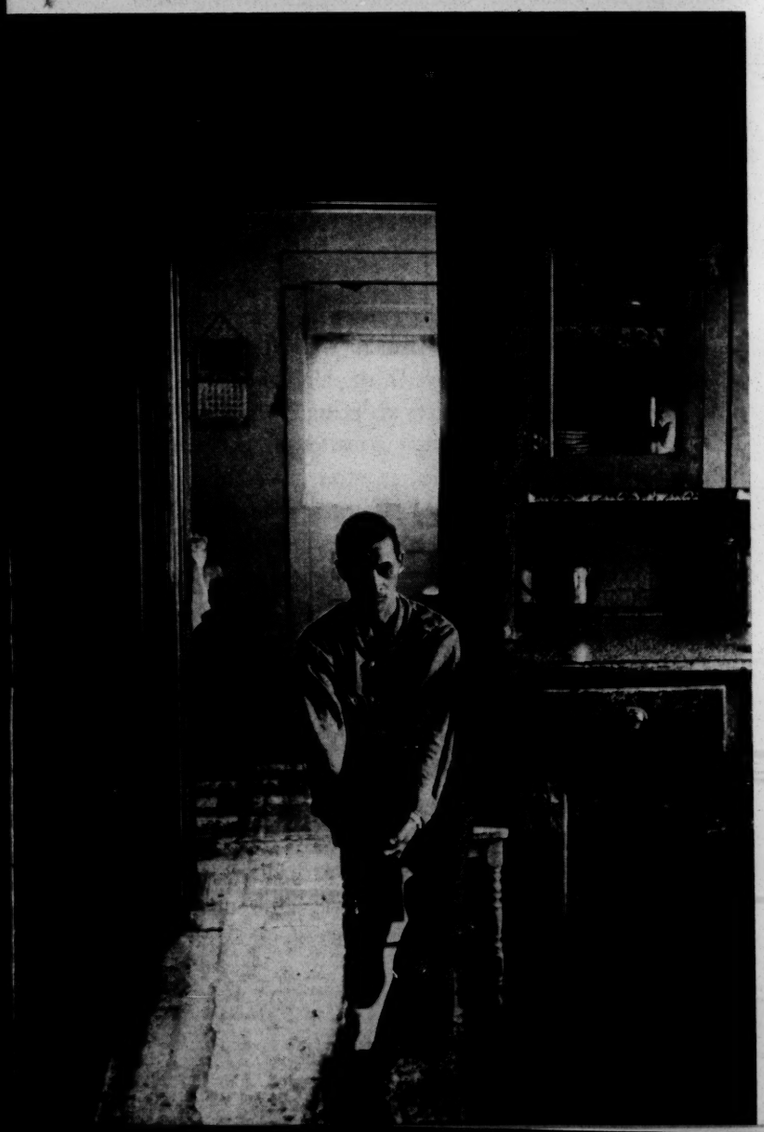
There are no final or absolute answers here. Rather, let us explore what choices are available, how people choose, and how they should go about choosing.



kinds of poverty

"The single, seemingly simple aim of reducing poverty hides the many and often contradictory goals deriving from different conceptions of what poverty is. They call for many different kinds of strategy, which cannot hope to satisfy everybody."





Most programs for reducing poverty to date, whether in the planning or implementation stage, fall under six major headings: amenities, investing in human capital, transfers, rehabilitation, participation, economic measures.

■ AMENITIES. These are concerned with supplying services that strengthen and enrich the quality of life, that directly modify the environment of the poor. They serve as increments to personal and family welfare, whether as household help, child care facilities, or information centers. They extend the quality of living; if the poor have them, they are less poor in the sense of being without services. Alfred Kahn calls them "social utilities" and considers them as necessary as such public utilities as water and roads. They should not be considered remedies for a disease, but a normal and accepted service.

■ INVESTING IN HUMAN CAPITAL. Investment of wealth is a means of creating more wealth. Investments in "human capital" (an in-term among economists) concentrate resources on making the poor more self-sufficient and productive: schooling, job training, health care, and various techniques of fitting them into the job market. Theodore W. Schultz believes that "changes in the investment in human capital" are the basic and most effective means for "reducing the inequality . . . of personal income," rather than such devices as progressive taxes.

But what is a good investment? The purposes of "investments in human capital" are not as clear-cut as the parallel with investment in physical capital implies. What purposes, for instance, are educational programs in the war on poverty designed to accomplish? There is considerable confusion about this. In the nineteenth century, the emphasis in the charity schools was on inculcating character—good work habits and such traits as industry, promptness, and reliability—rather than in teaching the specific skills and abilities necessary to rise in the world. The Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Programs frequently seem intent on following this nineteenth-century model. The rhetoric of these programs implies that the goal is increasing lifetime earnings rather than conformity. On the other hand, "good character" seems to be a prerequisite for higher salaries.

■ TRANSFERS. Transfers provide cash to the poor (and to other groups in society). Devices include the proposed negative income tax, fatherlessness insurance, children's allowances, guaranteed income, and various cash subsidies. They are a means of redistributing income outside the market place. Cash transfers to the poor could be provided in a way that promotes self-respect and perpetuates the myth that they, like the farmer or subsidized industry, are actually helping the country by accepting the money. Transfers emphasize a way to build up and assure total income, instead of the 1930's emphasis on replacing income lost because of illness, unemployment, accident, or old age.

But American public policy has been biased against the use of transfer payments to reduce poverty. We seem con-

tinually haunted by that legacy of Victorianism that a guaranteed income (for the poor) must increase shiftlessness, immorality, and illegitimacy. Subsidy payments to farmers or industry rouse few doubts about the danger to the moral fiber of their recipients. Public assistance programs seem less concerned with whether the poor get enough as the harm it might do them if they did. The prevailing orthodoxy (see Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act and the 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act) is committed to change sources of income rather than to increase it, to "get people off the dole"—Title V by work training and the amendments by social services.

■ REHABILITATION. This approach concentrates on changing people, usually by psychological means, to restore social functioning. It ranges from guidance and counseling, through casework, to psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. Rehabilitation hopes to overcome poverty by overcoming personal and family disorganization and deviancy. Those reclaimed will become more acceptable, more employable, more competent. Rehabilitation, seeking to change the person, accepts the environment as it is.

■ PARTICIPATION. Participation includes those activities that try to overcome many of the psychological and social effects of poverty by giving the poor a stake in society and a chance to affect their own destinies. As Alan Haber says:

> American poverty, while it involves considerable physical hardship, is primarily "social poverty." It isolates the individual from the social mainstream, denies him the respect and status of the "respectable" members of the society, and excludes him from mobility opportunities into positions of social worth.

But there seems a confusion of purpose. Is the primary goal and effect of this strategy to help the poor to help themselves, or is it a means to organize them so that they can exert collective power? Warren G. Haggstrom has emphasized the more common concern with participation as a psychological condition of powerlessness. Involvement "provides immediate and compelling psychological returns." But another interpretation comes from Richard A. Cloward: "Economic deprivation is fundamentally a political problem, and power will be required to solve it."

■ ECONOMIC MEASURES. One economic approach to reducing poverty uses the "dribble-down" concept—if production is stimulated and the nation prospers at the top, some of the benefits will also dribble down to the poor. Another approach favors "bubbling up" the poor into the economic mainstream by programs designed directly to benefit them—new jobs, more low-skill jobs, minimum wages, and so on. Which is the best way to promote economic growth and full employment? Some economists emphasize selective training for those jobs that are still unfilled and creation of special new job opportunities (for instance, nonprofessionals in hospitals and agencies). Others believe that the economy as a whole should be heated up so that a near-full employment situation emerges. But the concern with price increases, loosely called inflation, tends to stymie high-level employment, and many of the poor are low-skilled and not likely to be employed except with special inducements to employers.

To sum up, the six intervention strategies can be conceived of as attempts to change environment (amenities); to change occupational chances (investment); to change the pattern of claims on income distributed outside the market (transfers); to change people (rehabilitation); to change the distribution of power (participation); and, finally, to change the performance of the economic system (economic measures).

The Many Faces of Poverty

This inventory outlines not only a list of policy choices, but also embodies different conceptions about the meaning and causes of poverty. The different definitions of poverty imply different means to overcome it. What appears to be a concern with "poverty" is actually a tissue of sometimes conflicting agenda. The term "poverty" cloaks the competing objectives. We note six ways to describe poverty, beyond mere lack of money:

■ POVERTY AND SOCIAL DECENCY. By this conception, citizens have a right not only to freedom from want, which requires a minimum of income, but also to adequate (and not inexpensive) services. One cannot reduce poverty without providing housing, medical care, and recreation. The lack of these amenities is then, by definition, poverty.

■ POVERTY AND EQUALITY. Proponents of this view hold that poverty exists as long as the botton fifth (or tenth) of the population receives a shrinking or stable share of a growing economic pie. Their concern is with inequality—the position of lowest income groups *relative* to the rest of the nation. Improving the absolute level of a group without decreasing the gap between it and other groups may heighten its sense of relative deprivation. Improvement in absolute standards can lead to frustration and discontent, as the case of the Negro in the United States illustrates. Reducing poverty requires reducing inequality.

The goal of equity is not simply a matter of taking from the rich to give to the poor, but requires a searching way of examining the distribution of government largesse. For example, in housing we lump tax concessions with public housing expenditures as forms of government subsidy (as Richard Titmuss suggests), then we reach the startling conclusion that the major beneficiaries of housing welfare policies are the middle and upper classes. Alvin Schorr estimates that subsidies to the upper income fifth in 1962 were twice those to the bottom fifth ($1.7 billion to $820 million). Good housing therefore becomes simply a matter of equal treatment—the poor should receive at least as much from the government as the rich.

■ POVERTY AND MOBILITY. Poverty, according to this conception, is the lack of opportunity to alter one's income, occupational, or social position. In a rigidly stratified

social structure, those at the bottom, even if above a subsistence level, are still poor: They cannot escape upward. Enlisted men in the armed forces are not in want, and they may receive amenities as a matter of right; but they may be, as William Grigsby has pointed out, nevertheless in poverty if they are forced to remain in a rigid social niche. Similarly the Negro—stuck at the bottom of the social hierarchy—must be considered poor even if he has an adequate livelihood. Whether or not children remain in the same social and occupational classes as their parents, therefore, can be used as a measure of the reduction of poverty and the rigidity of the social order.

■ POVERTY AND SOCIAL CONTROL. For many, improved income and services cannot be enough—for they are concerned with the social problems associated with poverty: alcoholism, delinquency, illiteracy, illegitimacy, mental illness. In the rhetoric of professionals, rehabilitation contributes to "self-actualization," but in fact it is more often used for social control—getting the poor to behave according to accepted standards. This view frequently merges into a broader concern with social harmony and equilibrium. If reducing poverty among Negroes did not eliminate race riots, the programs would be considered failures.

■ POVERTY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION. In this view, people are poor when they cannot participate in the major institutions of our society, particularly the institutions that affect their lives—that is, when they have little or nothing to say about schools, employment, law enforcement, or even welfare and other social services. "The meaning of poverty," writes Peter Marris, "is humiliation: lack of power, of dignity, of self respect. . . . It is a mark of inferiority, and so more damaging than want itself."

Some experts justify reducing poverty for economic reasons—the poor will spend their increased incomes for necessities and comforts and improve the economy; if the money went instead to the middle class, more would simply go into savings. Therefore, as the poor prosper, all will prosper. Humanitarian and economic goals coalesce.

But what if they should come to conflict? Then, to follow this concept to its logical conclusion, economic considerations must be given priority. We must prevent inflation even at the cost of preserving, or increasing, poverty; economic growth is more important than redistribution. At these points, the concern with the economy sharply displaces the interest in helping the poor or reducing poverty.

Policy Models

These different concepts lead us to at least three basic models of how to view the overall purposes of social policy:

■ ALLOCATIVE JUSTICE. Policy is guided by a commitment to the more equitable distribution of benefits—who gets what, where, why and how. This model emphasizes equal opportunity for investment in career jobs and education and for the redistribution of amenities, income, and resources necessary for well being.

■ POLICY AS HANDMAIDEN. This strategy seeks to promote programs that reduce poverty, but these are subordinate to other goals, such as economic growth, social stability, or physical renewal of cities. Thus, transfer payments to the poor could be primarily supported because they stimulate the economy. Or services and amenities to the poor could be aimed at reducing social unrest, providing a silent strategy for riot control. Or the major purpose of rehabilitation of the poor in slums could be to make them good tenants and to facilitate the relocation of those displaced by urban renewal programs aimed at increasing the real estate values of downtown areas. These programs are designed to win the joint support of what might otherwise be competing groups. But in case of conflict the secondary role of poverty policy becomes evident.

■ POLICY AS THERAPY. Many people, including a disproportionate number of the poor, do not behave according to our prevailing, accepted, and predominantly middle class standards. Poverty programs may exact conformity. Rehabilitation programs illustrate this approach.

This analysis leads to four fundamental policy questions. What are the purposes of the programs? How effective are they in achieving them? How feasible are they politically (what are the chances of getting them adopted and implemented)? How do we choose between competing desirable programs or goals?

Purposes of Poverty Programs

The question of purpose involves much more than technical classifications. It includes value judgments about goals. For instance, do we consider adequate housing and health programs for the poor *amenities* (to make the quality of their lives more comfortable) or *investments* (good housing to prevent poverty, and good health to reduce unemployment and improve learning in school)?

It is a political question as well: Will legislators vote funds for an anti-poverty program unless we contend it will reduce poverty and crime or welfare costs? But a technical and rational question also is involved: What is the evidence that better housing and medical care will prevent poverty? Can we document the charge that the poor are really the most victimized by these insufficiencies?

Alvin Schorr has made an impressive and persuasive attempt to bring together evidence on the relationship between housing and poverty. He concludes:

> The following effects may spring from poor housing: A perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stress to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health, and a state of dissatisfaction; pleasure in company but not in solitude, cynicism about people and organizations, a high degree of sexual stimulation without legitimate outlet, and difficulty in household management and child rearing; and relationships that tend to spread out in the neighborhood rather than deeply into the family.

He believes that malnutrition, poor health, and inadequate housing reinforce each other in causing, and intensifying, poverty. As he sees it, it is not the "life styles" of the poor that disable them so much as the lack of means to live properly. What they need is not psychological or sociological analysis but health, housing, adequate incomes.

Others disagree. Their studies indicate to them that improved housing has little effect on such things as deviant behavior or physical illness. Nathan Glazer, for instance, challenges Schorr's assumption:

> The chief problems of our slums are social—unemployment, poor education, broken families, crime. . . . Nor can they be solved by physical means, whether by urban renewal projects or . . . housing directly for the poor.

In fact, Glazer believes that social relationships have more effect on housing than vice versa; that broken families can nullify the effects of even the best housing. The facts Glazer quotes are impressive: Two-thirds of the poorest urban families (under $2,000 a year) do not live in substandard housing; further, most of substandard housing is not occupied by the poorest.

What about the traditional relationship between morbidity and poverty? Charles Kadushin concludes: "A review of the evidence . . . leads to the conclusion that . . . there is very little association between getting a disease and social class, although the lower class still feel sicker." That is, Kadushin says, the poor complain more about illness and stay away from work longer for it, but are not necessarily more ill.

Others challenge Kadushin's interpretation. Further, these data do not provide an argument against the development of health and housing programs for poor people. If health and housing seem unrelated, this may be because of difficult problems of measurement. Are the poor who live in standard housing overcrowded? Do they pay too high a portion of their income for this housing? They may be largely older people living in their own homes, while the families with many children live in substandard apartments. Inadequate statistics can distort the total picture.

Let us consider health in the same light. Even if morbidity rates among the poor are low, infant mortality is high, life is shorter, hospitalization longer, and disability has more severe consequences.

The fact is that we have so little good policy-oriented research that we cannot make any firm conclusion about the relationships between poverty and housing and health care. Consequently, we cannot be sure that better housing and health would help raise the poor from poverty.

But housing and health can be justified on other grounds than reducing poverty. Equality, as noted, is one. Inequalities and loss of dignity might be the crucial aspects of poor housing. According to Schorr: "It makes little difference whether bad housing is a result or a cause of poverty, it is an integral part of being poor." And the psychology of poverty is reinforced by seeing, all about, how the other half lives. By this definition, then, people without adequate housing or access to medical care are poor; adequate amenities reduce poverty. It is not that housing is instrumental to improved education or income; it is a goal in itself.

Program Effectiveness

The second policy issue is effectiveness. What good is a program that does not accomplish its purpose? But, in the first place, what is a program's purpose? Anyone who tries to get a straightforward statement of goals from a social agency usually finds that they react as though their very reason for being were under challenge.

But if the agencies will not provide clear answers, what of social science itself? For instance, do present rehabilitation programs actually reduce deviancy? When the score is finally totaled, the answer turns out to be, mostly, no. Social science research generally winds up exploding myths rather than giving solutions. William Kvaracecous, who recently reviewed the literature on delinquency, has reached the gloomy conclusion that nothing works very well. Other studies support him. Social work techniques may make youths and groups more democratic, more willing to join in approved sports and dancing, but they have little effect on law-breaking. Walter Miller has concluded that delinquency depends largely on age and sex—young men commit most crimes—and therapy will not change these conditions.

Will rehabilitation and counseling help broken or ineffective families or reduce economic dependency? A number of studies—including the most recent analysis of a vocational high school by Henry Meyer—and his associates—indicate that intensive casework makes little difference in reducing social problems.

However, ineffectiveness alone is not always enough reason to abandon a strategy. A program can be effective in unplanned ways. Even if rehabilitation does not reduce pathology and poverty much, its ethical, moral, and humanitarian value should not be discounted.

Another practical political factor impedes effectiveness: We frequently adopt programs not because of demonstrated validity, but because they are feasible—we can get them adopted and financially supported. "It is always easier to put up a clinic than tear down a slum," Barbara Wootton argues. "We prefer today to analyze the infected individual rather than the infection from the environment." Rehabilitation as a means of reducing dependency has become a national policy. Also, for political reasons we have reversed the usual procedure by starting programs and *then* testing the concepts in demonstration projects. In such situations the pressure to find exactly the answers we are already committed to is hard to resist. Thus, what is politically possible makes a rational analysis difficult.

What of the argument that the poor should, as a policy, be encouraged to achieve power through collective action and pressure? Alvin Schorr has summarized the arguments against such grassroots involvement:

Efforts to promote self-organization fail more often than they succeed. . . . First, poor people have learned cynicism from bitter experience. They do not widely and readily respond to efforts to organize them. Second, when they do seek serious ends for themselves, they threaten established institutions or interest groups. At that point they are likely to learn once more that they are comparatively powerless. Third, the professionals who try to help them have, with rare exceptions, one foot in the "establishment." The ethical and practical problems that arise in their marginal situation are not solved simply by an effort of will.

Political Feasibility

The foregoing leads us to the third policy issue—the feasibility of programs that invest in human resource development. If we say that investment in education or training will result in jobs, can we deliver? Is there a coherent relationship between the learning and the job?

More education or training usually pays off in more and better employment. But how much education—and expense—before the payoff starts? College graduates are better off than others, and the income differences between them and the non-college population are expanding. But the differences in job opportunities and wages between high school graduates and dropouts are not great, especially for nonwhites. They seem, in fact, to be declining. For males age 35 to 44 in 1939, dropouts earned 80 percent as much as high school graduates; in 1961, 87 percent. As more people get more education, the tipping point for education may come later and later. Investing in human resources may have a limited gain if would-be dropouts do not go to college.

How much education, how good, and how relevant to the job market are all important questions in job training. And on one or more of these counts most of our training programs have fallen down. A study of "successful" ex-convicts shows that only 17 percent were working at the trades they had learned in prison. Of 1,700 young people who applied to Mobilization for Youth for training, only "roughly one in four eventually achieved competitive employment as a direct result . . . ," according to Richard A. Cloward. And these were mostly for marginal jobs, paying marginal salaries. As Herbert E. Klarman says: ". . . in the past the market economy has apparently not absorbed appreciable numbers of rehabilitated persons."

The relationship between occupational training and unemployment is very low. First, whatever its faults, we have done a much better job of rehabilitating people than of preparing society to receive them; and training means little if it does not lead to jobs. The connection between jobs and training is frequently very loose. Second, our training programs are often simply not good or relevant enough. Cloward reveals that the youths who did graduate from the MFY program could not read better than when they started, and had failed to get skills that could qualify them for the higher pay jobs. Training just to improve character or work habits—the intent of many if not most training programs for low-income youth—is a poor investment.

Moreover, employers tend not to take this training seriously, or consider it a legitimate "credential" of employability. One of the great virtues of a diploma, or even an honorable military discharge, is that an employer will recognize it as a "credential" of employability and character.

Why train if that training is inadequate, discounted, or if no jobs are available? Real improvement can only come about with changes in our educational, referral, and economic institutions—which are untouched by the training programs. In short, unless relevant institutions themselves are changed, even highly promising programs will be frustrating rather than improving prospects. Training can be an effort to evade the issue of job availability.

Few people will argue that better training and more jobs for the poor are not desirable goals. But the stubborn facts are that most training is not good enough, and that the jobs which follow training are too often marginal or scarce. Education, to yield large payoffs, will need large investments. Are we willing to face these difficulties?

Competing Goals

What happens when goals conflict, whether the conflict is real or apparent, recognized or ignored?

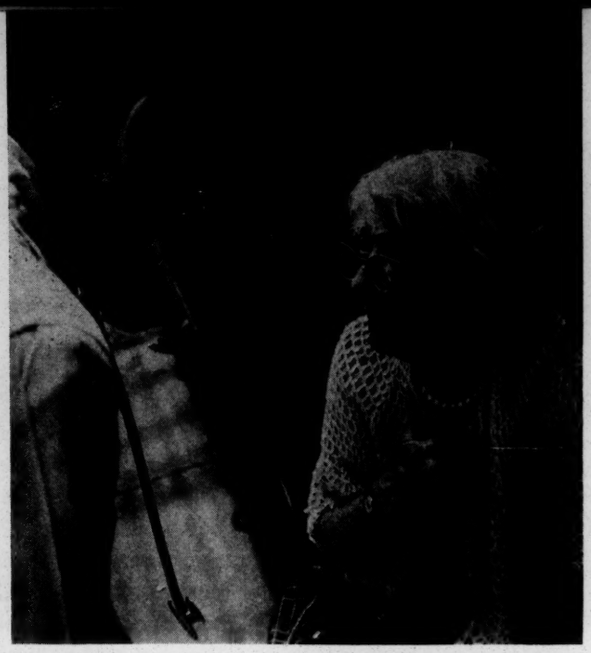
As Isaiah Berlin has astutely observed, there is a "natural tendency of all but a few thinkers to believe that all the things they hold good must be intimately connected or at least compatible with one another." In social policy, as in other fields, this is a delusion; goals often conflict, and we must decide on priorities. Here are four major areas of real or assumed value conflict:

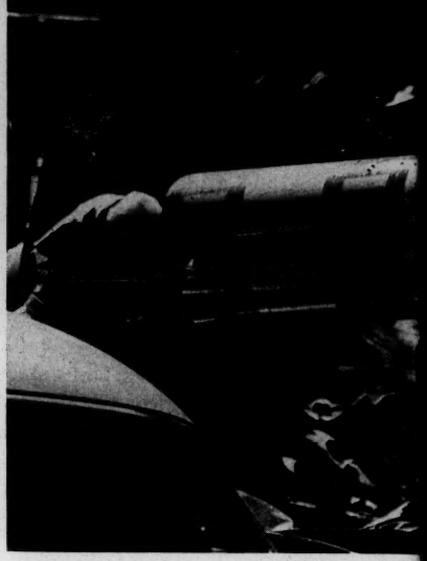
■ PRICES AND POVERTY. Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow have concluded that a 5.5 percent level of unemployment is necessary to keep prices stable; anything less must result in inflation. "It may be doubted . . . that we can achieve both a satisfactory level of employment and price stability without major improvements in our antiinflationary weapons." Similarly, the British Labor government has recently discovered, with some distress, that if it strengthens its international economic position, it may have to let unemployment rise and renege on its promise to raise pensions.

In short, we may have to choose between social welfare programs and rising prices. As James Tobin says:

> We are paying much too high a social price for avoiding creeping inflation and for protecting our gold supply and "the dollar." . . . The interests of the unemployed, the poor and the Negroes are underrepresented in the consensus which supports and confines current policy.

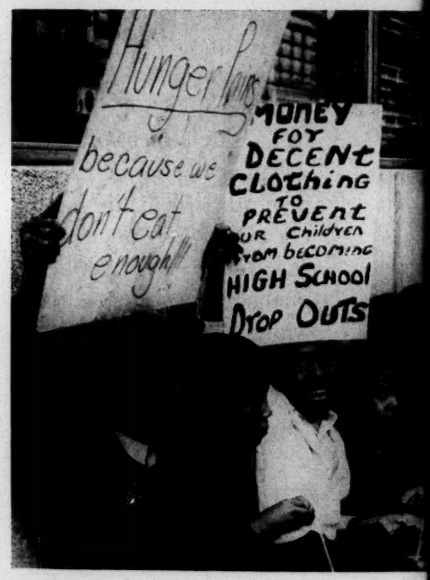
■ INCOME PLANS AND INCENTIVES. Raising incomes through payments can conflict with trying to get the poor into the labor market. Is providing an incentive to work



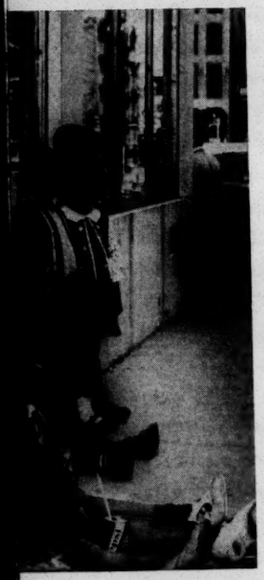


price of poverty

"American public policy seems haunted by that legacy of Victorianism that a guaranteed income for the poor must increase shiftlessness, immorality, and illegitimacy. Subsidy payments to farmers or to industry rouse few doubts about the danger to their moral fiber. Public assistance programs seem less concerned with whether the poor get enough than with the harm it might do them if they did."



America's lowest pr
Plymouth Barracuda
See your neighbor



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BEDROOM SETS
88.

more important than assuring adequacy of income? As Evelyn Burns puts it:

> Workers whose normal incomes are very low and whose economic horizons are very limited may, if social security income is adequate for their modest wants, prefer benefit status to securing an income from employment, particularly if their normal type of employment is arduous or unpleasant, or if they are unmarried with no family responsibilities.

■ RIGHTS AND MISUSE. Support programs contain various tests of eligibility, and provisions to punish violators. These are supposed to prevent cheating and make sure that welfare does not interfere with the free labor market and private economic incentives. These goals, however, conflict with those of economic costs and social rights. Obviously, the greater the gap between benefits and wages, the less effectively welfare can serve to increase demands in time of recession, and generally stabilize the economy; and the more rigid the rules and administrative control over welfare payments, the less chance of reducing feelings of powerlessness among the poor, and of establishing social benefits as legal *rights*.

■ ORDER AND CONFLICT. The goals of keeping public order and protecting the well-to-do and of safeguarding the social and constitutional rights of the poor often conflict. We have not only a law about the poor, which seeks to deal with their condition, but a law *of* the poor, based on police powers. As Jacobus Ten Broek has declared, it is "designed to safeguard health, safety, morals, and well-being of the fortunate rather than directly to improve the lot of the unfortunate." The goal is the protection of society against the poor rather than safeguarding the poor from an indifferent or callous society. When we encourage the poor to be militant and independent, to secure and exercise the legal rights to assistance and protection, we tend to sharpen this conflict. If they are to try to shape policy, they may become involved in boycotts, pickets, strikes, and other dramatic forms of protest—in other words, in threatening the "well-being of the fortunate." In such areas as school desegregation, the interests of the fortunate will be directly pitted against those of the unfortunate. These are natural conflicts in a pluralistic society.

Thus, the single, seemingly simple aim of reducing poverty hides the many and often contradictory goals deriving from different conceptions of what poverty is. They call for many different kinds of strategy, which cannot hope to satisfy everybody.

Cost-Benefit Analysis

How do we establish rules to allocate limited resources to promote goals that are in partial conflict? Can we develop more effective methods of making decisions that specifically recognize contrasting objectives and give policy-makers a clearer choice of the costs and benefits of various combinations?

Cost-benefit analysis has become more popular as older decision-making methods have proven inadequate for fighting poverty. The economic market had long been the traditional way of making decisions—automatic, impersonal. More recently, politicians and their administrators have made many important decisions—reflecting the play of political and value preferences. But though it moderated some of the dangers of market decisions, political determination has brought new strains of its own—arbitrariness, and the obscuring of national needs because of political traditions and expediency. Cost-benefit analysis seeks to professionalize decision-making. It offers a rational, as opposed to a market or political (value) basis for making decisions. Means are in agreement with goals.

It makes important contributions. But it does not provide a mechanism for superseding questions of value and preference. When used that way, it has important defects. Our criticism of cost-benefit analysis is six-fold: It suffers from technical limitations; it can lead to a quantitative mentality; the issue of operational feasibility is largely ignored; it has no ready-made response to the basic question of what costs and which benefits; goals are difficult to delineate; and it does not deal with the issue of competing goals. The large-scale danger in cost-benefit analysis is that values surreptitiously and inevitably creep in. The covert handling of values limits democratic discussions. Nor does it, we believe, strengthen in the long-run an effective policy of poverty or inequality-reduction.

It implies knowledge and confidence about social data that are ill placed. One does not have to agree with the doubts that we have raised in this paper about the efficacy of housing or the connection between health and poverty to doubt that one can have much confidence in measurements of costs and benefits. Hunches are frequently more important than scientific determination. Obviously social science will develop and some uncertainties will diminish. But we cannot be confident that all our evaluations are based upon scientific proof and that in the future we will always have a firm scientific basis for choices to be faced.

Another technical problem is the question of the "interest rate." In order to calculate cost and benefits which are received or expended over a number of years, it is necessary to use some way to calculate future benefits in terms of their present value. Since present gains are valued more than future, the latter should be reduced by an appropriate discount. The level of the discount can markedly affect total benefits. For example, cost-benefit analysis of much vocational education would have different results if a higher discount rate were employed than in some present calculations. The appropriate level of the discount is not undebatable.

The result of looking at benefits over a long number of years is, therefore, inevitably an emphasis on youth. The longer individuals can benefit from a program, the greater the return. It pays then to concentrate on youth

rather than on the aged. But are there not other reasons for concentrating on older workers?

Cost-benefit analysis tends to emphasize those variables that can be reduced to figures. For example, the inability in urban renewal to assign a monetary value to the aesthetic pleasure of greenery may be a serious difficulty. There is danger of sliding into the position that the only goals with merit and legitimacy are those that are quantifiable and convertible into money. Quantitative reasoning may lead to stressing productivity (return per unit of expenditure) over total results. Productivity can be high while total returns may be less than in some other kind of activity which has a high relative cost per unit of expenditure. For instance, it may be more "productive" to work with the highly educated, "cream" unemployed because it is easier to get them jobs than it is for the hard-core, long-term unemployed individuals. But which activity comes closer to solving the problems of unemployment?

Quantitative reasoning also tends to underestimate the importance of feasibility. Here we do not refer to the political issues, but to the effective implementation of a program. It may be that a particular program is highly productive with a likelihood of a return far outweighing its cost. But this program may be extremely difficult to mount because of manpower or administrative obstacles. Another program may have a much poorer prospect in terms of productivity and costs, but be much easier to implement.

In making these points, we do not argue that the defects cannot be remedied, rather that current practice tends to ignore them. But now we move into issues which are more basic to the long-term difficulties of cost-benefit analysis.

What is a cost and what is a benefit is not so obvious as it seems. To a large extent cost-benefit analysis narrows the definition of both cost and benefit. To what extent are second and third order effects of any action included in the analysis? This is largely a political and value question more than a technical one.

What is the goal? Our foregoing analysis has stressed competing goals. Which should have priority is not only a question of rational calculations but of political issues and value preferences. Cost-benefit analysis provides some important kinds of information, but it does not resolve the issues of values, direction, purposes, or priorities. Is the goal to bring the poor up to a certain income level? Or is it a larger one of reducing inequalities within society?

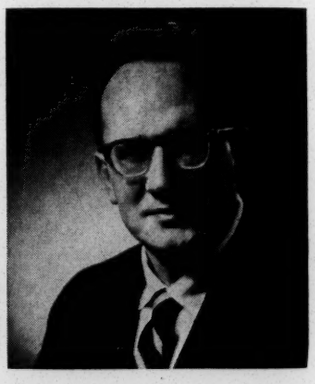
Which is preferable cannot be determined by cost-benefit analysis alone. Cost-benefit analysis at best is only a tool. It may be useful, but it also can be misleading when assumed to have greater clarifying power than it actually has.

We must not be lulled into thinking that cost-benefit analysis can rescue us from choice. Three solutions—cost-benefit analysis, the marketplace, the political process—are probably necessary, but none is sufficient alone, or even together. Policy is not all about technical rules for implementing value-neutral hardware. No simple choices are on hand. The crucial issues remain: How do we define a good society? How do we implement it?

These questions must be confronted. Technology must serve purpose. There are several ways to reveal the techniques of policy-making as the politics that they are. One good way may be to create a pluralistic system of advisory planning where many interest groups have their own experts to develop and support their own policies. Herbert Gans suggests that this may have already developed in city planning, where a progressive wing concentrates on social planning and a conservative wing defends "traditional physical planning and . . . middle class values."

Value judgments have to be made—but who, specifically, shall make them? However it is done—overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously, democratically or dictatorially—it occurs. The planner is not a value-free technician serving a value-free bureaucracy. The assumption that politics is without content—only efficient or inefficient—is unacceptable. As Paul Davidoff says: "Appropriate policy in a democracy is determined through a political debate. The right course of action is always a matter of choice, never a fact." The search for "rationality" cannot avoid the issues of objectives and ideologies.

There should be many analyses, based on competing outlooks as well as assumptions. In a pluralistic, competitive society the people should weigh competing values, vigorously promoted, before they can make just decisions. But ultimately, after all technical analyses are made, the selection of goals and timing must depend on judgment; and judgment must depend on those brute preferences we call values.



Martin Rein (left) is associate professor of social work and social research at Bryn Mawr College. He has just completed a year as a Fulbright Scholar at the London School of Economics. He is the author of a number of books on social-service agencies and social reform. Most recently he wrote *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States* (1967) with Peter Marris and collaborated on *Social Planning: A Feasible Approach* (1966). His present research centers on policy choices and social-welfare benefits.

S. M. Miller is professor of sociology at [redacted] N.Y.U. and senior research associate at the university's Youth Development Center. He is a government consultant on poverty, social change, and school dropouts. He is co-author of *Applied Sociology* (1965) with Alvin W. Gouldner. His latest book, *Social Class and Social Policy* with Frank Reissman, will be published later this year. Miller is program advisor of the Ford Foundation's Division of National Affairs.

Rose, Misc

AFSC

December 27, 1950

Mr. Ralph A. Rose
Race Relations Committee
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ralph:

I can throw some ideas in the pot, but it seems to me the pot is still a good way from coming off the stove.

There are perhaps three age groups that would benefit -- sub-teens, lower teens, and college. For children under twelve, it seems to me scarcely worth the arranging.

The Southern children could be found. One way would be for the Council, using its friends in each of the States, to finger out the families who would wish to send their children. Another way would be to work through the trade unions at each end of the line and thereby get away more from the middle-class and persuaded group that the Council would be able to turn up. Our friends would have children brought up in homes where the predisposition is already for understanding. There is something to be said for getting just such children, because they will set a pace later on, and a good many other people will follow. But it would be more usual to argue that a less select group should be found in order that the experience might encounter all typical difficulties.

I keep remembering what you will know about -- the distresses in Great Britain when evacuated London children were hospitably taken into country homes. On that analogy, I would argue strongly for matching children and homes culturally. I don't go so far as to say put professors' children in professors' homes, but I would stick to compatible cultural backgrounds.

I quite agree with you that the occasion for such gatherings ought

to be a business in hand and not simply the celebration of interracialism. But I don't get excited about vocational guidance. Perhaps I should. I would be more interested in Peace and War, and most interested in a gathering to explore what youngsters have learned, right and wrong, in school about each other. A lot of people just now, including SRC, are puzzling about what ought to be taught in the schools about race. Something very interesting indeed could be written out of what a chosen group of Southern young people might say they had learned in school on this point.

Suburban Philadelphia is perfect for one meeting place. For a Southern one, I can only suggest Berea. They could do it, but I don't know where else it could be done.

When more thinking readies the pot, let us know, and we will do whatever we can to help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Ex Executive Director

GSMier

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 21, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Re: Proposed Inter-visitation Program

A number of Philadelphia people have been meeting, in very preliminary fashion, to discuss an idea which involves the exchange of children between the various states in the south and our own area, in and around Philadelphia.

So far the idea is in a very nebulous state, and we all feel that your comments and suggestions would be most helpful to us in attempting to decide whether or not to pursue the idea any further.

Naturally we are all concerned that what we do or plan shall not have in it a measure of self satisfaction. We are deeply interested in the possible exchange of such southern white children who would benefit from an experience of visiting and living in a natural interracial situation, as well as such non-white children who might also be ready for such an experience. We feel that the sending of children from this area into the homes of people in the south would bring about some better understanding of the problems involved.

I have so far been an interested observer of this developing idea and have suggested, as have others in the group, that we rely a great deal on your comments.

We have most recently been thinking in terms of such inter-visitation centering around a particular practical problem that young folks the country over have to solve.

Dr. George S. Mitchell December 21, 1950

For example, a conference on vocational guidance, perhaps held here in Philadelphia, to which some of the southern youngsters described above might attend, and later a similar conference of high-school age people in the south to discuss some very real problem such as this, or any other to be decided upon.

I am sorry that this had to be such a lengthy and not-too-clear statement of this particular project. I think from your comments we will guided as to whether or not we should spend any more time discussing it, even as a probability.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a proof copy of our new pamphlet "Employment on Merit". Although the first edition will be printed by the time you return it to me, I should greatly appreciate your comments and suggestions for future editions.

Kindest regards and best wishes for the holiday season.

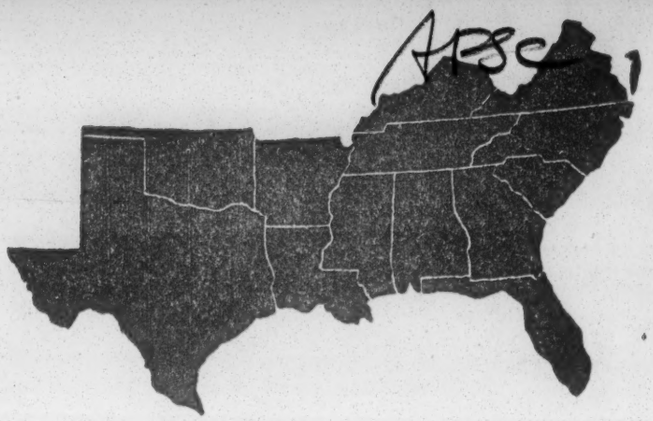
Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose, Acting Secretary
Race Relations Committee

RAR/cm

AFSC



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 21, 1951

This is a remarkably good pamphlet done by the American Friends Service Committee.

If you have friends to whom you wish it sent, I am sure the AFSC will be glad to follow through directly, in which case write Mr. Ralph A. Rose, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

AFSC

January 30, 1951

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

At the suggestion of George Mitchell, we are sending you ten copies of our new pamphlet, "Employment on Merit". We would be most happy to have your comments and suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph A. Rose, Director
Job Opportunities Program

RAR/ss

cc George Mitchell

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

APSC

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 30, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

90 copies of our "Employment on Merit" will shortly come forward to you.

We certainly appreciate your very helpful letter of 1/18/51. We will be following up by sending a copy of a proposed thumbnail sketch which you might send to church papers in the South, or if more convenient, send us such a list for circulation.

In the case of the American Jewish Committee, they are already engaged in the circulation of 1500 copies. The other suggestions are being followed.

I often wish that we could get together and that I could continue to learn from you and to share your broad experience in the South.

Let us know how the SRC fares financially. Kindest regards to the family.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph A. Rose

RAR/ss

AFSC

January 18, 1951

Mr. Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rose:

Employment on Merit is a good job, factual, temperate, persuasive.

I would like to get it some additional circulation in the South.

A simple and inexpensive thing to do would be for us to send a copy to each officer of our State Divisions and affiliated State interracial committees. That is about fifty people.

If more copies are available, I could in addition write a letter to each State Division officer and say that if he or she cares to send a copy to some acquaintance (generally an employer) who would benefit from reading it, the Council's office would be glad to forward a copy to the would-be letter writer. At a guess, that would consume another 25 copies.

I should think that it would be easy for you to get the pamphlet reviewed after the fashion of a book by someone whose review would be picked up by the Associated Negro Press and thus would be widely reprinted in Negro newspapers.

If you have copies in abundance, I could send out five or ten to the chairman of each of our State Divisions. We are in touch with twelve such persons.

A thumbnail review of the pamphlet, probably not exceeding 100 words, might well be prepared as a release from AFSC and sent out to a long list of church papers. I could myself send it out to several score of church papers in the South, and the new National Council of Churches could probably supply you with a list of such papers elsewhere in the country.

Send a couple to Miss Marjorie Minkler of the Methodist Church, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York. She would understand it and push it.

Send four copies to Milton Kulick, American Jewish Committee, 933 Healey Building, Atlanta, Georgia, with a letter saying I suggested that you send them and wondered whether Kulick might not know a way to get the pamphlet in the hands of officers, at least, of local chapters of the American Jewish Committee. Many of their members are employers and have a conscience on this matter.

It is entirely possible that the magazine of the Rotary Clubs could be interested in carrying a review mention of the pamphlet.

If you would send ten copies to Mr. John H. Wheeler, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, he would be able to get them into the hands of people who could use them well. I am writing Mr. Wheeler and telling him that I suggested you send him some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMier

January 18, 1951

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The American Friends Service Committee has a very able fellow named Ralph Rose, who has been giving most of his time for the last several years to finding ways of getting fair employment into practice. They have gone about it quietly, but persuasively, working mostly with big people in management. Rose, for instance, cracked Carson Pirrie and Scott in Chicago, and in its wake the Marshall Field store has come along, too.

Rose has put out what I think is an excellent small pamphlet called Employment on Merit. Mostly it tells employers how to go about doing the job successfully. It has long seemed to me that we all get ahead as soon as we can turn the bugaboo of FEPC into a series of technical and solvable personnel problems. This little pamphlet does that.

I have asked Ralph Rose to send you ten copies. Although you are busy, I thought you would be as likely as anyone I know to get the copies into the hands of people who would use them.

Rose's address if you should need it is American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 5, 1951

George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your good letter of December 27th and your suggestions regarding the Child Visitation possibilities.

We expect to meet again in the near future and I will certainly keep you advised.

Under separate cover I am enclosing a copy of our new pamphlet Employment on Merit, and would appreciate your comments and suggestions as well as any possible source of circulation in the South.

Not yet rec'd document

Kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose, Acting Secretary
Race Relations Committee

RAR/ghc

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

AFSC

also ~~=~~ Education, Negro

September 5, 1951

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

An able young sociology prof at Oklahoma A&M College, named Sol Sutker, came by today. He is a Chapel Hill product and had been talking with Odum about a problem that is in your line and that I thought you would like to know about.

Both Oklahoma A&M at Stillwater and the University of Oklahoma at Oklahoma City have now a pretty good sprinkling of Negro students. Oklahoma A&M had over two hundred on the campus this summer. Thus far, of course, nearly all the Negro students at Southern colleges are graduate students. A lot of them are taking work in fields as to future employment in which there is no well-cut channel for Negroes. Then as to placement in general of Negro graduates of erstwhile white institutions, there isn't any good machinery. So the idea floats around that there ought to be some kind of special placement service. I heard it suggested that there ought to be a Southwide placement service of this kind. Last time I was in New York I ran across traces of somebody's having asked at least one of the smaller foundations for money with which to set up something of this kind.

Sutker said that he had had personal experience with several Oklahoma A&M Negro students in the difficulty of getting a place. On the basis of his experience, he generalizes to foresee a pretty big problem of frustrated well-trained Negro youth.

Now, says Sutker, if a special placement service is set up, it will have the queer result of perpetuating segregation because it would be something special for the Negro graduates. Had I any advice?

I recalled to Sutker the work done by the Friends in difficult placements—I forget what you called it, but for my purposes it got called the "queer card" program. I also told him what little I knew of your plansfor a possible "get employment."

The refinement I suggested of Sutker's notion was that each college, white, Negro, or mixed, should be expected to do its own regular job of placement for its own graduates, no matter what color, but that any college placement service would be entitled to turn over to some special super-placement service any of its more difficult cases. Some of these would be white and some would be Negro. Sutker thought that was helpful.

I don't think the Southern Regional Council is the right thing to set up a placement service. (a) We haven't been asked to, and (b) we haven't got the money, and (c) it's a little out of our line. It's not the sort of thing that the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education ought to do, but it would be well to have the good will of all of the influential channels that the Board of Control has—and they could be gotten. So far as I know, nobody has obtained any money for this job and it is merely a notion.

It seems to me to be very close to what you have been talking about in the South. And you have the earlier experience of the "queer card" business. I thought you would like to consider the possibility of the Friends Service Committee, in one way or another, taking on such a job. I don't see any real reason for it to be limited to the South, though I think the problem arises most strongly in the South.

I have been told for a good while that Southern Negro colleges are deplorably weak in placement activity for their own graduates.

Of course, a very important function of a proper placement service would be to steer the colleges toward doing the right kind of training.

Oklahoma A&M is a sort of key place because its former head, Bennett, runs Point Four. And I should think that a lot of placements would ultimately go into Point Four channels.

This is just thinking out loud, but I wanted you to have it.

We had a great splurge the other day of paying bills. Most gratifying.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sept. 24, 1951

Miss Jane C. Reinheimer
Administrative Ass't.
Race Relations Committee
A. F. S. C.
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jane Reinheimer:

I have read your memorandum of September 6, on a coordinated placement service, with care and full praise.

I think it is all wisely planned.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 11, 1951

In re: Coordinated Placement Service
-- Negro Colleges

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George Mitchell:

The enclosed memorandum will give you an idea of the status of American Friends Service Committee thinking on a coordinated placement service for the Negro Colleges. Please note that it is very confidential. We would like to have your comments on the whole idea.

We are very much interested in the ideas of your friend from Oklahoma A. & M., Sol Sutker. Perhaps he could be a member of the advisory committee for the placement service.

Many thanks for giving us your thoughts on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Jane C. Reinheimer

Jane C. Reinheimer
Administrative Assistant
Race Relations Committee

JCR:B

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

Date September 6, 1951

To:

From: Ralph Rose

Subject: Informal meeting - Washington, D.C. 9/5/51
Coordinated placement services for Negro colleges

I met with President John W. Davis of West Virginia State College, President Horace Mann Bond of Lincoln University, and Mr. James Evans of the Department of Defense at Davis House in Washington, D.C. for luncheon on the above date.

The following is a brief resume of our discussion intended for the members of this and concerned Service Committee staff and committee members.

After a presentation of background material there was a general feeling that a very real and urgent need exists today for an adequate coordinated placement service which would involve the Land Grant Colleges as well as other so-called "Negro Colleges". It was generally felt that the setting up of such a placement service should be a cooperative venture of the National Urban League, the Association of Land Grant College Presidents, the National Technical Association, and such other organizations as might be invited at a later date to participate.

The setting up of such a placement service would provide a much needed four-fold service:

1) The adequate preparation of material and coordination of materials relating to graduates and alumni of these colleges;
2) A direct connection and continuing channel with agencies, businesses and organizations interested in the employment of graduates of these colleges, and therefore a continuing interpretation of the needs of the employer organizations;
3) A continuing source of available information to agencies, national and local, interested in the basic problem of intergration in employment;
4) A channel for the interpretation of changing opportunities, through such important areas of College and University work as Extension Services, tO Jr. High and High Schools throughout their areas.

The following plan of action for bringing such proposals into the hands of those most concerned was adopted.

1) That a careful survey of materials in the records of the meetings of the Land Grant College Presidents as well as from other sources would be prepared, and that Dr. Davis would request Dr. R.B. Atwood to assist in gathering such material. Mr. Evans has also agreed to survey and digest other materials know to him. The purpose of this survey would be to make available all the background material which is substantially related to previous proposals for such a placement service.

2) Such organized material would then be sent to the AFSC for arrangement into orderly proposal in tentative form suitable for presentation to Foundations or other sources of funds.

3) This tentative proposal would then be circulated to the members of the group who met in Washington and to the National Urban League. A conference would be called for a final discussion of the proposal.

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Date

To:

From: Ralph Rose

Subject: Coordinated Placement Services for Negro Colleges

4) The Land Grant College Presidents with the cooperation of the Urban League, the AFSC, and other organizations would then make such a presentation to sources agreed upon. The AFSC will do everything possible to bring about a favorable consideration of this proposal.

Two major factors were introduced as important in the steps to be taken:

1) The urgent need of the situation which would impose an early deadline on the preparation of this material. It was suggested that the meeting of the Land Grant College Presidents expected to be held on 10-18-51 should be the deadline to which we will work.

2) In the detailing of such proposals every effort should be made to provide for adequately trained staff in the area of industrial relations, personnel and vocational guidance.

It was generally felt that the proposal would cover a five year period and would be subject to renewals thereafter. In the proposal would be included a gradual diminishing of the funds to be received from outside resources, and an increase in the proportion of expense to be assumed by the various colleges involved.

Summary of discussion - Much of the discussion of this meeting centered around the tremendous need for a coordinated placement service, both in areas of government service, private industry and public service outside the National Government agencies. Some of the discussion centered around the possibility of cooperation with the National Urban League. Such cooperation was felt by all persons in the group to be essential. The long background experience of attempting to secure such a placement service would indicate that this will be no easy undertaking, but those meeting were determined that this should be carried through to the logical conclusions.

APSC

Sept. 24, 1951

Miss Jane Ellen McAllister
1403 Main St.
Vicksburg, Miss.

Dear Miss McAllister:

Allen Bacon sent us a copy of his letter of September 18 to you.

Here is a leaflet that tells about our Council.

If we can be of help to you in any way, we would like to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

SEP 21 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

September 18, 1951

Jane Ellen McAllister
1403 Main Street
Vicksburg, Miss.

Dear Jane Ellen McAllister:

I am glad that you were able to read an account of the activities of our work camp in Washington D.C. this summer, and greatly appreciate the interest you expressed in considering the possibility of similar work's being done in Jackson, Mississippi.

As you may well understand, the preparation involved in setting up such a project to run for eight weeks during a summer is considerable, and was possible in Washington primarily because we had a large and active number of people to undertake the negotiations with some of the owners of some of the houses, and with the officials of the city where they were involved, as well as their sounding out some of the reactions of the tenants. So far as we know, there is no comparable group of people in Jackson who are are familiar with workcamps or with the activities of the American Friends Service Committee. This consideration, plus the fact that both our regional office in Greensboro, N.C. and the home office here in Philadelphia are considerable distance from Jackson would make this kind of undertaking by us difficult. However, a great deal of work of this nature has been done here in Philadelphia and in some of the other large cities of the United States by what are known as Weekend Work Camps. You will find a description of this kind of project in the enclosed folder written by David Richie. As you will see, even a weekend project requires considerable preparation and recruiting, but it has been done by volunteer groups giving generously of their time.

I am sending copies of this letter to Tartt Bell of our Greensboro Regional Office (Executive Secretary), and to George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432, Atlanta 3, Georgia. If they have any other suggestions to make, I am sure they will get in touch with you. I am sure they would also be glad to hear from you directly.

If I can be of any further assistance, please get in touch with me again. I certainly wish you every success in any effort along this line which you might want to consider.

Sincerely yours,

S. Allen Bacon, Director
Work Camp Program

SAB/rj
cc: Ralph Rose, Homer Morris, How and Chalmers
George Mitchell, Tartt Bell
Enc: Ref. in Encl.; Weekend Work Camping, An Opp.

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Chadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*
B. Russell Branson, *Associate Secretary*

September 26, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply to my request for the copies of New South. I shall use them in preparation for my visit to Western Carolina Teachers College the last of October.

I have just returned from a few days in Philadelphia and I spent several hours talking with Ralph Rose about the race relations program of the Service Committee and he told me that he had a visit with you in Atlanta and also Philadelphia. I may be calling on you for material in relation to the visiting lectureship program sponsored by the Service Committee. If you have any suggestions of schools where you think there is a possibility of our scheduling a visiting lecturer either during the winter session or the spring session I wish you would pass the suggestion on to me.

I will try to get over to Woman's College and talk with Libby Boulus soon about your suggestion concerning a contribution to the Council. Last night I had dinner with a group of people from Yale Divinity School who were here in Greensboro for the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. Two of the couples knew nothing at all about the Southern Regional Council so I tried to give them a brief historical sketch of the Council and I believe that they are both convinced and will join. One of the fellows is doing a very interesting dissertation on religion and a changing culture in an east Tennessee community. I think ~~he~~ you will be very interested and he may be calling on you for some help.

Please give my regards to Alice, to Mrs. Tilley and other friends in Atlanta. Thank you again for the material.

Sincerely,

Anne

Anne E. Queen,
College Secretary

AEQ/rwl

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

APSC
cc Rose

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 28, 1951

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Re: Your Letter of 9/25/51

Thanks very much for sending us the information about Council members in Washington, D. C. Dick Bennett tells me that he met you there the other day. I hope you will keep in mind that during your next visit you might talk with Irene Osborne and Alma Scurlock, who will be working there.

I knew Emory's program was good, but I didn't know it was good enough to get you.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose
Race Relations Committee

RAR/cmp

October 17, 1951

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

We had a nice visit yesterday from Mrs. Almita Robinson and gave her what advice we could about her promising new job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 11, 1951

OCT 12 1951

George Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Almita Robinson, who will be working in the new Job Opportunities Program of the Texas Regional Office, will be in Atlanta on October 14, 1951 and we hope that you will be able to meet with her. She will call you on arrival.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose, Acting Secretary
Race Relations Committee

RAR:s
Enc.

OCT 12 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Announcement of Almita Robinson as Administrative Assistant
in Job Opportunities Program, Texas Regional Office

Almita S. Robinson of Fort Worth, Texas, joined the Race Relations staff on September 15, 1951. Following an orientation period in Philadelphia, Almita will work as Administrative Assistant in the newly instituted Job Opportunities Program of the Texas Regional Office. Her major concern will be with problems of merit employment in the city of Dallas.

Almita's training includes an A.B. in Education from Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina, and a diploma from the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia, where she did her major work in Community Organization.

Her work experience includes: Acting Executive of the Atlanta, Georgia, Urban League; Executive of the Fort Worth, Texas, Negro Welfare Council; Office Manager of the Robinson Construction Company; Executive of the Austin, Texas, Y.W.C.A. Branch.

She was instrumental in the integration of skilled Negro building construction workers in defense work in Atlanta, and continued the same type of program among Negroes in war industries of Fort Worth. She initiated efforts for securing new housing for Negro war workers in Fort Worth and spearheaded the organization of the Fort Worth Urban League.

She served as consultant to the War Manpower Commission and the War Housing Committee of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce. She gave more than a year's volunteer service as Secretary-Director of the Fort Worth Committee for a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. She has served as a lecturer on housing, health, employment and recreational conditions of Negroes in certain Southwest areas.

Her community activities include working with the Fort Worth School Board and other community groups for setting up training for Negro war veterans and trying to secure provisions for technical training for high school students. She is a member of the Texas Social Welfare Association, Texas State Council of Negro Organizations, Y.W.C.A., Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Texas State Committee on Interracial Cooperation, Voters League and many local groups which seek to broaden understanding in the community.

14540

November 28, 1951

B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
225 E. Lee St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

I do hope you get down here; but in case you don't, I write, though ticklishly.

I know Charles Smith pretty well. My judgment is that he is a good man for a short-run job, but I have never known him to stick at any one thing more than a few months. He is informed. He is open-minded. He is energetic. He has a most pleasing personality. He is scrupulously honest. He has imagination and catches an idea and expands with it. He is without any racial prejudice. He has associated with ownership people and employers off and on all his life, and gets along well with them. He is a good guy to do a talk-it-up job. The only thing is that he doesn't do any one job very long. He has gone into and out of and back into the various Housing Agencies; and that, I suppose, is his home base.

He has an independent income of five or six thousand dollars a year from oil royalties. A Texas relative just happened to have an oil well on his farm. Last time I knew anything intimate about Charlie, his wife had newly divorced him. I dare say, she gets most of the six thousand.

I should think, on the whole, Charlie would make you a good man. But I wouldn't count on his sticking very long.

Emerson Smith, who now runs the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, 109 W. Grace St., Rm. 202, Richmond, Va., would make you a good man. I guess they pay him around three thousand a year. He is doing a lot of good where he is, though.

There is a good guy over in Columbia, South Carolina, named Howard McClain. Taught sociology, I think, at Mercer University (Baptist) for several years. Now has a job with some kind of a temperance outfit in South Carolina. He believes in temperance, but he believes in interracial justice a good deal more. The sort of fellow who would get along pretty well with employers. Adequately rooted in the South. Address: 116 S. Saluda, Columbia, S. C.

An extremely able man in Alabama is Nat Welch, who now works as advertising manager for Aubrey Williams's paper, Southern Farm and Home, at Montgomery. Energetic, accustomed in his present job to visit business offices, alert, imaginative, hard-driving, completely without racial prejudice, constructive, effective. Maybe Aubrey is paying him so much that he wouldn't quit his present job. But he is a better guy than what he is doing. His address is: 1103 Magnolia Curve, Montgomery.

It might pay you to look around in the Coker family near Hartsville, South Carolina. It has so many branches that there is almost bound to be one young fellow coming along. The name is magic in both Carolinas, and most of the family branches will have lodged modernity into the minds of their children.

The Department of Human Relations at the University of Miami is turning out a stream of graduate students who want the kind of job you've got. How many of them would be really helpful to you I don't know. I was down there the other day and was impressed with a young fellow named Thomas S. Norwalk, Box 855, University Branch, Miami 46. The head of the department is M. A. F. Ritchie, Department of Human Relations, University of Miami, Coral Gables.

In Tennessee I would expect to get good advice from H. C. Nixon at Vanderbilt University.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Chadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*
B. Russell Branson, *Associate Secretary*

November 16, 1951

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

There is a possibility I am going to attend the Southeastern Convocation of Churches in Atlanta. If possible I would like to combine this with a continuation of the search for personnel to develope a job opportunities program. Do you know either (a) persons who themselves would meet the general qualifications we have set up for the directorship of this program or (b) persons who might be able to suggest some good prospects? In either event, I would very much appreciate an opportunity to talk with them while in Atlanta. Is there, for example, a city-wide personnel association to which we ought to go with this in mind?

Lee Brooks, Bill Knowland (Noland) and Guy Johnson came up with good suggestions at Chapel Hill the other day that I am now following up on. One in particular I wanted to ask you about is a character named Charles M. Smith who has recently been connected with UNESCO. Lee Brooks said you would know him well and could give us an evaluation on his availability and suitability for the position in mind. I understand when last heard from he was located at Plains, Virginia.

Would you have an opportunity in the next day or two to talk this over with Mrs. Tilley and ask whether she has any suggestions to make?

Sincerely,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell

BTB/rwl

December 10, 1951

Miss Anne E. Queen
College Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
225 E. Lee St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Anne:

I do wish I could get to the Bennett College meeting December 31 and January 1. But I am pretty sure I can't. If, however, I am compelled to be traveling northwards along about then, I will try to fit in a day of it.

If I don't get there, I am sorry to miss the fellowship with so many good people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

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PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Chadbury, *Chairman*
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REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*
B. Russell Branson, *Associate Secretary*

December 5, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

We are having a reunion conference of Service Committee alumni and people who are interested in the work of the Service Committee. This conference is to held at Bennett College December 31 to January 1. We would like very much to have you and Ruth come if at all possible. We feel that you would have a great deal to contribute and we know that you share the deep concerns of the American Friends Service Committee.

We are having as leaders for this conference Burns Chalmers, who is director of the Senior Division in the American Section of the Service Committee, and Dr. James Fleming, who is former director of the Race Relations Department in the Community Division. I am sure that you must know Dr. Fleming.

If you find that you are able to come, would you please drop me a post card to this office by December 17, making your reservation? We hope very much that you can come. Tartt Bell asked me to say to you that he extends a very special invitation and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne E. Queen,
College Secretary

AEQ/rwl

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Chadbury, *Chairman*
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REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*
B. Russell Branson, *Associate Secretary*

December 4, 1951

Dear AFSC Alumni:

During the last few years there have been reunion conferences for Alumni of AFSC projects during the Christmas vacations. This is the first year that such a conference has been held in the Southeast Region. The reunion is to be held at Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, December 31 and January 1. The cost, excluding transportation, is: registration $1.00; room and board $4.00.

During the two days together we hope to share our inspirations from our experiences and our deepest concerns in the light of the tensions in the world. The program will consist of meditation, fellowship and an opportunity to discuss the role of the AFSC in the world crisis.

Burns Chalmers, Director of the Senior Division of the American Section, will lead us in our meditation. Before coming to the staff of the Service Committee he was professor of Religion and Chaplain at Smith College. Prior to joining the staff, Burns Chalmers directed work camps in this country and did relief work in France.

Dr. James Fleming, formerly Director of the Division of Race Relations of the AFSC, will lead the discussion on "The Role of the AFSC in the World Crisis". Speaking out of a background of superior academic training and rich practical experience, he is well equipped to direct our thinking on the role of the United Nations at this particular period in history and he will be able to relate the problem of human relations in the South to the struggle going on in the world.

I hope you will reserve the dates December 31-January 1 on your calendar and return the enclosed card by December 16 making your reservation. More details of the program will reach you by December 20.

Sincerely yours,

Anne E. Queen

Anne E. Queen,
College Secretary

AEQ/rwl
enc: 1

R

January 2, 1952

Ralph A. Rose
~~A. F. S. C.~~
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

That was a very nice letter from you. Many thanks.

I send you some more copies of the Statement. We will also be getting it out in a leaflet by itself. Harry Ashmore's address, good as it is, has some quite soft spots.

I am going to New York, to be there January 15 and 16. I could pretty clearly drive through Philadelphia somewhere around the 17th or the 18th. I will hope to catch you there before your Southern trip.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1952
SOUTHERN
Regional Council

December 31, 1951

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Indeed I have had time to read the statement which was adopted at your annual meeting. It is inspiring and reassuring to know that there are the kinds of people in the South and in the rest of this country who will prepare the way for the work of the Council.

Certainly the situation in Florida over these holiday times is once again placing the problems of the South in the public eye. Sometimes I feel that it is a shame that some of the good progress, and solid achievement, is not as widely publicized.

In a way, your statement came as a Christmas present and, in sending our thanks, we look forward to the opportunity to continue to cooperate and work with the Council in every way possible.

Kindest best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph cp

Ralph A. Rose
for the
Race Relations Committee

RAR/cp

afc

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

Date January 21, 1952

To: George Mitchell

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: Foundations in the South

Mighty sorry not to have a chance to see you during your stopover in Greensboro. Next time plan to sit awhile with us.

There is no reluctance at all in our sharing with you the list of foundations in our territory. We have no claim of any kind whatsoever on any of them. Alfonzo Miller of our Philadelphia Office fund raising staff simply copied them out of a book for me, and all I am doing is saving you the trouble of tracking down that book and copying the list. I am afraid most of these will be of no use to either of us. I don't remember which one it was, but one of them has as its purpose the aid for education of "white boys and girls who are the descendants of British ancestry".

Incidentally, do you know anything about the setup of the Coca-Cola Corporation? We wondered, if in view of its international market, the corporation or its foundation might be interested in an international program. I may be down that way in a couple of weeks with one of the Philadelphia fund raisers and would appreciate any suggestions you might have for an approach to Coca-Cola (that is aside from the usual habit

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date

To:

From:

Subject:

of most Georgia crackers of buying one every other hour!)

enc: 1

March 6, 1952

Ruth Morton
American Friends Service Committee
Community Relations Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ruth:

There's more to do down here than any ten organizations could ever do, and the more people that work at it earnestly, the better.

I'm sorry that I was traveling so much of the time that you were here and saw you for only so short a while. But come back.

We need your help here and elsewhere and in Philadelphia!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Morton, Ruth

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 29, 1952
(dictated 2/12/52)

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you so very much for taking the time to see me last Monday. I appreciate what you had to say about the necessity for using someone on the Job Opportunities Program who has the spirit of the Friends. This spirit is my reason for working with the Service Committee. I surely would not want anyone to be part of the group who in any way violated that fundamental value. I am sure we will all of us watch this very closely.

Your good friend, Morris Abram, feels that the best thing the Friends can do in the South is to support the Southern Regional Council to a point where its director will be relieved from worry, and where he will not be mortgaging his life insurance. Be that as it may I am sure that the Southern Regional Council must live, and that it must be able to carry on without endangering its director's health or his pocketbook. You may be sure that all of us in the Philadelphia office will do our best to see that this comes about.

Last week was one of interesting interviews. I saw many persons, particularly businessmen. Some of them expressed very liberal attitudes and as you well know many were very conservative. Yet all of them agreed that Negroes must be integrated. The point was that no one person or firm intended to be the first one, each is waiting for someone else. I sensed close to eagerness on the part of some that we begin with the big corporations like Lockheed that can do it without trouble and can do it impersonally. This perhaps may be our best bet.

More on my nexttrip to Atlanta. In the meantime good health and good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth A. Morton

Ruth A. Morton
Field Secretary
Community Relations Committee

RAM:s

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*
B. Russell Branson, *Associate Secretary*

August 22, 1952

George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Our plans have materialized for a conference in Atlanta of leaders from the farm, church, labor and educational groups to consider what program we can support and how we can work more effectively for peace.

Ray Newton and Edwin Randall, of Philadelphia, who direct the national peace education program of the American Friends Service Committee, are coming down for the special purpose of meeting with us. Both have had long and valuable experience in this field. They can offer us many helpful suggestions on the difficult problems of working in the local community and on the state level.

Some of you to whom this goes have been asking, "What positive measures can I or my organization work for, locally and nationally, that make for world peace? How can we use our resources more constructively and strengthen the methods of peaceful change?" These are the questions we need urgently to tackle together. It is not sufficient to have temporarily defeated UMT. What are the positive measures that will make it unnecessary to fight UMT again?

The conference will begin at 4:30 P.M., Tuesday, September 9, at the YWCA, 37 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Supper - Dutch treat, $1.50 per plate - will be served at 6 o'clock. Discussion will continue after supper for as long as is profitable.

May we emphasize that you are being invited as a concerned individual. We want you to have complete freedom to express your opinions and to make suggestions. No attempt, of course, will be made to bind anyone to any agreements reached or to involve anyone in a program he or she cannot conscientiously support. There will be no publicity of any kind. I hope you will welcome this opportunity to get together with a group of similarly concerned persons to discuss these important issues. Please use the enclosed card immediately to let us know your response.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell

BTB/rwl
enc: 1

afsc

September 5, 1952

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

We have been lining up people for the September 9 meeting.

The following have promised to come:

Samuel W. Williams
Professor of Philosophy
Morehouse College
863½ Fair St., SW. Tel. AM. 2352

James S. Thomas (4:30-6:00 only)
Acting President of Gammon Theological Seminary

Professor & Mrs. L. Malcolm McAfee
Department of Sociology
Georgia Institute of Technology
875 Plum St., NW. Tel. EM. 4697

J. Whitney Bunting (4:30-6:00 only)
Executive Vice-President
Oglethorpe University
(Member of Society of Friends, newly in this job, and believed new to Atlanta)

Miss B. E. Usher
Director of Negro Education
Atlanta Public Schools
230 Ashby St., NW

Frank McClaren
Chairman of Principals' Conference for 3rd Region of Georgia Teachers & Education Association. (This is the Negro teachers association.)

W. A. Mason, M. D.
Director of Negro Health
State of Georgia
206 Auburn Ave., NE

Mrs. Jane Hammer (4:30-6:00 only)
Sometime associate professor of philosophy, Spelman College
3483 Ridgewood Rd., NW. Tel. Ch. 0955

Helen Bullard & friend
Businesswoman
133 - 10th St., NE

In addition, Emily Calhoun, of this office, has the acceptance of the following:

Mrs. Helen Calloway (4:30-6:00 only)
Teacher in Atlanta Public Schools
Representative of Delta Kappa Gamma educational honor society

Four representatives of the Association of Childhood Education (after dinner session only)
Teachers in Atlanta elementary schools

At least one representative from the Atlanta Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends

Sara & Hugh Owen, 336 Ninth St., NE
Active workers in First Baptist Church, Atlanta

Winifred & Bruce McDuffie
Department of Chemistry
Washington & Jefferson College
Washington, Pa.
(Formerly members of Atlanta Friends Meeting, now visiting in Atlanta)

Mr. & Mrs. Harold Cunningham
(Don't know what category they belong in, but they said they were interested and wanted to come.)

We have, therefore, notified the YWCA in Atlanta of the need for sixteen additional reservations for dinner.

I haven't been able to get anybody from Emory. This is their one dead period of the year. The whole shootin' match has gone fishing. Ditto Agnes Scott, but I'm still trying for Mildred Mell.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

efc

Sept. 9, 1952

MEMORANDUM

To: Tartt Bell
From: George S. Mitchell

In addition to those I wrote you about September 5, the following are expected at the meeting:

Mrs. T. F. Burney,
Dean of Women
Clark College
Atlanta, Ga.

Miss Rhoda Kaufman
678 Park Dr., NE
Atlanta

Miss Katherine Stoney
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Robert Scharf
Social Science Professor
Georgia Tech

Mr & Mrs. Robert Doak
Coach at Brookhaven, Ga., High School & salesman for Curtis Publishing Co., member Society of Friends

Mrs. John Stanley
Former teacher at Spelman College
Active worker in various civic organizations in Decatur and DeKalb County, member Society of Friends

Margaret Via (Mrs. Emory Via)
Art teacher and member of Society of Friends
Moving to Chicago in a few days

Miss Margaret Fairlie
Music teacher

The representatives from the Association of Childhood Education will be:

Mrs. Emily B. Calhoun
Miss Evelyn Bird
Miss Dorothy Bush
Mrs. John Buckley, president of Atlanta ACE

September 12, 1952

William V. Roosa
American Friends Service Committee
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear William Roosa:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town, so I will answer as best I can the questions in your letter of September 11.

Miss Evelyn Bird, 3115 E. Shadowlawn Avenue, NE, and Miss Dorothy Bush, 1798 Monroe Dr., NE, both teachers in the Atlanta Elementary Schools, were present at the evening session. With them was my mother, Mrs. Emily B. Calhoun, 1098 Monroe Dr., NE, also a teacher. (Not to be confused with me, though we have the same name and address.)

The following were not present: Mrs. John Buckley, Helen Bullard and friend.

I am almost sure that Mr. and Mrs. McAfee were not there either. I do not know about Frank McClaren and Mr. and Mrs. Harold Cunningham.

Mrs. Helen Calloway, a teacher at Morningside (elementary) School in Atlanta, was present for about 45 minutes of the afternoon session. Jane (Mrs. Philip G.) Hammer, 3483 Ridgewood Rd., NW, was present at the afternoon session. She is an active worker in the League of Women Voters, and her husband heads the Metropolitan Planning Commission here.

Mr. C. L. Harper is secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, 250 Auburn Avenue, NE. That corresponds, I believe, to the Georgia Education Association for white teachers.

Dr. Mitchell will write you anything else he knows when he gets back.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

ENCLS.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

September 11, 1952

RECEIVED
SEP 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

After having gone through a series of meetings with you I trust you will permit me to drop titles and address you by your first name.

I am writing especially to express to you and to your secretaries the genuine appreciation of the Service Committee for your fine work in connection with the meeting which we held in Atlanta last Tuesday. Your efforts gave us a group large enough and diversified enough to insure a very fine and valuable discussion. We are very gratified over the results of the meeting and feel that it did much for individuals and for strengthening morale of concerned people in the Atlanta community, some of whom lacked enough courage to carry through on some of our program. I believe that now we shall be able to do some of the things we have been thinking of for several months. Please pass on this word of appreciation to Miss Calhoun and Miss Stoney.

May I also ask if you can help us in checking up on the matter of attendance for the meetings on Tuesday. We are not sure as to how many of the following people were present at that time.

Miss Evelyn Bird

Miss Dorothy Brush

Mrs. John Buckley

Professor and Mrs. McAfee

September 11, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell

Frank McClaren

Mrs. Jane Hammer

Helen Bullard and friend

Mrs. Helen Calloway

Mr. and Mrs. Harold Cunningham

Can you please give data about Mr. Harper, a Negro gentleman, whom we do not have specifically identified? I have an impression that he is a school man but I am not certain of details. He did not sign our register.

I believe I did not get the opportunity to tell you that at 3:30 in the afternoon the steering committee of the Atlanta Christian Council had a short meeting with Tartt and myself at which time they voted to recommend to their executive committee on this Friday, the twelfth, ~~that they voted~~ to have the Atlanta Christian Council sponsor some type of peace institute in cooperation with the Service Committee. It had the strong backing of Wesberry, the president, and of Bob Giffen, the secretary. I believe that this will insure the acceptance of the plan by the executive committee and I think also that after they have accepted it they will be quite happy to have the cooperation of the Council of Church Women so that we can have the united groups back of it.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William V. Rossa

WVR/rwl

afsc

October 23, 1952

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

I have had several delays on the matter of Morrisville, Pennsylvania. First, the Steelworkers played the lead in a local convention, and then I was out of town for a full week.

I went yesterday and talked with the appropriate people. I was put in touch with two Negro staff members of the United Steelworkers, Oscar R. Thomas and Carl Fern. They have all the particulars. And they will try to find hereabouts from three to six suitable persons who will write and ask for application forms from the Fairless plant. They are to let me know when any such completed forms are mailed in to Morrisville, with names of the people and the jobs they will apply for. And I will let you know.

These things are ch~~ance~~. But the two men who are working on it are competent and see what it means and will, I am sure, try hard to find appropriate, interested candidates.

Sincerely,

GSM

efec

November 1, 1952

Jane Reinheimer
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jane:

I look forward to receiving the Bucks County article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 20, 1952

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We thought you may be interested in a Bucks County article which describes some aspects on the Bucks County situation in which Jacques Wilmore has been very effectively active. I am sending a few copies under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Jane

Jane Reinheimer
Community Relations

JR:ggm

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1952

afsc

November 7, 1952

Hurford Crosman
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Hurford Crosman:

I have gone over my travel arrangements again. I've got a terrific schedule between November 10 and December 8, reaching in that period Washington, Nashville, Woodstock (Georgia), St. Petersburg, Rock Hill, Jacksonville, Palm Beach, and Monteagle. Washington through November 14 and Nashville November 17. To get to Abbeville I would have to do some of it by bus, riding from Greenville to Abbeville, and get up at 3:30 Sunday morning to catch the Comet for Atlanta. I'm satisfied that it's a duty to the rest of the month's travel to use that week-end for a spot of rest.

So, reluctantly, I am going to pull out of being at the Abbeville meeting this time. In any case, as you know, all I could have done was be at the dinner, and what I need to do is to go to the farms and really see them.

With every best wish to all of you who will be there and with my regrets for not being there,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

George Mitchell & wife

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Date October 20, 1952

To: Members of the Little River Farm Committee

From: A. Burford Grossman

Subject: Little River Farm Fall Meeting, 1952.

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1952
Council

The postcard returns sent out with my memo of September 2, indicate, overwhelmingly, that the weekend of November 14th for our annual pilgrimage is satisfactory, and those traveling from the Philadelphia area have been invited to stay overnight as usual in Chapel Hill, both on the way down, Thursday night, the 13th and on the way back, Sunday night, the 16th.

I assume that the folks south of Chapel Hill will arrange their own transportation.

As in previous years, we will gather at the Belmont Hotel in Abbeville in time for a 6 o'clock meal at the Hotel, and we will adjourn after the meeting for worship at the Youngs Sunday morning.

NOTE: I am sorry you cannot be with us on Friday, the 14th of November but we certainly would appreciate your being with us both Saturday and Sunday, if you can make it. Please drop the enclosed postcard into the mailbox, indicating whether you would like me to make reservations to stay overnight at the Belmont Hotel on Saturday night, and will your wife be able to go with you?

ABG:ggh

afsc

November 18, 1952

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

Three or four years ago an interracial group spent several weeks in residence in a building belonging to the Bethlehem Center on the campus of Gammon Theological Seminary. That's a Negro Methodist Seminary. Little seminary activity in the summer. Large grounds, and the group is not likely to be disturbed. I think that would work all right, though we all take chances on all of these things.

The head of the seminary is Mr. Harry V. Richardson, a member of our Executive Committee.

Emory could make it work all right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
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TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1952

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Sorry I didn't get to the conference in Washington but at least I think I heard part of your speech. This strange contradiction is explained by the fact that yesterday afternoon I called Mayes Behrman and while he was getting from the telephone near the speaker's rostrum to one somewhere else in the hotel on which we could talk more privately, someone's voice from the speaker's platform was pouring out words of wisdom and counsel. When Mayes got to the telephone he told me you had just finished speaking so I assumed it must have been your voice I heard over long distance. We are thinking about setting up an interne-in-industry project somewhere in the South next year and I am wondering about the possibility of Atlanta. Enclosed is a folder which sketches briefly the kind of program that would be involved. From my scant knowledge of Atlanta I don't believe we would have any difficulty in finding a group of interested people in the city to serve as members of an advisory committee to the project. As I see it, the main problem that is involved is the question of location of adequate housing for the group. Do you by chance know at the moment of any particular way this might be handled? It occurs to me that we probably could work out something with one of the Negro colleges to house the group, though this probably would be the least desirable arrangement since it probably is highly desirable for this group really to be completely on its own. At this point we would particularly like to have your advice. Are we completely off base in thinking that an inter-racial group of students could be housed in Atlanta for a period of six or seven weeks during the summer without a disastrous explosion?

no encl.

As leadership we might be able to secure Emory Via - who desperately needs to do something in penitence for having run off to Chicago. This of course would have obvious advantages. Please let me hear from you.

Warmest regards to you and Alice.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell

BTB/rwl

afsc

January 19, 1953

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

All indications are that Atlanta will continue in boom this summer. Full employment everywhere and more big industries coming in. Department store sales way up. You take a chance, anywhere, that national and international donditions would produce a slump, but we hear of no special reason why the Atlanta area would have an earlier or worse case of any slump that came.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:sn

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date

RECEIVED
JAN 19
Southern Regional Council

To: Geo. M

From: T Bell

Subject:

What are the prospects for the labor market in Atlanta this summer? We wouldn't want to throw a group of kids into an intern project in a hopelessly depressed area where chances of getting a work experience are nil.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
JAN 29
Southern Regional Council

January, 1953

Dear Friends:

Attached you will find Wilmer and Mildred Young's annual greetings which gives the news of their proposed closing of the Little River Farm Project as a Project. It must be a great satisfaction to the Youngs and also to you who have helped them financially and with your prayers to realize that these 21 families have found a new way of life through ownership, the end product of which is to build human dignity and self-respect into their lives. They are not often articulate in expressing what has happened to them but one man put it this way, "You know it does something to a man to own his own home."

Your contributions have made it possible for the Committee to reimburse the Youngs for some of the effort they have put into this program of helping their neighbors, although you are no doubt aware that most of their actual income has been derived from their own farming operations.

The Committee hopes that you will want to continue your annual contribution at least until the Youngs are ready to leave Abbeville.

We are, therefore, enclosing the usual card for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

A. Hurford Crosman

A. Hurford Crosman, Secretary
Little River Farm Committee

AHC:ggh
Encl.

Abbeville, South Carolina
Route 1, Box 98
January, 1953

Dear Friends:

A happy New Year to you all, and our thanks for many kind and delightful messages received during the last month.

This year we have a grandchild to introduce to you, our little Karen. She belongs primarily to Bill and Liz, but we have a claim on her too. She lived here for the first four weeks of her life; then they took her to Washington where Bill is still an engineer for WCFM, the co-op radio station. They brought her back in August, but I at once hastened to Arizona and stayed eight weeks with my parents. My father had been seriously ill early in the summer and was then well enough to go to their little cottage in the White Mountains, so I went there with them and we stayed six weeks amid the ponderosa pines and aspens.

Meanwhile, Wilmer had Bill and Liz and Karen with him for three weeks, then Daniel's wife Maria for nearly three. Daniel brought her and then returned for another weekend while she was here. They now live at Chapel Hill, and Daniel is a second year resident in the new hospital. Before Maria left, came William and Lorena Blackburn for ten days and did my job plus a number of things I don't do. Then Gretka came to spend two weeks with her father, leaving Ralph alone with his micro-organisms. He is still working on his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania and Gretka works at 20 South Twelfth Street. They had two weeks off together in July and paddled (and portaged) a canoe for eighty-five miles in the Algonquin Provincial Park, Ontario. Gretka's visit here was over on October 4th and on the 3rd I returned to take up my own job again.

Thus Wilmer and I each had a change and a treat during the summer, thanks to so much generosity on the part of our young people and a sister. It meant a great deal to me to have a leisurely time to spend with my parents.

It begins to seem now that the right time has come to round out and close our work here. All the land has been sold except the farm we live on and the farm latest bought. The latter has two tenants, both candidates for ownership. It seems likely that arrangements can be made for them to buy their places this year. We shall then have sold all together twenty-one homes, eleven to white families, ten to Negroes.

We have two fairly active prospects for the sale of the farm we live on. It is now a good, small dairy farm, well equipped, and with good fields and pastures. It should be bought by someone who wants to operate a dairy and we shall delay selling for some time rather than sell it for any other purpose. We are in no hurry, but the work begins to be a little too strenuous for us and we shall be ready to leave when the way seems really clear to do so. Our committee has given its permission for us to liquidate

when we can do so without leaving loose ends. One of the possible buyers would want possession by September 1 of this year, if he can arrange to buy it at all, so it may be that this is the last annual letter we shall address to you from here.

We have been here for thirteen years, and of course it will be a wrench to leave. But we feel a need to be near a community of Friends and to be a little more free to move about than we are now. The work has meant a great deal to us, though in many ways it has not taken the forms we expected it would when we came. We have never felt clear until lately that it would be right for us to leave until or unless someone came to carry on the project. Now we feel we can leave though we shall hope not to lose touch with our friends here.

We shall let you know a year hence how things have worked out, and we have plenty of moments when we hope next New Year will find us right here! Wherever we are, next year and thereafter, we shall not forget the interest and help that our friends have given to this work which we have enjoyed so much. We could not have done it, except with the help of you and many others.

With warm love, we are

Your friends,

Wilmer & Mildred Young

Wilmer and Mildred Young

afse

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Little River Farm Committee

RECEIVED

FROM: A. Rexford Crossman

DATE: January 29, 1953

A few days ago you received a copy of Wilmer and Mildred Youngs' annual letter. Now, I am attaching hereto, a copy of the Minutes of the meetings held in November.

I know you are anxious to hear of any developments in the sale of properties at Little River Farm but unfortunately there is nothing very tangible to report. Mr. Leslie has indicated his desire to purchase the Youngs' Farm and is now in the process of trying to find out how to finance the purchase. If he does buy this property, he has indicated that he would like to have possession by next September.

As for the Thomson Farm, I visited Washington the day before the Boston Express crashed into the Washington Station, and had a very sympathetic hearing from Mr. Washington and his superior, Mr. Polks. Mr. Polks pointed out that in the early days of the Farmers Home Administration they had been severely criticized for granting loans to families who were able, thereby, to raise their living standards a little bit but not sufficient to really put the family on its feet. Since that time, they have been very careful, as was our experience in the case of Thomas Liddell and his family. Mr. Polks and Mr. Washington both agreed that they would do everything in their power to help Cothran Cobb and Joe Brown to purchase the Thomson Farm but were not too optimistic as to the possibility under the circumstances. They also emphasized the fact that the final decision would have to rest with the local office which has since November had a change in personnel. Mr. Latimer has now been replaced by Mr. Mitchell, who as I understand it, is a brother of Edith Rabbs. He is most sympathetic, but like Mr. Polks, feels that they must abide by their rules and regulations.

However, the matter is not settled yet and we will have to await further developments.

ARC:gph
Encl: Minutes (LRFC, Nov. 14, 15, 16, '52)

CONFIDENTIAL -- NOT FOR GENERAL CIRCULATION

A M E R I C A N F R I E N D S S E R V I C E C O M M I T T E E
Incorporated

Minutes
Little River Farm Committee
Held November 14, 15 and 16, 1952
Abbeville, South Carolina

PRESENT: Charles and Ottie Arrington, Dudley Carroll, Walter and Anna Coble, James and Edith Dabbs, Madeline Erskine, Tom and Florence Potts, Howard and May Taylor, Haines Turner, Wilmer and Mildred Young, Hurford Crosman. Visitors: Miss Frieda Bausch of Erskine College, Due West, S.C., Russell and Bessie Branson of the Southeast Regional Office of the A.F.S.C., Greensboro, N.C., Dickie and Dottie Dabbs.

Dudley Carroll brought regrets from Richard Hobbs and Claude Shotts who had both planned to attend, but were prevented at the last minute.

A hearty welcome was extended to our visitors.

ALR-1 OPENING OF MEETING IN TRIBUTE TO MEMORY OF HOMER L. MORRIS. The Friday evening session opened with a period of silence in which special thought was given to the memory of Homer Morris. A telegram was then approved and sent to Edna Morris in Phoenix, Arizona. The following day a telegram was received from Edna as follows:

> "Your message is heartwarming. I believe Homer continues give us unseen fellowship and companionship. He dearly loved all of you and the work, so do I."

Wilmer and Mildred Young were asked to write a minute to Homer's memory, which follows:

> "Meeting without Homer and Edna Morris for the first time, our sympathy and love went out to Edna, and our minds were drawn not so much to mourn our loss as to be grateful for the many years of helpful, patient and inspiring care that Homer gave to the Project, and for the loving personal interest that they had in each member of our Committee."

ALR-2 APPROVAL OF MINUTES.

The minutes of the meetings held October 26, 27 and 28, 1951 were approved as circulated.

ALR-3 REPORT ON MATTERS UNFINISHED FROM 1951 MINUTES. (a) ALR-6 - James Dabbs reported that neither Paul Webber or Lewis Jones, who were to be invited to visit the Little River Farm with an idea of studying possible new approaches for helping the Negroes of the community, had been able to accept this invitation.

ALR-4 FUTURE OF LITTLE RIVER FARM PROJECT. The balance of the Friday evening session and the Saturday morning session was given over to the careful consideration of the advisability of liquidating the Little River Farm Project. Wilmer and Mildred Young have expressed to the Committee, over the past three years, that the time was drawing near when they felt they ought to retire and felt that perhaps, now, was the proper time from several points of view:

1) The Project, itself, has reached a stage when it can fairly be said to have fulfilled the original purpose for which it was launched. The families on the original tract of land, as well as on the second Anderson-Clayton purchase, have successfully established themselves as farm owners and it seems probable that within another year the two families on the Thomson farm will be able to purchase their farms with the aid of the Farmers Home Administration.

2) The general economy of the South has so changed and improved, economically, through the cash income of almost every family due to nearby outside employment, that a continuance of the process of buying and reselling further tracts of land seems less necessary than at the outset of the program.

3) That the Youngs, themselves, feel that the time has come for them to return to be nearer the stream of Quaker thought and activity. It is, of course, recognized that there would never be a time when the Youngs could feel that their work at the Little River Farm was completely accomplished; Wilmer pointing out, for example, that he would like very much before leaving to see a general milk route established in the community. However, all things considered, it seems this might be the most logical time to liquidate the Project. Furthermore, a prospective buyer for the Youngs' farm is in sight. This will make eleven homes for white families, and ten for Negroes, that will have been sold.

After a great deal of discussion and searching on the part of the Committee in order to ascertain the true wishes of the Youngs, and after giving the Youngs the night to further consider the matter in light of the discussion, it was decided on Saturday morning that the Project should be liquidated in an orderly, deliberate fashion, which might take perhaps two or three years in the process.

ALR-5 MECHANICS OF LIQUIDATION - THOMSON FARM. Wilmer Young thinks it possible that Cothran Cobb and Joe Brown can purchase the Thomson farm through Farmers Home Administration financing. It was suggested that F.H.A. should recognize the fact that land is more valuable than buildings and that, therefore, these families should not be required to incur large debts for building improvements which would stand through a forty-year mortgage, but should accept a philosophy which would guarantee a satisfactory rate of improvement through the years. It should be recognized that cattle in this area do not have to have a barn and that expenditures should not be required which would not be productive of income.

Hurford Crosman was asked to visit with Mr. Washington, in Washington, D.C., to ascertain whether the above philosophy could not be accepted

by F.H.A. in making loans to Cothran Cobb and Joe Brown. It was felt that Mr. Latimer, the local F.H.A. representative, would do all he could to help in making it possible for these two Negro families to purchase their farms.

It was felt that the prices to be asked for the Thomson farm property should be based on our book value, plus 2% as a contingency fund.

ALR-6 MECHANICS OF LIQUIDATION - YOUNGS' FARM. Wilmer Young described the prospect for their farm - A Mr. Leslie, who would be interested in taking over the farm next September so that his children could start in new schools at that time. Mr. Leslie is about 37 years of age, white, and energetic. Both Wilmer and Mildred felt that this family would be a good neighbor and interested in the community, although not in the sense of carrying on as the Youngs have done.

It was decided that Wilmer should approach Mr. Leslie with an asking price based on three appraisals from local dairymen who are well acquainted with values of farms of this kind.

A sub-committee was appointed consisting of Walter Coble and James Dabbs with Hurford Crosman ex-officio, to work out the details of the liquidation with Wilmer Young.

This sub-committee was given power to act with regard to the final details of liquidation of all property belonging to the Committee and the sub-committee was authorized to sell below either book or market values if, in its opinion, such course is deemed wise.

It was agreed that from the proceeds of the liquidation, the amount of $2,000.00 be returned to Wilmer Young whose parents had given it to them to be invested in the Project.

ALR-7 WILMER AND MILDRED YOUNGS' RETIREMENT PLANS. Throughout the course of the discussions ran a deep concern on the part of the members of the Committee regarding the Youngs' future as to where they would like to live, what they would like to do and the matter of financial security. After several members of the Committee had proposed setting aside a tract of land at Little River Farm on which a house could be built, as well as other possibilities which would allow them to stay near the site of their recent activities, it seemed quite clear that the Youngs felt it wise to completely break their ties with Little River Farm. It was then suggested there would be numerous opportunities for service in connection with Friends' meetings in almost any part of the country. Those mentioned were North Carolina and the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The entire Committee concurred in the thought that wherever the Youngs decided they ought to be, and it was obvious they were the only ones who could decide, such a community would be blessed by the privilege of having them in their midst and that whatever burden was involved would be a privilege rather than an obligation.

From a purely financial point of view, however, the Committee tried in spite of Mildred's remark about "precarity" being part of their philosophy, to analyze its responsibility to the Youngs for their long service. The A.F.S.C's

new pension plan to go into effect on January 1, 1953 involving Federal Social Security under which the Youngs are covered through the A.F.S.C. was discussed, but it was pointed out that with the Youngs' pittance of a salary which they have been receiving throughout the years, this would certainly not be enough to take care of the Youngs' needs.

It was suggested that since the fund raised for the Little River Farm Project was basically contributed for the Youngs, this fund might be used for their personal needs in the future. It was pointed out, however, that $9,000.00 of this fund was contributed by the Cabot Foundation of Boston and was given to the A.F.S.C. for the execution of the project, and could hardly be considered useable by the Youngs. It was suggested at this point that the Cabot Foundation be given a final reporting of our stewardship. The balance of the contributions have been donated through the years to what has been known as the Young Fellowship and might, therefore, be considered in a different light because practically all of this money has come through a very personal friendship with the Youngs, as well as a concern for what they have done.

A special fund, at present amounting to $227.00 has been collected in Homer Morris' memory. This is now in the hands of the A.F.S.C. and Edna Morris has expressed the desire that this be turned over to the Youngs to add to whatever retirement funds are available, in recognition of the Youngs' contribution to the Little River Farm Program, in which Homer Morris had such deep concern. The A.F.S.C. is happy to accede to Edna Morris' wish.

No decision was made on the general subject of the Youngs' future financial needs, but a sub-committee was appointed, consisting of Walter Coble, James Dabbs, Dudley Carroll and Howard Taylor with Hurford Crosman, ex-officio. This sub-committee was given power to act in anyway that it may deem wise, provided, however, that whatever is done is in accord with A.F.S.C.'s policies, since this is a sub-committee of the A.F.S.C.

ALR-8 FINANCIAL STATEMENTS.

The financial statements for the fiscal year, 1951-52 were presented, discussed and approved.

The most encouraging item in the financial report was that the Thomas Liddell lease agreement under which he was buying his farm has been completely paid off. This was accomplished by selling portions of the Thomas Liddell farm to four of his children who have purchased a total of 31 acres of the original Thomas Liddell farm of 187 acres, thus leaving Thomas Liddell and his wife, 156 acres. Through the cash sales to these children, plus the sale of about $1,100.00 worth of timber off the Thomas Liddell farm, the entire lease agreement is now paid off and five deeds have been issued accordingly. The cash represented in these transactions was not received in Philadelphia in time to be included in the annual financial statement as of September 30, 1952. These transactions represent the final cleaning-up of all of the resale of the original tract and the Anderson-Clayton tract, with the exception of the Youngs' farm. Then, of course, there is the Thomson farm which it is planned to sell during the coming year.

ALR-9 TIME OF NEXT MEETING. The question of whether or not there would be another meeting of the Little River Farm Committee was left in abeyance, pending the progress of the liquidation of the Project.

If it seems advisable, a meeting will be called by the Chairman. An invitation was received from Edith and James Dabbs to meet at their home in Mayesville, South Carlonia which the Committee felt it would be most happy to accept, provided this seemed wise if and when the time comes.

ALR-10 MEETING FOR WORSHIP. The usual meeting for worship was held at the Youngs' home on Sunday morning, and in light of the possibility that this might be the last meeting of the group, a deep sense of fellowship and love pervaded the meeting, and God's presence in our midst was very real.

Dudley D. Carroll, Chairman

A. Hurford Crosman, Secretary

nfac

RECEIVED
FEB 4
Southern Regional Council

February 3, 1953

Dear Mr. Wilmore:

Thank you for sending us the file of correspondence on Mr. M. R. McClatchey of the Southern Aluminum Finishing Company, Atlanta, Georgia. We are in touch with Mr. McClatchey and hope to be able to work with him in developing plans for remedial action in regard to the situation which he wrote about.

We regret that Mr. McClatchey's call for help had to reach us by such an indirect realm.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

COPY

Mr. Jacques Wilmore, Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

cc: Mr. George Mitchell
Mr. Douglas Steere
Mr. Robert Griffin

GTH:mm

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

January 23, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Mr. M. R. McClatchey of the Southern Aluminum Finishing Company, Atlanta, Georgia. The letter is self-explanatory.

If you feel that you can be of any assistance to Mr. McClatchey, we would appreciate your contacting him.

I am also sending a copy of Mr. McClatchey's letter to Grace Hamilton of the Atlanta Urban League.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jacques Wilmore

Jacques Wilmore
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Program

JW:b

cc: Richard K. Bennett
Mayes Behrman
A. Hurford Crosman
Douglas Steere

January 23, 1953

Mr. M. R. McClatchey,
Southern Aluminum Finishing Co.,
1581 Huber Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. McClatchey:

Your letter of December 27, addressed to Douglas Steere of Haverford College, has been referred to me.

I am sorry to say that the American Friends Service Committee is just beginning its operation in the Southern area and as yet we have no program in the Atlanta vicinity. I am also sorry to say that we can offer you very little advice on your difficult problem. However, I am notifying George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council (63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3), and Miss Grace Hamilton of the Atlanta Urban League, of your problem and I feel certain that they might have some useful suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

JW:b

Jacques Wilmore
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Program

cc George S. Mitchell
Grace Hamilton
Douglas Steere
A. Hurford Grossman

COPY

SOUTHERN ALUMINUM FINISHING COMPANY
ALUMILITE FINISHES

1581 Huber St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

December 27, 1952

Professor Douglas Steere
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa.

Dear Professor:

Your name was given to me by Mr. Robert Giffen of the Atlanta Christian Council as a possible source of help in a problem which I have.

My problem has to do with the twenty odd employees my company has. Most of them are Negroes and many of them are totally illiterate. They are very prolific and the problems of an illiterate unskilled worker with eight or ten children staggers my imagination. More money might ease my conscience but I do not think would go far toward helping them. Often it seems that more money merely increases their capacity to undertake debts which they are unable to carry out.

The area in which most of them live has dwelling places which are unfit for human habitation. My first inclination was to try to furnish suitable houses for some of them with the help of the FHA. Due to the Metropolitan Zoning Ordinances, I find that this will not be possible in the area in which they now live. My next thought was to work through one or both of the two churches in their community. It was with this thought that I approached Mr. Giffen.

Mr. Giffen has told me what great work your Society of Friends has done with problems of a similar nature and suggested that you might have records of some of them. He further suggested that you might know someone in this area whom I might contact for advice.

I will appreciate whatever information you can furnish.

Very truly yours,

M. R. McClatchey

afse

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 3, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 4
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I wish to thank you for your letter of February 20. It was most kind of you to go out to see John Ivey about the possibility of using Negro technical personnel.

I will follow-up as you have suggested, calling on him the very first time I am in Atlanta.

Your claim for first place in my visit to Atlanta would have been fulfilled even if you had not expressed it. This compliment is, likewise, appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mayes Behrman

Mayes Behrman, Director
Merit Employment Program

MB:cg

P.S. George, I should have said thanks when you were here the other day. So sorry you did not have longer to stay. MB

AFSC

August 17, 1953

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

The only way I would know to go about finding people for the four new programs would be to go to those cities and start digging. In New Orleans I would start with Mrs. Milton P. Adler, 61 Versailles Boulevard. In Houston I would start with Carter Wesley, who runs the Negro newspapers in that part of the State. Address: The Informer Newspapers, 2418 Leeland, Houston 3. White advice would begin with Mrs. James Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 19; and Mrs. William H. Hogue, 5319 Cherokee Street, Houston 5. Consult also Tom Friedman, 1110 Bissonnet, Houston 5.

In Birmingham I don't know the right people any more, but I would start with Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Office, NAACP, 624 Masonic Temple Building, 1630 Fourth Avenue, North, and work from there.

Don't despair about Mississippi. Jackson is a boom town with a breeze of the oil-rich West in it. On the main drag men stalk about in ten-gallon hats and cowboy boots. Natchez has a whopping linoleum industry. CIO-organized and ready to be brought along your way. Meridian is doing things with its lumber business. I believe I would try Natchez.

Richmond would involve you in a relationship, easy or difficult, with the Urban League. They have a strong one there with good people. But I am sure that there is much additional that you could do.

Atlanta has a good Urban League, but it has had to neglect the industrial field.

Tartt Bell, August 17, 1953

Tip. Try to latch on to some veterans just back from Korea. People are disposed to do things for those boys, and my guess is the boys themselves are carriers of an earnest feeling about racial equality. And most of the businessmen they will be dealing with are ardent Legionnaires or something of the kind.

You will find schools of business administration at Tulane and Tuscaloosa and Emory, and possibly at Oxford, Mississippi, and certainly in Texas that would know a lot of young people with business connections.

If you happen to be driving Charlotte-way any time this week, I will be at Belmont Abbey Monday night and Tuesday night and Thursday night. Warren Wilson College Wednesday night. Day-long meetings, or I would try to come to Greensboro to see you.

Congratulations and good luck.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

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REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 11, 1953

RECEIVED
AUG 13
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

We are on the prowl again. Philadelphia has hit another jack-pot of some kind which enables us to move forward in setting up additional Merit Employment programs. Apparently, this is quite a bonanza and will mean support for four new programs in this field. We therefore are in desperate need of personnel and I again want to ask your counsel and advise. Have you discovered any additional possibilities who might not be involved in your own plans? I would certainly appreciate your giving this some thought.

One problem on which I am trying to get a change of policy is the stipulation by this foundation that this program be initiated exclusively in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. I can see New Orleans, Birmingham and Atlanta but even with my rose-colored glasses I can't seem to find a place for Mississippi in this set-up. The other place I very much would like to get started is Richmond, Virginia. What do you think about this?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Warmest regards.

B Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB/mbs

ns.

Friends Service Project
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia
August 21, 1953

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

As we come to the end of our Interne-in-Industry project in Atlanta, and begin to appraise the significance of our ten weeks of work and fellowship, we feel that our summer has been one of rich experiences.

The opportunities to work in factories in the Atlanta area were much more limited than we had anticipated, but jobs in commerce as well as industry have given our participants a broader knowledge and understanding of our economy, and of our social structures and of group and individual psychologies.

We have learned a great deal not only about management and labor problems but also about the work of Atlanta church and social agencies as they work to solve problems of housing, employment, racial discrimination, and so on.

We believe that the Southern Regional Council, because of the leadership of you and Harold Fleming and the devoted work of Emily Calhoun, Katherine Stoney, and others (especially Mrs. Tilley in the Georgia office), is making a significant contribution to progress in human relations.

Our work-and-study program, providing for evening discussions on different aspects of the Southern region, was possible because of many like you who gave generously of their time and counsel.

We especially want to thank you for your visits to the project, the wonderful evening we had with you and Mrs. Mitchell in your home, and your continuing interest in this Quaker-sponsored program.

On behalf of the 20 participants,
Sinderely,

Carl & Margaret Bennett

Carl and Margaret Bennett
Directors

INTERNE-IN-INDUSTRY PROJECT
Atlanta, Georgia
located at
Morehouse College

June 15 - August 22, 1953

WHO WERE THE PARTICIPANTS?

Bennett, Carl, 628 Forest Hill Road, Macon, Georgia Director

"It's a sin to tell a lie"

A Baptist ardent he.... Now, listen y'all .... Have we reached the sense of the meeting.... Wesleyan is the cradle of the nation's beauty .... This is a Quaker project but we have only one Quaker .... I go Pogo.

Bennett, Margaret, 628 Forest Hill Road, Macon, Georgia Co-Director

"Margie with the light red hair" (with apologies to Stephen Foster)

We're $___ in the hole.... I have to see Mrs. Boger.... Do any of you still have a Morehouse sheet.... She makes Saturday night's dining a pleasure .... Job in project - paper doll cutting.... $ per hour - in kisses from Patty.

Burton, Jack, 109 Page Avenue, Poteau, Oklahoma - University of Oklahoma, student

"Oklahoma!"

Shag boy.... Who wants to go to a downtown movie.... I'm just an Okie.... I'm not really a typical pre-ministerial student.... Snack committee and cottage cheese.... Future: running for President on Prohibitionist ticket.

Cunningham, Francena, Route 1, Box 90A, Charleston, S.C. - S. C. State College, student

"Sleepy-time gal"

The bed upstairs and the couch downstairs are empty without you.... Will you wake me up.... She loves cows.... That South Carolina drawl.... That grey sack dress.

Curtis, Arthur, 95 Ford Avenue, Oneonta, New York - Swarthmore College, student

"There are smiles that make me happy"

My name is Art but they call me Curt.... But the gas tank is full .... Let's sing on page 93 .... "Swing your partner right and left".... Our champ 'Jim Crowed' at tennis tournament - no whites allowed.... Heifitz at his ebb.

Gartrell, Eleanor, General Delivery, Washington, Georgia - Talladega College, student

"Lazy Bones"

A true Southern gal .... "honey".... we lost Eleanor after a few weeks but we know she had a "Pleasant" summer.... the girl of a 1000 disjointed segments... the only native of Georgia .... the swimming trip that never materialized.... drugstore hound.... what an effort to stay alive!

Kahlstrom, Inamae Cee, Guyton, Georgia; 1065 Nithsdale Rd., Pasadena 2, Calif.
June graduate of Occidental College

"I'm as happy as 'willow' in the springtime"

I was predestined to work in Georgia.... I'm happy to be alive.... Oh, golly... I'm going to go to Koinonia if it kills me.... I'm retiring for the summer.... Everybody is wonderful.... I'm going to be working in Guyton.... the blythe spirit, floating hair, miles of yardage, small town gal at heart, Kahlstrom laugh.

Keetz, Mary (Skeetz), Hilldale Rd., Villanova, Pa. Wilmington, Delaware, teacher

"An apple for the teacher"

Howard Johnson's .... 10 bucks a week and sore feet.... I'm going to burn this uniform .... I hate to get off the subject, but I'm a teacher in Delaware and I want to ask three questions... I think she raided her father's shirts.... Take me out to the ball game.... Chastain amphitheater, Stone Mountain.

Kilburn, Nan, 16 Dearing Avenue, Jamestown, New York. Allegheny College, student

"I'll Wait On You"

I've had such a good time last night.... I want to dress up sometimes.... Southern literature watered with dishwater.... Last summer in Delaware.... I made $___ today, but I had to give $2 to the busboy.... It's too bad I don't have a telephone.... gets insight into waitress' life.

Kotsonis, Denis, Katakoulou 42, Pyrgos, Greece. June graduate of Bowdoin College

"C'est si bon"

I tell you what - you take some olive oil, Greek cheese, economic equality and there you have it - a perfect society. These things are important to him - economics, olive oil, argument and cigarettes, guitar, sleeping outside, and a passport. I'm from Bowdoin College, that's in Maine... Now sir, let me ask you this.... the third leg of the triangle.

Lewis, Deloris, 1112 LaSalle Street, Tampa, Florida - Fisk University, student

"It's Wonderful !"

Fabulous, purely unadulteratedly lucious; youthful exuberance, plus.... Sanos... Every night when the sun goes in.... striving leg of the triangle.... she also sleeps outside - member of the moonbathers.... gets carried away.... spokesman of the oppressed tomato packers.... a 1000 words a minute.... When I was in California.... Once I took a modern dance course.... squeals when excited.... dangerous when the postman arrives.... I have so many brothers - not really, but I adopted them.... I want to grow up.

Moussu, Mireille, 1 Rue des Trois Clefs, Orleans, Loiret, France - Exchange student, 1952-53, University of Colorado

"If I knew you were coming I'd have baked a cake" (at A & P, that is)

"Roose" (Ruth).... Pardon.... French charm .... AWOL .... Our industrial girl all the way .... We lick the fudge off our hands when there's too much on them.... I have to wash my hair .... Around the clock .... Another moonbather.... her experience with taxis and supervisors.

Nabi, Ab, 1400 West Hickory Street, Denton, Texas - Box 203, Amman, Jordan North Texas State Teachers College, student

"Nature Boy"

Soaking feet and Southern Literature .... I have to get 6 hours this summer.... Bad checks.... A Texas drawl on an Arabian accent.... An ex-Moslem ... I believe in free enterprise.... "Sugar boy".

Rowe, Arthur, 210 Winston, Dormitory, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina - Aberdeen, North Carolina

"So Tired"

The silent type, he does all right in town, though.... sack hound.... Port and Pigalley and Mireille.... still water runs deep.... I'm from Aberdeen, a little town.

Vaughn, Ruth, 1620 N. Moore Avenue, Tyler, Texas Texas College, Tyler, Teacher

"Chatterbox"

Now wait a minute, I haven't finished.... But Mr. Pinckney, I already know how to jitterbug.... I don't care.... This may be irrelevant, but.... Cleanest room in house.... first with the newspaper.... Come on, anybody, let's dance.... 7 hours per day of relaxation.

Wolcott, Calvin, ATO House, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York - 86 Smull Avenue, West Caldwell, New Jersey

"Mule Train"

That tall boy, 6'5" and eyes of blue.... Jungle Jim for the little three.... Mr. Bennett, may I borrow your car Saturday night.... does his daily dozen before 12 hour stint.... the man about town, Smyrna included.... daily glimpse with mop and bucket.... buys milk by quarts.... always ironing shirts.

Worby, Cy, 719 University Park, Rochester, New York - Student, University of Rochester Medical School

"Tell Me Why"

I want to learn about the South - this is my first time here .... the 5 day stew .... what I want to find out is why .... let's analyze .... guitar, pipe, du-du .... the apex of the triangle .... expandable back seat .... fantastic, tremendous! .... the project was glad to accept Cy and his car .... the man in white and a 7 hour case.

Zimmerman, Isabelle, International House, Berkley, California - 790 37th Avenue, San Francisco, California University of California - student

"Takes Two to Tango" (on second thought, just one with Isa)

Oh, Eleanor, that man! flower in her hair.... Night Train .... sour cream and cottage cheese and raisins .... let's dance!.... I crossed the color line.... Shorty.... really!

The little Bennetts - Patty, Sue and Kay

Patty - I'm not Pattycake, I'm Patty Bennett.... a cute bundle of sweetness.

Sue - You're my target, Art .... curlyhaired.... Carl must have looked like this at six.

Kay - redhaired, pigtails, Indian feather - the oldest of the three.

Charlie Moreland - we can't forget him - not officially a member, but our liason officer, official representative and ruler of student cafeteria.

Last, but certainly not least - Firsty - the Bennett kitten, adopted by us, loved by everybody, including Ab, who said he'd never really cared too much for animals until he met Firsty.

Gladys Anderson (Mobile, Alabama), Barbara Bloom (Evanston, Illinois), Evelyn James (West Blocton, Alabama) and Enid Curtis (Miami, Florida) left the project early. Gladys visited us often as she remained in the city with a cousin. Barbara sent us chewing gum and candy from her father's warehouse. Evelyn got a job in Birmingham, and Enid went to Chicago with a YWCA project.

AND WHAT WERE OUR JOBS FOR THE SUMMER?

This project began with Ruth and Evelyn arriving two days ahead of the rest, as they did not receive the second notice, and with the girls being informed of the "No Linen" policy. Then we began the search for jobs. A week later, many "leads" later, many sore feet and worn out shoes, and disappointing replies of "No, we have no openings", most of us got jobs and things began to brighten. Except for a few lay-offs, we have had fair success. Deloris, Ruth, Francena, Enid and Eleanor began grading and packing tomatoes and after two days of this, Enid left the project, Ruth got a job at A. U. Francena, Eleanor and Deloris stuck it out a while longer, then Eleanor became a typist at Mutual Federal. Evelyn and Barbara left the project the second week, and Gladys, the third week. Francena became a nursery worker and Deloris began to grade bags instead of tomatoes. Nan and Skeetz went to Howard Johnson's as waitresses, where Skeetz remained. Nan quit, worked two days in another restaurant, was fired, and has since been working at Rhodes Restaurant. Inamae had perfect luck - predestination, probably - while she was in the Employment Office making inquiries, a call came in for a waitress at the Seminole. She stayed there 3 weeks, then "retired". Since then, she has acquired a job teaching in Guyton, Georgia - where she has been predestined since the 11th grade to work - and in her spare time has put together a catalogue for the Atlanta Oak Flooring Company. This lasted two weeks, and once more she "retired". Isabelle was also lucky. On her third or fourth day here, she got a job at Mutual Federal, doing secretarial work. Mireille pounded the streets for quite a while, then landed a relatively good paying job (in relation to the rest of us) at the A & P Bakery, where she dumped pans of pies, iced cakes, did everything she could to baked goods, and informed us that she "wanted no more rolls ever". That accounts for the girls.

What about the fellows? All of them had industrial jobs, except Cy. Cy needs a bit of explanation. He was a medical student at the University of Rochester last year, and this summer he decided to "learn about the South",as he puts it. He went to the Atlanta Urban League office when he arrived in Atlanta, and learned about us. He came out for a visit and stayed. Eventually, he was properly accepted - by the Friends, that is; we accepted him from the beginning. He worked as a Surgical Technician at Emory University Hospital; he's famous for his expandable car. In that car he had everything conceivable.- from straw seats to honey, from an ice box to medical books. Everything we wanted he had in that car. Cal had the most strenuous job - 12 hours per day, except one day when he worked 10 hours. One consolation, he only had to work 3 or 4 Saturdays. This meant that most of the time he spent at work, going to work, eating, mopping the bathroom and going to bed. Curt and Art got jobs at the C & H Fan Company, thus paving the way for Denis, who did a minimum of job-hunting, and then acquired this job at C & H. Ab had little difficulty in finding a job, as he had experience as a machine shop worker. However, he worked 3 weeks for a company which folded, and all his checks bounced. This was cleared up, though, and after a short trip to North Carolina, he got another machine shop job. Then Dennis was laid off at C & H, and began working with Ab. And last of all, Curt and Art were laid off at C & H,two weeks before the project ended. Jack worked with Southern Aluminum. His boss came out to speak to us from the manager's point of view.

That accounts for all of us - except Carl and Margaret who did the overall supervising, taking laundry, buying groceries, taking late sleepers to work, depositing money, listening to gripes and making wonderful contacts for us.

THAT'S ALL!

WHAT HAVE WE DONE OTHER THAN WORK?

It is stated in the publicity bulletin of the Interne Program that .... "In any type of interne program hours after work are filled with discussions - ranging from those guided by visiting 'faculty' members to those around the dinner table or to the bull sessions which are carried on while washing dishes or cleaning house". We have certainly lived up to that description. Our 'faculty' has come from many areas of community life. During the first week or so, we were occupied with the problem of finding a job. Giving us leads were such persons as Bob Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League (he later invited us out to his home for a social evening and has generally been one of our "guiding stars"), Rebecca Neal of Family Service, Mr. Puryear of the Urban League, Mr. and Mrs. John Stanley (who have visited with us often), Emily Calhoun, William Nix of the Personnel Department of Morehouse College, and Dave Burgess of the CIO (who also came back to tell us about his union and who went with us on a picnic at John Ramsey's in Lithia Springs). Dr. Mays, one of the life-savers of the project, invited us to his home twice.

After most of us secured jobs, our Education program began at full speed. We have had "faculty" members from labor, management, social service, race relations agencies, and other areas. George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council invited us to his home for supper and a discussion. Grace Hamilton of the Urban League invited us to her home for an informal evening. Mr. McClatchey, owner-manager of the Southern Aluminum Company, spoke to us from management's viewpoint. Rev. Calhoun of the Presbyterian Church and Rev. Cason of the Baptist Church told us about the Church in the South. Miss Zimmerman described the workings of Family Service, a community chest agency. Mr. Chilnik of the Atlanta Jewish Community Center invited us out to the Center where we discussed everything from what the Center does to cultural pluralism. James Mackay, a prominent lawyer in the area, told us about politics in the South. Morris Abram, also a prominent lawyer in Atlanta, talked with us about the cases before the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the common schools and what possible courses of action the Court could take. Lee White of the CIO talked with us concerning organizing in the CIO. Dr. Boyd of the Political Science Department of Atlanta University was at Bob Thompson's home when we visited there, and he told us about cases in Georgia concerning entrance of Negroes to state universities.

Not all the summer has been devoted to discussions, lectures and working. Our social engagements ranged from invitations to homes to a picnic given us by the local Friends at Gammon Theological Seminary (where Dr. Richardson, President, invited us). We have taken two field trips to cooperative communities - Macedonia and Koinonia. There have been group parties and there has been individual entertainment - movies, plays, concerts, dances, etc. The religious committee sponsored a series of discussions on the various religions of the world. And, of course, we visited churches in the city - in groups and individually.

And now at the end of this project, most of us realize that what was written in two pamphlets published by the Friends - "Becoming Aware" and "A New Reality"- is true: "The experience shared in interne projects does not have the reality of natural beauty, ... (it) is not a reality of ready comradeship - that stuff of which so much of college's and life's best is made. ... (it is) an experience dealing in a new reality....a broadening of appreciation ....or becoming aware. ....Every interne left (Chicago) with new concerns and a new appreciation and awareness of his world and his society". The same may be said of the Atlanta internes.

Office Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]
2600 Flora St. Dallas, Texas

To: Mr. George Mitchell

From: Byron Buckeridge

Subject: Reprint of "Prejudice is Losing Out in San Francisco"

Date: Dec. 2, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 3
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

We can use 100 copies of these reprints if you have them. Please bill us.

Also, I would like to have a talk with you after the first of the year. Do you plan to be in these parts, or is there going to be a meeting of SRC where we can get together?

Kind regards,

Byron

Sent 12/4/53

December third, 1953

Miss Irene Osborne
104 C Street N E
Washington 2, D C

Dear Irene:

I tried my best to get down for my proper visit on my trip a few days ago when I was 1 loose thereabouts in Washington.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 29, 1953

Mr B Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
336 Church Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thank you for your letter and for all the news. The hundred copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS were duly sent.

We have put out now a follow-up one that will enable discussion groups which have worked through QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS to find the facts on present differences between their local white and Negro schools. Quantity price on QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - 12 cents; on CHECK LIST - 8 cents.

The North Carolina Division of SRC has so far come to life as to arrange to have a copy of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS sent to some hundreds of County School Board members in North Carolina. That ties in with what the Friends are doing.

In connection with what Mr Charles Carroll told Clyde Milner, observe in QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS the paragraph on Page 13 in which the State Superintendent of Schools in Kentucky obviously recommends freedom for individual counties in that State to open up if they want to.

With some exceptions, you will find the Press in most Southern cities are cooperating in the way you suggest in your letter after someone has talked to the editor ahead of time.

No early plan for getting to North Carolina but I always want to.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

October 15, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 15
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Have been terribly pushed recently, hence, my lack of correspondence. Many thanks for your communications. I trust by this time you have received our order for a hundred copies of "Questions and Answers." Congratulations! It is an excellent piece of work which I am sure we are going to find extremely useful.

I believe you would like to know what is being done in our neck of the woods. At the Yearly Meeting of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting , held in August, a special sub-committee was appointed to explore ways in which Friends might be helpful in preparing the minds and hearts of people in their local communities for whatever changes are required by the Supreme Court decisions expected in December. I suggested that as a first approach to this Friends ought to go quietly to the chairmen of the County and City School Boards to inquire to what extent these boards had even talked or thought about the problem of integration, and to express the conviction of Friends in those local communities, that they personally were going to stand enthusiastically behind the efforts of the School Board to implement the Supreme Court decisions, rather than to circumvent them. I believe that in the near future a good many School Boards will be approached by the Quakers in North Carolina on this basis. A natural follow-up of this of course will be for them to put helpful information in the hands of the key people in these communities, and it is as this point that your pamphlet will be handy.

American Friends Service Committee

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

George Mitchell, October 15, 1953

At another level, James Mattocks, who is chairman of the Yearly Meeting, and I have gone to the City Superintendent in Greensboro, High Point, and Winston-Salem to explore with these gentlemen what kind of attitude their School Boards have, and what is going to be the extent and nature of the problem of achieving integration in their own communities. We also have gone in company with Clyde Milner to the State Superintendent of Education, Mr. Charles Carroll, to talk with him about this whole problem. Carroll's response was an interesting one. He says that the School Board on the state level is taking the position that regardless of the nature of the Supreme Court decision we are going to have a state supported public education system in North Carolina, and there will be no foolishness such as South Carolina is preparing. He feels that as much freedom as possible will be given to the county units so that those who can move forward rapidly will be free to do so. Those which cannot move rapidly will be able to proceed at somewhat their own pace. The one point in which we were concerned about Carroll's position is that the State Board is not assuming anything like the leadership in meeting this problem which really is imposed on it by the nature of its responsibilities.

I talked at great length this morning with the chairman of the Greensboro City School Board, who has a very fine attitude on this whole problem but who feels that they really can't do anything until the actual decisions are in hand. As a first step he is planning to send to each of the members of the local board a copy of the pamphlet. They have discussed the issue informally, but do not feel in position to tackle this as a formal item on the agenda of the School Board meetings, which are all public, and which are always covered by the local press. Incidentally, the Greensboro City Superintendent made a good suggestion in saying that it would be extremely helpful if some of us could go to the responsible people on a number of the important papers in this region to caution them about the handling of this item in their news coverage and to ask for great restraint. I do think this is a good point because many of these School Boards would be more inclined to discuss this issue open if they were not afraid of its being sensationalized in the local press.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

George Mitchell, October 15, 1953

It looks like we are about to add a second man to our job opportunities team in Greensboro but we haven't had any luck yet in finding additional personnel for the new programs we would like to get started.

If you are coming this way soon, be sure and let me know in advance. I certainly would welcome a visit from you. Warmest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

BTB/r

B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary

December 29, '53

Dear Miss Anne,

Man arrives Greensboro-High Point airport 12.07 P.M. Saturday January 2nd, not needing at all to be met, and will get himself under own steam to Bennett College pronto. Stay in that vicinity till the 11.45 P.M. plane out of Greensbor Monday night January 4th. Sorry not to arrive G'boro earlier on the 2nd, but as am to be in Mobile emancipating all day before am better off with a piece of a night's sleep that worrying my way through the murky hours.

Best,

GSM

December 23, '54

Dear Anne,

I've been out spreading notions at Berea and elsewhere, and so am late answering your hospitable letter of the 14th.

I long ago promised to be at Mobile for an Emancipation Day talk on January 1st. They haven't told me what time of day, but I guess about 11 AM. If so, I should be able to catch an afternoon plane from there and get to Charlotte by 6.35 that pm, and on to Greensboro by train or bus or plane before 10.00 on the night of the First. Even if they hold me in Mobile till evening I cann still get well up the line by the morining of the 2nd, and can engage to be on hand from say 9.30 on that morning. OK to stay till and through Monday the 4th. You do anything with me you wish.

No chance of taking Alice on the plane, but I did in triumph get her to Berea!

Best to all,

G.

American Friends Service Committee

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Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

December 14, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 17
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

There has been rejoicing in our office since I telephoned you and learned that you will be able to come to the Alumni Reunion of the American Friends Service Committee in Greensboro at Bennett College, January 1st through the 3rd.

I hope to get to you in the mail by the end of the week a skeleton of the program. We hope that you will arrive on January 1 and be on hand for every session. I am wondering if you will be driving up or if you will come by train. It would be great fun to have Alice come along and will you please let me know whether or not she will be able to come.

I hope you will plan to have supper with me on Sunday night, January 3. I have asked Warren and Helen Ashby, James and Edith Mattocks from High Point, Ross Groshong and perhaps one or two others to come in to my apartment for supper with you on that night. I think possibly Dick Bennett from Philadelphia will be coming down for the Reunion too and of course I will ask him to join us for supper.

We had a meeting of the local group of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen in Greensboro last Tuesday and James Mattocks, who will also be on the program at the Service Committee Alumni Reunion, spoke on preparation of the local community for the forthcoming Supreme Court ruling. He created quite a bit of interest among the people in the group and Warren Ashby and I are wondering if you would be willing to stay over and meet with the group on Monday night for a session at which time we might really get down to some practical steps as to what we might do in a very positive and practical sort of way in the local community dealing with school boards, school superintendents etc. If you could stay for that meeting we would hope to get some of the preachers there and other leaders in the community who would be interested in sitting down with you and thinking through unemotionally and creatively what their responsibility is in the local community today. Warren and I thought perhaps you might be able to stay over and do a little propagandizing for the Council during the days following the Reunion.

George S. Mitchell December 14, 1953

There is another group of Quakers who want you to meet with them very briefly on Sunday afternoon. Our sessions at Bennett will close with the noon meal. That will give you an opportunity to meet with them and then come to my house for supper on Sunday night. This is the Peace Committee of the Asheboro Friends Meeting and a group of Quakers who are interested in developing some kind of a continuing interest and activity in this whole field of integration in education. You can see that we are really going to use you to the greatest advantage.

I cannot tell you how much we look forward to your coming, and I know that the days with you in Greensboro will be very precious and very meaningful ones for all who have contact with you.

Please give my greetings to Alice and to other friends in the office.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Queen

Anne E. Queen
College Secretary

AEQ/cb

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

December 30, 1953 CONFIDENTIAL

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I've done very little but as much as possible on checking what might be learned about you people and the Fund for the Republic. Haven't learned a darned thing. One problem is, of course, that we have neither entre nor magic.

The best I could get was some judgment and since one guy's is as good as the next, you won't need it. A non-AFSCer who has seen Freeman recently feels that the direct approach is probably the best. In view of what was told your Board member, hinging around the Christmas date, why not you or said Board member call Dave and ask what the score is while telling him frankly the situation?

A year and a half ago I could perhaps have been helpful but time moves on and my hand has lost its skill. Wish I could get to Greensboro but I can't. Hope to see you soon.

Cordially,

Dick

B:b

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

1954

January 6

Dear Miss Anne,

You and all your friends were kindness itself to me. I appreciate all minor and major attentions, but most of all your kind faith in bringing together the cream of you own friends to have put before them the expostulatings of this GSM. I am chary of whom I put in front of speech-makers, and appreciate your putting such nice people in front of me.

Best,

G.

RECEIVED
JAN 8
Southern Regional Council

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 7, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

In behalf of the Service Committee Staff, the Alumni of the Service Committee who attended the Reunion, and personally, I want to express my deepest appreciation to you for the fine job which you did in Greensboro. I want also to express appreciation for the local Fellowship of Southern Churchmen which you served so willingly and admirably on Monday. I hope you feel as good about the luncheon meeting on Monday as I do, and I really believe that something good will come out of that meeting.

The fact that the group was such a diversified one on Monday night was perfectly obvious to some of us. You did a fine job there as usual and I believe that some action will come out of that group very soon. I think that you will be interested to know that Douglas Moore on our staff is calling Methodist ministers now and that they will meet in the near future to discuss the question in Greensboro. As a matter of fact, every minister he has talked with so far, has said that they have already been discussing it in small groups but would like to talk together about the problem.

I promise you that a follow-up about the Reunion and the meetings on Monday will be forth coming very shortly. Florence Irving, the girl who was Chairman of our Committee, and I are going to work tomorrow afternoon on a report which will go out to all the people who were there and also to other Alumni in the Region. I am going to get in a plug for the Regional Council material at that time.

It was so good to have you at my apartment for dinner on Sunday night and then again on Monday night to talk with Luke Carroll and Joe Pedigo. I hope very much that we will be able to start some sort of a special group among some of the people in the Labor Movement. I feel that they have a great deal to contribute, and I feel the same way about them as you do, about the initial planning on the part of Negro and white groups. I think they must be in on the planning.

Dr. George S. Mitchell January 7, 1954

This brings my very best wishes to you and a check will be coming to you as soon as our treasurer gets back into the office. She is out sick at the moment, therefore, there is no one here to write checks.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne E. Queen
College Secretary

AEQ:sh

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

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Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 12, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Sorry to run out on you. I had a good visit in Pasadena. I was glad to learn on returning this morning that you stirred up the animals around here a bit.

Thanks for your letter. When I see Curtis Dixon the first part of next month I will ask him what has happened on our suggestion about preparing teachers for some of the problems that are to come. I am interested in the meeting next month of state school administrators. I wonder who is getting this group together and what kind of slant the meeting will have. I hope to see you soon. I may be invading your territory before long.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

January 6, '54

Dear Tartt,

I talked with Fleming here, and then called the man Phillip Coombs, in the Fund for the Advancement of Education, in N.Y., about the new kind of Jeanes teachers. He said a meeting of State School Administrators was being held early next month, and gave me notions of howthis idea might, with C. Dixon's cooperation, get into the stream. I took appropriate steps with Dixon, and think something quite fruitful will result. Its nothing SRC can do, but I'll bet there'll be some trained extra human relations Jeanes teachers a'coming up.

Sincerely,

GSM

Had a good time in G'boro, and most appreciate everybody's committment of precious good eggs to my temporary custody. I believe Greensboro is going to behave.

G.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
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Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 12, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed you will find a check for $45.51 in payment for your expostulatings before the good people in Greensboro when you were here for the Alumni Reunion January 1-3, 1954.

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I shall file away along with two other letters which I will always keep. One is from Dr. William J. Hutchins and the other from Dr. Hatcher, my major professor in Berea.

Again, accept my very special thanks for the fine job you did.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne E. Queen
College Secretary

AEQ/cb
Enc.

January 13, '54

Dear David Andrews,

That's quite all right, and I'll be happy to come to Guilford for June 6-11.

Write me more when you program jells.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM/gsm, hence short note!

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

336 Church St. Greensboro, N. C.

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 12, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

I thought you did an excellent job on integration in the schools during your recent visit here. You wrapped up a lot of facts and philosophy in your illustration about the Southern jaw-breaker.

This is an inquiry rather than an invitation, since my committee will not meet until the 21st, but I wanted to ask whether you could come up as a full-time faculty member for the Carolina Institute of International Relations in June.

Anne Queen says you know the Institute. We expect to have 100 community leaders from all over North Carolina and other Southern states for the period June 6-11. Since the Supreme Court decision should be a burning issue at that time, it would be excellent if you could be with us on the school integration question.

We would want you to give at least one (and maybe two) major address and lead a morning workshop daily on the South, the schools, and race relations.

Although the Institute as a whole will be dealing primarily with colonialism and revolution in so-called underdeveloped countries, we feel the school situation is so urgent we must not neglect it. Actually, the two subjects are by no means unrelated.

If this works out, we can offer you an honorarium of $100.00, plus your full expenses. The Institute will be held this year at Guilford College, and will be conducted on a fully integrated basis, including housing and meals as well as sessions.

I would appreciate an answer from you as soon as possible about whether you could be available, so I can present this to my committee next week.

Best wishes in your work.

Sincerely yours,

David Andrews

David Andrews, Secretary
Community Peace Education

DA:mr

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JAN 25
Southern Regional Council

January 22, 1954

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm
Route 3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Doctor Alexander:

Last night I talked at a dinner meeting with a Business and Professional Women's group of the Episcopal Church. The question in which they were most interested is what preparation should be made for what they believe the U. S. Supreme Court will say about segregated public schools. They seem to be of the opinion that the court will rule out the separate but equal philosophy at least to some degree.

It will be a tremendous task to deal with this situation and it cannot be done entirely on a voluntary basis by persons like myself through speech making and informal conferences. This is a problem which needs expert full-time and large scale attention. As you have your fingers on the pulse of the South, I hope that you will do everything possible to encourage some source to provide the financial assistance needed for work toward the solution of the problem. You know, of course, of my long-time interest in the Southern Regional Council. It is my considered judgment that this is the agency through which we in the South could best work, and I am hopeful that the Council can find support for such a program. Your efforts in this direction will be rewarded, I believe, through greatly improved human relations in our region.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

RECEIVED
JAN 25

January 22, 1954.

Dr. Will Alexander,
Route 3,
Chapel Hill,
North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I understand that the Doris Duke Foundation is considering making a grant to the Southern Regional Council to aid that organization in preparing the South for the impending Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools.

It seems to me that the Southern Regional Council's record through the years clearly demonstrates its competence to use any such fund in a constructive manner, and to do the most effective job in this field that any Southern agency could do.

The SRC has, it seems to me, demonstrated a balanced viewpoint, and has shown that it believes in sound progress in race relations. It is forward looking, without being radical, and it enjoys the confidence of leading Southern Negroes, who serve as officers and directors. It also has an impressive list of white officers and directors, and enjoys the esteem of informed and open-minded white Southerners.

I hope it will be the pleasure of the Doris Duke Foundation to make the contemplated grant.

With all good wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

VD

Virginius Dabney.

The Chattanooga Times

January 25, 1954

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the fine draft. I had it recopied on Chattanooga Times letterhead and sent it Dr. Will today.

Best Regards,

Alf Mynders

Alf Mynders

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

AM/ea

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

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MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr., *Vice-President*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary*
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I. N. PHELPS STOKES

REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Sr., *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 25, 1954

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FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, *Director*
FREDERICK L. ROWE, *Executive Secretary*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).

CABLES: "Stokesfund"–New York.

EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD, Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

There has recently come to my attention the possibility that a Foundation here in New York is interested in interracial problems of the South, and would like to know of some reliable agency to which it might grant funds.

As you know, I have, over the past several years, been associated with the Southern Regional Council, which is the outgrowth of the old Interracial Commission of which you and my predecessor Dr. Moton were co-founders.

The Southern Regional Council, under the leadership of Dr. George Mitchell, is wielding a most constructive influence in the South. It has encouraged Southerners of both races to face up frankly to the changing times and to take the necessary constructive steps to improve race relations economically as well as socially. It has done this by working with the agencies of government, religion, education and social welfare.

In my opinion this organization has not received the substantial support it deserves, and for which it could render a large service to the South and the nation. I am sure the Southern Regional Council can be given an unqualified indorsement.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. P.

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

Copies to:
Dr. Will W. Alexander
Dr. George Mitchell

C
O
P
Y

January 25, 1954

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I am sure you feel as urgently as I do the need for wise and effective effort in the South to meet the challenge of the impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation. The decision, whatever its precise nature, will almost certainly call for a profound adjustment of Southern racial attitudes. And the way in which that adjustment is made will have not only national, but international significance. These weeks before the decision is handed down are precious and should be used to strengthen and expand the positive elements in the region.

I know of no other organization that has approached this task with as much understanding and skill as the Southern Regional Council. As a newspaper man, I have observed the remarkable influence of its publications dealing with the segregation issue. Despite its limited resources, the Council has had astonishing success in reaching church and community leaders and stimulating constructive action on their part.

I earnestly hope that ways can be found to give the Southern Regional Council the financial assistance it needs in order to increase the scope of this important work.

Faithfully yours,

ALFRED MYNDERS

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Route 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

AM/ea

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 25, 1954

Dr. Will W. Alexander
R. F. D. #3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Will Alexander:

Two weeks ago in Pasadena at a conference of representatives from the National and Regional offices of the American Friends Service Committee, I expressed a concern that so little is being done in the Southeast to prepare for public school integration. As you well know there is a staggering need for constructive work at the community level. Aside from the question of the Supreme Court decisions, which personally I expect to move far in the direction of eliminating any legal support for segregation, there will be a long range demand for interpretative materials, training of community leaders in the techniques of handling race relations tensions, organization of school and church resources for peaceful change, etc.

In view of the regional, national and world-wide importance of race relations in our region, would it not be possible to secure substantial support from some foundation for an imaginative and helpful program by an indigenous agency, the Southern Regional Council for example, which has already made such a fine contribution in this field. It seems to me a great tragedy that a way cannot be found now to channel into effective hands some resources of the foundations we know to be deeply interested in this particular race relations crisis.

I believe an adequately staffed and financed effort on the part of the Coucil would be a great help to numerous groups and organizations now working on the general human relations front in the Southeast.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to explore this suggestion immediately. I would be glad to be helpful in any way which seems to be appropriate. Perhaps it would be worthwhile for some of us to get together to discuss this suggestion and related matters. I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

C
O
P
Y

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
Atlanta, Georgia

Office of the President

January 28, 1954

Dr. Will W. Alexander
c/o Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Knowing of your very great and continuing interest in the improvement of your native South and of the many very substantial contributions which you have made toward the realization of your goals for your section, I am taking the liberty of writing you about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I think the South is on the road to the day when we will see a vastly improved relationship between the two major groups which live in the area. However, you know that great danger lies ahead of us, particularly in the immediate future, unless we properly prepare the white and Negro peoples in the South for the acceptance of whatever the decisions may be which our Supreme Court will soon render in the public school segregation cases. There are, unfortunately, demagogues still with us who would make political capital out of any desegregation decision which the Court might hand down. We need the carefully planned work of a skillful group organized under the aegis of an organization like the Southern Regional Council to see to it that in each southern state men and women of good will and of courage of both races will know each other and will work together.

The Southern Regional Council is the one outstanding organization composed of eminent Southerners of both groups which can work in this field effectively. It needs money for its work and for the implementation of human relations in the South. Anything which you can now do to help the Council get the funds which it needs for this work will be greatly appreciated by all of us and will be another great contribution which you will have made.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Rufus E. Clement

REC:v

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 25, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

The Reverend A. Dudley Ward
740 Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dudley Ward:

My name is Douglas Moore and I met you last summer at Boston University School of Theology in the Ministers in Industry Program. As you may recall, I was the young man who inquired about the leadership of the Central Jurisdiction on the Commission of Social and Economic Relations.

I think our Commission on Social and Economic Relations ought to be concerned about a possible Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. If the Supreme Court does rule against segregation, then many local communities are going to be faced with "hot coals" that they are not prepared to handle. As things now stand, the prongs for receiving such a hot issue are not available in the South. That is, we do not have a strong enough public opinion that is able to handle such a decision. Practically no one in the South is doing anything to prepare both white and Negro people for a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools.

Therefore, it seems to me that Methodism in those states that will be affected by such a decision ought to be out in the fore front forging an instrument of public opinion that will be able to hold a hot Supreme Court ruling.

I have already been contacting both Negro and white ministers in the Greensboro area in order to get them to start talking about the problem. They are very interested and they know that they cannot stick their heads in a hole like the ostrich and deny the problems that are likely to occur if the court passes its decision abolishing segregated schools.

Most Negroes and whites do not have the facts about schools and the courts. Many of the whites feel that Negroes will make mass entrance into the white schools and many Negroes feel that they will lose their jobs. Both propositions need to be aired and looked at from what the facts will really show. Then too, we should create such a positive

atmosphere that the potent negative forces in various communities will have very little effect on the action of the total community, if any at all.

There are two men that I know in the Greensboro area who have done some thinking about this problem: Mr. B. Tartt Bell, a Baptist, and Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee; and Attorney James Mattocks, a Quaker of High Point, N. C. These two men have done some good thinking on this problem. However, the person who has done the most thorough job in thinking about this problem is Dr. George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. This man would be a valuable resource to any endeavor that our Commission might undertake, if it so desires to do this. He knows the South better than any other man that I have met recently.

I am sending you one of the documents that he has gotten out on the problem of Schools and the Courts. This is one of the best pamphlets on the subject. I hope that the Commission will give some thought to this problem.

I am looking forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. If any other news developments occur on the grass root level, I shall let you know.

Yours through Christ,

Douglas E. Moore, Ass't. Director
Merit Employment Program

DM:gh
Enclosure

c.c. Bishop Edgar A. Love
Dr. George Mitchell

February 5, 1954

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

We are grateful to you for your most helpful letter of January 28 to Dr. Alexander. Let us all hope for the desired results!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 5, 1954

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Virginius,

I thank you for that fine letter to Dr. Alexander.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 5, 1954

Mr. A. W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dent,

Good of you towrite so effectively to Dr. Alexander. Our warmest appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM;hh

February 5, 1954

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders,

I do greatly appreciate your writing to Dr. Alexander. Let's all hope for the desired results!

Sincerely,

GeorgesS. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 5, 1954

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Patterson,

That was most kind of you to write just as you did to Dr. Alexander.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 5, 1954

Mr. B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt,

Just the right touches in your letter to Dr. Will. Our warm thanks for immediate understanding and action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 8, '54

Dear David Andrews,

That's all straight, and I'll be on hand June 6-11.

Sincerely,

GSM

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

RECEIVED FEB 5 Southern Regional Council

February 4, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

I wanted to let you know that our Carolina Institute Committee is very enthusiastic about having you with us as a full time faculty member for the Carolina Institute of International Relations at Guilford College, June 6-11.

We would like, therefore, to make this a definite invitation, for the type of assignment outlined in my letter of January 12.

I would like to write you further in March or April, giving more definite information about the theme and content of the Institute. If you will be able to take part as indicated in your letter of January 13, you need not answer this letter.

We are looking forward to a great time at the Institute this year, and much good can be accomplished by your being there.

Sincerely yours,

David Andrews

David Andrews, Secretary
Carolina Institute

DA:mr

SEC. 34.66 P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
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Permit No. 62
GREENSBORO, N. C.

PURPOSE OF THE INSTITUTE

The purpose of this annual institute is to provide an opportunity for the serious and objective study of the pressing problems of world affairs closely related to peace. The development of well-informed, spiritually sensitive leadership for local communities is a primary goal of the institute and its faculty.

WHO SHOULD ATTEND THE CAROLINA INSTITUTE?

The Institute is open to anyone regardless of race or creed, who is concerned about world affairs and the prospect of a third world war. Though especially helpful to leaders from church, educational, and other community groups, it is attended with great profit and pleasure by businessmen, housewives, students, and others.

Twentieth Annual

CAROLINA INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 8 - 12, 1953

THEME:

"Spotlight on World Conflict Areas"

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING . . . the basic causes of world conflict, with emphasis on what *you* can do to help build a world of justice, good-will and peace.

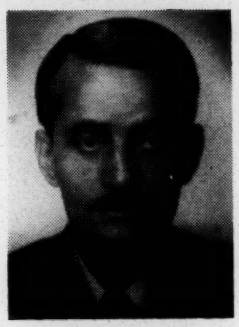
GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

Sponsored by

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
(Quakers)
336 Church Street
GREENSBORO, N. C.

G. L. Mehta

D. Hiden Ramsey



Amiya Chakravarty

Stuart Morris

The Faculty

Dean of the Institute
MIRIAM L. LEVERING

G. L. MEHTA—Indian Ambassador to United States and Mexico.
After Indian independence, President of Tariff Board and member of National Planning Commission.
Former member, Indian Constituent Assembly; president, Indian Chamber of Commerce; leader of Indian delegations to economic conferences at Geneva and New York.
Educated at University of Bombay and London School of Economics. Author of three books—including, "The Conscience of a Nation," on Gandhism.

HIDEN RAMSEY—Newspaper editor and N. C. civic leader.
General manager of Asheville **Citizen-Times.** Past president, N. C. Press Association and N. C. Conference for Social Science.
Member, N. C. Board of Education; chairman, Trustees of W. Carolina Teachers College; vice-president, N. C. Medical Foundation.
Keynote speaker for N. C. Democratic Convention of 1940, and elector-at-large.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY—Teacher and author; on leave Calcutta University.
Former literary secretary to Tagore, and close associate of Gandhi. Has travelled widely in Europe, Middle and Far East. Advisor to Indian Delegation to U. N., 1950.
Visiting professor, Howard University, Yale, and Princeton. Now professor of English and Humanities, University of Kansas.
Author of several books, and contributor to N. Y. Times, U. N. World, Manchester Guardian, and other periodicals.

STUART MORRIS—General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union in England.
A member of the National Peace Council, he is in close touch with Peace Aims Group in House of Commons, and the British Foreign Office.
Went to Germany after the War to help revive peace movement there; has returned annually since.
Former minister in Church of England, serving in East End of London, as canon of Birmingham Cathedral, and director of Industrial Christian Fellowship.

A. J. MUSTE—National Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Served on Commission on Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches; is now Secretary of Commission on Christian Conscience and War, Church Peace Mission.
Was Director of Presbyterian Labor Temple and the Brookwood Labor College, New York.
Author of "Non-Violence in an Aggressive World," contributor to many books and periodicals, and special lecturer at Union Seminary and Yale.

FRANK ROUNDS—foreign correspondent; recently with U. S. Embassy in Moscow.
In Russia 18 months as Embassy attache under Kennan and Kirk. Author of new book, "Window on Red Square."
Far Eastern correspondent and Chief of Nanking Bureau for "World Report," 1946-47. Earlier, a Navy press officer in Europe and Pacific.
Graduate of Princeton and Harvard, with M.A. in Russian Language and History. Candidate for Ph.D. at Harvard.

PROGRAM

(All sessions will be held at the Friends Meeting House unless otherwise announced)

MONDAY, JUNE 8

4:00 p.m.—Registration begins—Friends Meeting House

8:00 p.m.—Opening Address—"India's Role in the East-West Conflict"—*G. L. Mehta*

TUESDAY, JUNE 9

8:15- 8:45—Worship period

9:00-10:30—Address—"Asian Peace Efforts at the United Nations"—*Chakravarty*

10:30-12:00—Daily Workshops

4:30- 5:30—Panel and Forum—"Requirements for Peace in Asia"—*Entire Faculty*

8:00 p.m.—Evening Address—"How Can We Prevent a Third World War?"—*Hiden Ramsey*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10

8:15- 8:45—Worship period

9:00-10:30—Address—"South Africa: Non-Violent Resistance on Trial"—*Morris*

10:30-12:00—Daily Workshop

4:30- 5:30—Panel and Forum—"Next Steps Toward World Government"—*Entire Faculty*

8:00 p.m.—Evening Address—"Report from Moscow"—*Rounds*

A. J. Muste

Frank W. Rounds

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, JUNE 11

8:15- 8:45—Worship Period

9:00-10:30—Address—"Peace-Making Begins at Home"—*Muste*

10:30-12:00—Daily Workshop

4:30- 5:30—Panel and Forum—"How Can We Work More Effectively For Peace"—*Entire Faculty*

8:00 p.m.—Evening Address—"Why Germany Resists Being Rearmed"—*Morris*

FRIDAY, JUNE 12

8:15- 8:45—Worship period

9:00-10:30—Address—"The Meaning of Russia's New Peace Policy"—*Rounds*

10:30-12:00—Daily Workshops

4:30- 5:30—Panel and Forum—"What Follows the Cold War?"—*Entire Faculty*

8:00 p.m.—Evening Address—"Which Way to World Security?"—*Muste*

THE DAILY WORKSHOP PERIOD

The workshops are an opportunity for special study of topics of particular interest to Institute attenders. Greatest benefit is derived by attending regularly the same group. They are:

1. "The Power of Non-Violence"—Muste
2. "Essentials for Peace in Europe"—Morris
3. "Understanding the New Asia"—Chakravarty
4. "Why They Believe Like Russians"—Rounds

Application for Further Information and Registration

Please fill in the following and Mail to American Friends Service Committee
336 Church St., Greensboro, N. C.
(No deposit required)

_____Register me for full period—room and meals

_____Will need room and meals for _____ nights and days

_____Please send _____ copies of program for distribution to friends

Name _____

Address _____

Institute Committee

Chairman

CHARLES PHILLIPS

SAMUEL R. LEVERING

FRED I. RYPINS

EUGENE E. PFAFF

MARVIN L. SKAGGS

DAVID D. JONES

ROBERT H. FRAZIER

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CECIL W. ROBBINS

AFSC Executive Committee

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RUFUS WHITE

CHARLES HENDRICKS

JAMES R. MATTOCKS

CHARLES G. DOAK

WALTER A. COBLE

Executive Secretary

B. TARTT BELL

General Information

COSTS OF THE INSTITUTE

Total Cost—room, board, tuition	$23.00
Daily Rate—room, board, tuition	4.90
Tuition Only—admission to all sessions	8.00
Tuition, per day—four sessions	1.75
Evening Series ticket (transferable)—five sessions	2.50

ACCOMMODATIONS FOR ATTENDERS

Housing and meals are provided for all attenders on the campus of Guilford College. Main sessions of the Institute will be held at the New Garden Friends Meeting House, on the Guilford Campus. The accommodations are private, comfortable, and extremely reasonable in cost. Those wishing to stay with friends or find other accommodations may do so.

SCHOLARSHIPS

A small scholarship fund has been established for the benefit of those who are especially anxious to attend and need financial aid. Do not hesitate to apply or to suggest application to others. Many groups send official representatives on a scholarship and find it an extremely worthwhile investment. Arrange now for your clubs to do so.

THE BOOK ROOM

For sale in the Book Room will be assembled a selected list of the best and latest (as well as some old favorites) pamphlets and books on politics, economics, religion, and world affairs in general. Many feel that the sessions are only a beginning and the full value of the experience is realized through further study. Come prepared to take home a good supply of materials.

DAILY WORSHIP PERIOD

A morning worship period will be held daily. The inspiration and fellowship of this period has given perspective and meaning to the other sessions in a way that has been much appreciated through the years.

IT'S A VACATION, TOO!

Movies after the night sessions, some special music and informal sings together, plus other opportunities for relaxation, help make the Institute a pleasant and enjoyable experience. It's a VACATION WITH A PURPOSE!

Address all inquiries to

DAVID ANDREWS, *Institute Secretary*
336 Church Street
GREENSBORO, N. C.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 5, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Ruth Morton of our Community Relations Division was telling me recently of a community in Tennessee which has decided to effect integration of school (more accurately, she was referring to the high school) whenever it is legally possible to do so. Ruth Morton does not remember the name of the community and she refers me to you for it. My interest is to find situations in which the work camp program might contribute to the development of school integration in the south. One thought I have had is that if we can find a spot where the climate of opinion would permit, we might make a special recruiting effort among the high school students and get together a group of Negro and White students from the community in a work camp somewhere with the hope of developing the nucleus of a friendly relationship. The Tennessee community sounded to me like a possible place for such a venture hence my interest in locating it.

I would value your comments about this idea, and any other ways in which you think work camps can make a contribution in this area.

Very sincerely,
Percy H. Baker, mb
Percy H. Baker
Director, U.S. Work Camp Program

PHB/lb

cc to Ruth Morton

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 5, 1954

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

At a meeting of several AFSC staff members in Washington, D.C. last Sunday to consider problems of integration, Anne Queen showed me a mimeographed list published by your organization. The title is "Southern and Boarder State Institutions of Higher Learning Admitting Negro Students." I wonder if you could let me have fourteen copies of this list. I know that each of our staff of eleven College Secretaries spread across the country would find such a list encouraging and useful. As you doubtless know, the whole field of race relations is one of the primary interests of American college students today wherever they are located.

I should also appreciate it very much if you could send me one copy for my own use of a report on field services for the Southern Regional Council from October 26th to November 6th, 1953 written by William H. Vastine. Anne also showed me her copy of this and suggested that I write you for another.

We have been using SRC material in our interpretive work on race relations throughout the country and value it highly.

Sincerely yours,

George Mohlenhoff

George B. Mohlenhoff
Director, College Program

GBM: nmc

Eaton
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 9, '54

Mr. Percy H. Baker
AFSC
20 South 12th St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Percy Baker,

The community which Ruth Morton would have mentioned is I suppose Clinton, Tennessee, described briefly on pp. 12 and 13 of Questions and Answers.

Here's a map of areas of the South with less than 5% Negro population. In any of these areas, but particularly in the Southern Appallachian region, getting rid of segregation would be comparatively easy, once the county boards of education were set free by the Supreme Court of State Constitutional requirements of segregation, and once each county were confronted with strict enforcement of separate but equal as against desegregation. It is to be remembered that a hundred years ago, in the mountains, men had a great question of conscience, and did not what their States asked them to do, pull out, but stuck, and opposed both slavery and disunion. Proper watering of the roots of that old tradition would help the mountainy people in these days to do what is right, against what is argued for by their State governments. And experience with work camps would certainly help.

Eastern Kentuck's easy, so's East Tennessee, or extreme Western N.C., or Southwest Virginia, or even Northernmost Georgia. Or the Ozarks.

More details if you need them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

March 10, '54

Dear George Mohlenhoff,

Pleasure to send you the list. It's pretty well up-to-date.

And the "Vastine Report". We hope that you and Tartt Bell will do something of the Vastine kind, in lightsome cooperation with SRC. We merely try to keep a master map of where people have worked, and we supply the pamphlets, and hope to get in a copy of each traveller's report to his or her own show. So far we've been able with help from the National Council of Churches to work central Ky., North Central N.C., and up-Country S.C.; and we ourselves got Mr. Parrish of Louisville to work Alabama. National Council has also worked for us Southeastern Virginia, and the Methodist Church has promised us five travellers a little later on, and the Appropriate Board of the P.E. Church has endorsed "operation log across the creek", and is seeking funds for some travellers.

I'll be in your town tomorrow at middle-day, at Frank Loescher's home. Call me there if I can do anything further by 'phone. That's Thursday in Philadelphia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 16, 1954

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Thanks very much for sending me the report of Vastine's trip through Kentucky and the list of colleges admitting Negro students. I should like to have a dozen additional copies of the latter list if they are still available.

I am awfully sorry that I was out of town on the day you were in Philadelphia at Frank Loescher's home. I should have appreciated the chance to have talked with you.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Mohlenhoff

George B. Mohlenhoff
Director, College Program

GBM: nmc

Green copy

March 16, '54

Bell

Dear Tartt,

Thanks for March 12 let.

Here's the famous Vastine Report. And a letter to a Methodist lady in Tennessee that explains history. And more on method.

Sure, do unhook anybody wise that you can, and try it on. Two counties, maybe, for a starter, and then see if you could manage some more. For the time being I give you everything from Kernersville West to Murphy.

I'll be up your way over the week-end, I hope, and will try to find you. But go ahead on your own if you can.

Sincerely,

George

PS. Please mark off on your calendar if you haven't got it committed May 6,7,8,9 for a most interesting eighteen-man confab at Williamsburg, Va. on what to do in South. W and N, keenest people. All out planning. Expenses paid.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

~~225 Euclid St.~~
617 W. Market St.

Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman
Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, Chairman
Rufus White, Treasurer
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
B. Russell Branson, Associate Secretary

March 12, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Sorry to miss your telephone call on March 10. I believe you were told that Anne Queen has been making plans to go to Europe this summer for one of our workcamps and is in a rush right now trying to get her recruiting done in the colleges. We don't have anyone else quite up to the job you have described. I can look around, however. Our best bet would be to find some seasoned Methodist preacher. Shall I look around for someone?

I certainly hope the pipeline between New York and Atlanta can be unclogged. The best of luck to you.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

AFSC

March 25, '54

Dear David Andrews,

Glossy print herewith.

Born in Richmond, Va, 1902. Went to school in Virginia, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Maryland and Delaware. Undergraduate work at University of Richmond, and graduate work at Johns Hopkins, whence PhD in Political Economy in 1926. Studied three years at Oxford. Instructor in Economics at Columbia College, in Columbia University, 1929-33. Ten years in the Government, mostly in U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1933-44. Southeastern Regional Director, CIO-PAC 1944-45; Director of Veterans Service for Southern Regional Council 1945-46; Executive Director since 1947.

I'll try to do what you want done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 19, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

The theme for the Carolina Institute, June 6-11, will be "Removing the Causes of Communism and War", subject to slight changes in wording. The Supreme Court decision on integration should fit in quite well with this. We would also like for you to bring out clearly, in your workshop and addresses, ways in which the problem of race relations does have a lot to do with war and communism.

Please send us as soon as possible a good glossy print of yourself, for publicity and program use. + a biog. sketch.

opt 14

We are looking forward to having you with us. If there are any questions or suggestions, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

David Andrews

David Andrews, Secretary
Carolina Institute

DA:mr

op. 20 - Atlanta
3871 President's office
Guilford
2696 → Library
9136 Hope Hall

March 26, '54

Dear Thelma Babbitt,

Done, with pleasure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
MAR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 24, 1954

George Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I think you may remember Ralph Rose who used to work with us here heading up our Job Opportunities Program. He is now in Birmingham, England, studying and working at Woodbrooke College, a Quaker Center.

We have just had a letter from him telling us that the Birmingham Christian Social Council has requested Woodbrooke and Fircroft Colleges to undertake a survey of the employment of colored people in that city. Ralph is asking our help in locating material which will show techniques and methods used in this country in doing similar surveys and studies.

It occurred to us you might have such material and we think of the Greenville, S. C. self-survey with check-list, etc. particularly. Would you be willing to send such material as you feel would be helpful to Ralph directly. His address is:

Ralph A. Rose
Woodbrooke College
Selly Oak, Birmingham 29, England

If you cannot undertake to do this, we shall of course understand.

Most sincerely,

Thelma W. Babbitt

Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Job Opportunities Program

Ralph Rose

March 26, '54

Dear Ralph,

Friendly hands across all the distance.

Thelma Babbitt wrote that you are into some fact-gathering on employment matters in Birmingham, and could use material on the Greenville Survey. I send separately the manual, and the Greenville results, with a most interesting editorial from a vigorous Negro editor in Columbia, on the changes the survey accomplished in Greenville. Since then Shreveport has done a similar job, and Rock Hill is near to starting one. I was in Greenville just a few days ago, and found the results still in evidence. The trick is to have the Committee most carefully constructed, of just the right people, and to make the Committee do the work itself; and then meet regularly after the survey is done, to tick off accomplishments and concentrate plans for the next ones.

.....

Quite largely with Loescher's help, and with Freeman's cordial interest, too, the F for R people do seem almost ready to take something off the stove. That's a fire you had a lot to do with the building of.

Best to all of you,

Sincerely,

RECEIVED
APR 2 1954
Southern Regional Council

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 W. Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

April 1, 1954

Ans'd.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am expecting to be in Atlanta from about Saturday, April 10 through Tuesday the 13th. I would like very much to have a conference with you if possible during that time.

If you can please let me know the most convenient time, I shall try to arrange my schedule accordingly, even if it means coming a little earlier or staying longer.

An early reply in the enclosed envelope will be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Bill

William V. Roosa, Director
Church Peace Education

WVR/cb
Enc.

P.S. Please reply to:

Box 1546
Greensboro, North Carolina

April 20, 1954

Anne E. Queen
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Anne:

How very kind of you to write, and also to send us the clipping about Dr. David Jones. You or somebody sent us the editorial too. It is balm to the soul to people in our line of business to see a little piece of machinery work so neatly.

I hope by the time I get to Guilford you won't be going off to Indo-Whosis or wherever it is you are going.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 W. Market St. Greensboro, N.C.

RECEIVED
APR 15
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

April 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

There is almost as much rejoicing around these quarters as if the "Quakes" had gotten $240,000 from the Fund for the Republic. We are delighted that the Council got this much money and we hope that it will get that much more at the end of eighteen months when this sum has been spent. I am sure that you will use the money wisely and therefore hope that the appropriation will be renewed at the end of the eighteen months.

I am sending to you two clippings from the Greensboro Daily News which I think you will be very interested in. One is that the Guilford County Medical Association has become integrated and also Dr. David Jones, President of Bennett College, has been appointed to the school board. There was a good editorial the day following that, but I seemed to have lost that. I will call the Greensboro Daily News and get a copy of the editorial which I will send to you very soon.

Please give my greetings to Alice, Kathryn Stoney and to others in Atlanta. We are looking forward very much to your coming to the Carolina Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne E. Queen
College Secretary

AEQ/cb
Enc.

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 W. Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

REGIONAL OFFICE

Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

Dear George,

Thanks for your note. Here is another clipping. I'll see you at Guilford.

Anne 2.

RECEIVED
APR 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 23, 1954

Dear George:

It will be a lot of fun to fan the breeze with the boys at Williamsburg. Could you please give me a little bit more of an idea immediately of exactly what territory we are going to take in? What do you hope to see accomplished out of this confab? Tell Katherine thanks for the travel schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date April 28, 1954

To: George Mitchell

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: A GOOD SPEECH

Here's a copy of a good speech Jim Mattocks made at the Greensboro Community Council last week. As the first important open discussion of this problem it was well received. More copies of it can be had from Herb Kinney, Executive Secretary, Greensboro Community Council, Church St., Greensboro.

BTB:mr

p 6.

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

Talk given by Mr. James Mattocks, High Point attorney, to Greensboro Community Council on April 20, 1954.

- Title -

"How Will The Supreme Court Decision Affect Greensboro and North Carolina?"

For many years the South has been preoccupied with problems arising out of the division of our citizenship into two areas along the line of physical distinctions. Regardless of past or present merits of such division, it creates problems, not only for individuals, but for the community - for the state - for the whole region - for the nation. These include problems of individual behavior, problems in civic association and government, problems in industry and commerce, in residential patterns, and in school organizations.

We feel, with good reason, that we in the South have made and are making good progress in developing a democratic society knitting together the two groups which, not so many years ago, were widely separated in tradition and culture. But now our time table is speeding up - those who a year or so ago said, "Leave us alone for 50 years and we will work out everything," now say, "Leave us alone for 5 years and we will work out everything."

We will work out everything - it won't take fifty years, it may or may not take 5 years; but the people of North Carolina will accept and resolve their responsibilities properly and in good conscience. And, if past experience is any criterion, what we do here will be in a better spirit and in more genuine cooperation than what has heretofore been accomplished in some areas outside the South, where lip service is paid to integration, but the practice is in flagrant violation.

Integration with us will be just one more step in the normal development of an adequate public school system adjusted to the needs of the community.

Such an adequate integrated school system is just one more step in the development of a genuine and effective democratic society.

The genius of our democratic political tradition is the emphasis on the value of the individual citizen. We are concerned with the well being of people, not the glorification of the State. We place our faith in the judgment of the people.

Also, our economic experience has shown us the great value of a system allowing tremendous opportunity for the contributions of individuals. Freedom to invent, develop and improve in any direction the human mind may seek; the height of accomplishment, in general, being unbounded by the humbleness of origin. So, too, the genius of our religious experience is the infinite worth of an individual. Our religion is pervaded with interest in people, even though they be poor and lowly.

If this concern for the importance of individuals crops up persistently in all our fields of human experience, then, perhaps, it is a principle by which we may safely be guided. If so, the efforts of our society should consistently be directed toward increasing the dignity and developing the personality of each individual. In this, all citizens of the South look toward the same goal, the difficulty arises on the timing and the immediate practical application.

In this picture of progress, public school integration is only a small part; nevertheless, at this time, a very important part. Right now we are concerned with this particular small part, because of the impending decision of the Supreme Court. These five cases, now pending before the Supreme Court and consolidated for decision, pretty well cover the possibilities.

The Washington, D. C. case involves the 5th amendment; the State cases, the 14th amendment.

In the S. C. case the Court found the negro school inferior, but held that the local authorities should have a chance to equalize. On later hearing it was held that satisfactory progress was being made toward equalization.

The Va. case is similar, and in which the Court directed the school officials to proceed with equalization.

In the Kansas case the lower court found the schools substantially equal, so the question is purely one of segregation.

In the Delaware case the Court found the negro schools were inferior; and, in order to get immediate equality, ordered the negro children admitted to the white school at once. The defendant school authorities contend that they should have a reasonable time to equalize.

There is little point in belaboring the constitutional law right now; what law we have is not clear, and we will very shortly have new law. There is vast difference of opinion as to what the Court will do, but the clearest consideration of principles is set out in the questions raised by the Court for reargument.

* * * * * * * * * * *

1. What evidence is there that the Congress, which submitted, and the State legislatures and conventions, which ratified the fourteenth amendment contemplated or did not contemplate, understood or did not understand, that it would abolish segregation in public schools?

2. If neither the Congress in submitting nor the States in ratifying the fourteenth amendment understood that compliance with it would require the immediate abolition of segregation in public schools, was it nevertheless the understanding of the framers of the amendment.

   A. That future Congresses might, in the exercise of their power under section 5 of the amendment, abolish segregation, or

   B. That it would be within the judicial power in light of future considerations, to construe the amendment as abolishing such segregation of its own force?

3. On the assumption that the answers to questions two "A" and "B" do not dispose of the issue, is it within the judicial power, in construing the amendment, to abolish segregation in public schools?

4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violate the fourteenth amendment,

A. Would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographical school districting, negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

B. May this court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

5. On the assumption on which Questions 4 "A" and "B" are based, and assuming further that this court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in Questions 4 "B,"

A. Should this court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

B. If so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

C. Should this court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

D. Should this court remand to the courts of first instance with directions, should the decrees of this court include - and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at these specific terms of more detailed decrees?

It is proper and important that the consequences of these cases be discussed now, even before the decision is handed down, because

(1) Irreconcilable positions have been and are now being taken

(2) This is a matter about which many people are highly emotional, and the atmosphere may well be calmer at the present than it will be later

(3) Prejudices are being stirred for political and other purposes not directly connected with the welfare of the school system

(4) The matters involved, especially public schools, go to the very basis of our society

Therefore, responsibility rests on those who have concern for the best interests of the community, to see that tensions, ill-will and misunderstanding are avoided, so far as possible, and that progress be made for the benefit of all.

* * * * * * * * * *

By reason of the nature of our legal system, the nature of our school system and the patterns of our social life, the problems involved in the integration of schools will vary in each community, and will have to be solved by each community. Our responsibility is our own school district. The decision of the Supreme Court either way will not solve our problems - whatever the decision, it will raise new and difficult problems.

The status quo cannot be maintained; separate but equal means the end of separation. No two institutions can, in fact, be exactly equal; and, even though equalized with unlimited money and care, such an arrangement could only produce endless litigation constantly putting the school boards to legal proof of continuing equality. We all know how, even in schools inside the white or negro system, certain schools are always considered more desirable than others.

* * * * * * * * *

Can we say that there are some facts that will tend to ease the situation in North Carolina -

(1) There is a strong general tendency to be law abiding and to conform to the decisions of the Courts

(2) There is a strong general tendency to accord all citizens their rights, whatever their rights are found to be

(3) There is a great reservoir of good will between races, and a history of progress and enlightenment

(4) There is an experience of wide association between races in business, industry and other fields. The facets of cooperation already existing are surprising in number.

Accepting for the purpose of discussions the proposition that the Supreme Court will, at least, move in the direction of school integration (in which direction, I think, most signs point.) - what are some specific considerations.

(1) We must bear in mind that the school system is a white folks school system; that it is controlled and operated by white people; and that the responsibility for what is done or not done is upon white school boards.

(2) Similarly, the problems will be mainly white folks problems; and, to a very large extent, these problems exist only in the minds of the white people. That, of course, is not to say that they do not exist, the very fact makes them the more difficult to solve.

(3) Furthermore, however much calm deliberation should be urged upon all, a mere injunction to negroes to be patient, without more, will neither be effective, nor come with very good grace, if it should turn out that a violation of law is involved. Patience is a virtue; but, by itself, does not move us down the road of progress very rapidly.

Patience can, however, be reasonably expected if it is a part of a well considered program of genuine advancement.

(4) Whatever the decision of the Supreme Court may be, it will not mean any general social revolution.

(a) It will not move residential sections bodily from one area to another

(b) It will not change the jobs of workers

(c) It will not alter economic stratification

(d) It will not force any revolution in social patterns

(5) Given a decision directing integration, it will not immediately affect more than a small minority of school children - the patterns of residential development being what they are now.

(6) Regardless of the opinions of any court, the school boards will continue to reflect community opinion; and, under our system, each locality has wide discretion and authority.

What are the problems that white folks point to?

(1) Will white first graders be so upset by the presence of negro pupils that they will be unable to learn their lessons? We know that small children have no prejudices; thus those most immediately affected would object only insofar as they could be induced to express the prejudices of their parents.

(2) Will white children be unable to learn from negro teachers? This proposition, of course, will not bear close scrutiny. I am advised, in fact, that the better class, meaning wealthier, children of the South always have and still do spend the majority of the time of their early years under the supervision of negro servants, which servants are generally drawn from the less educated portion of the negro community.

(3) White school authorities raise the following as real problems:

(a) White parents, even if they allow their children to study in the same room with negroes, would never allow a negro to teach any room in which there was a white pupil.

(b) A white teacher would never serve in a school where there is a negro principal. (I can throw no light on these matters - I can only report that they are cited by reputable school authorities.)

(4) Negro teachers are incompetent - While this may be entirely true, it impresses me, having had no experience in school administration, as a curious argument.

(a) It immediately deals the death blow to any hope of separate but equal schools.

(b) It implies that our whole system of training and accrediting for negroes is a sham.

I have taxed negro educators with this assertion of incompetence. While denying any such generalization, they tell me that they will shed no tears over any negro teacher who is displaced because of actual incompe-

tence. So it seems generally agreed that negro teachers who are incompetent must go. This leaves only the white administrators' problems, - will negro teachers who are competent be retained?

There are many reasons for this; - educational institutions; economic, industrial and commercial development; effective social organizations; responsible leadership in civic affairs; concerned and dedicated religious groups; and a fine school board, superintendent and staff.

For these reasons, and many more, it will be easy to make sensible adjustments in Greensboro that would be difficult to make in some other areas. Therefore, I think it is fair to say to the citizens of Greensboro that you have a responsibility for leadership that may be unequaled in the whole South. If you accept your responsibility and discharge your leadership in a conscientious and effective manner, your contribution to the development of the South could be tremendous.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

What are some suggestions for approach?

(1) Have a responsible, open-minded school board, superintendent, and staff, both negro and white. I think you are already in very good shape on this item.

(2) Have an inter-racial committee of responsible, capable citizens to work with school authorities, P. T. A., and in all other fields, towards the best possible integration adjustments in the school system.

(3) Have a permanent commission as a part of the city organization, to keep abreast of conditions; exert informed leadership in all fields of inter-racial adjustment; and to be invested with such authority as might appear proper.

(4) Sponsor or encourage regional meetings or studies by and for the benefit of school boards and administrators in solving their local problems.

(5) Counsel with and support state legislators in their efforts to meet any school problems calmly and fairly on the State legislative level.

(6) Use this opportunity to present facts about schools to the public and to develop greater interest in and support for all aspects of the school system.

These are some of the problems. We have found no inclination on the part of school personnel to take any aggressive leadership, which is proper, I suppose. Nor have we found any inclination to wreck the school system. People in North Carolina seem to be pretty well sold on good public education; and they are not going to destroy our school system on account of integration, or anything else.

However, there is a tendency here or there to feel that the spirit of the decision might be evaded by gerrymandering of school districts, dispossession of negro renters, employer coercion, etc. We feel very strongly that any attempt to distort or evade would be inadvisable, creating unnecessary ill-will, and that each area can move openly and fairly in the manner that good conscience directs.

In addition, all those concerned feel very strongly that newspaper, radio, and T.V. reporters and commentators should exercise sound judgment and responsibility; and that irresponsible or inflammatory reporting could cause needless confusion and tension.

* * * * * * * * * * *

While we sense, in this area, a general feeling of ability to adjust without undue strain; careful preparation should be made. Furthermore, it appears that in some areas there is an attitude of inability to cope with the problems, or even a disinclination to try to make the adjustment.

We in North Carolina generally accept, or perhaps merely claim, leadership among southern states in progress and development. Certainly developments in this state will be watched with interest, and our experience will carry considerable weight throughout the South.

In North Carolina, the piedmont section is usually assumed to have the greatest experience in social, industrial and cultural development. In the piedmont section, Greensboro has not been averse to accepting credit for leadership in these fields, and such credit appears to be well justified. We have been advised, by those who are familiar with the whole South, that Greensboro may today be in about the best position of any southern city to provide sensible, effective leadership in the integration of public schools.

(7) Encourage existing social, civic and religious organizations to study the matter and adequately inform themselves.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

This is a situation in which religious groups, particularly, ought to give assistance and counsel to school boards and superintendents and assure them that they will have the support of responsible citizens in their orderly, careful and conscientious efforts to administer our public schools in accordance with law and in the best interests of the community.

AMENDMENT XIV

Section 1. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

. . . . . .

Section 5. "The congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

AMENDMENT V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

May 3, 1954

Mr. David E. Swift
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Swift:

I saw Frank Loescher the other day, and he very kindly offered me some help from you in locating a useful field man to travel around the South. His job would be to get started and supervised the twelve new state programs in race relations which we are now authorized to build up.

It takes a man with judgement and character, and possibly he should be a youngish fellow because it will give him magnificant training and he could grow into the very greatest stature in all of these matters in the South. $7,000, perhaps $7,500. If you can tell me of one or two people who might be good, I would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 W. Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 5, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

I am sure you noted on the Carolina Institute program that we would like you to do the following for us:

1. Lead a daily work shop or seminar session on the general subject "Why We Behave Like Southerners".

2. Give a major morning address on Friday, June 11, primarily for the full-time participants, on the subject "The Courts and the Schools".

3. Take part in the afternoon faculty panel and forum each day on the topics listed. We may vary the composition of the faculty panels from day to day.

Please let me know your travel plans for the Institute: when and how you will arrive and whether you want me to make the reservation for your return trip.

Looking forward to an outstanding Institute, I am

Sincerely yours,

David A.

David Andrews, Secretary
Carolina Institute

DA:mr

cc: Louise Andrews

May 11, 1954

David Andrews
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear David:

All straight for the Institute. And I hope I understand my activities in it.

I would like to have my wife along. Of course, at the Mitchell family's expense. I can rarely get away with her and this is a time when we could.

Also, I am driving my children up to, or toward, a camp in New York State between June 3 and 6. I will try to get myself, with Alice, back down as far as Greensboro by the evening of Sunday, June 6, in time for the Harrington speech. But if I do not appear until 8:30 on the morning of Monday, June 7, do not worry about me. I will appear.

All my travel will be by car and you need not worry. I will show.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 21, 1954

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

It seems to me that New South should do quite soon a short description of the developments in the schools in Greensboro. I know how hard it is to write something that gives the rest of the waiting South sufficient inklings of what is going on but does not reveal too much.

I wonder if you would write for us two, three, or four typewritten pages that would tell the story. Longer if you want, but I imagine that compression will enable you to avoid public repetition of attitudes and commitments which were personal and local. A little about the layout of the town population-wise and its schools; some of the organizations in the town and county who took an interest in the matter; sketchy details of what meetings were held; the decision to appoint a Negro member of the school board; the appointment itself; and the noble resolution after the Court's decision.

I do think the rest of the South ought to be cheered by Greensboro's leadership, and the newspaper accounts will soon disappear into the past.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Copies to:

Anna Holden
Harold Fleming

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Job Opportunities Project for Minorities

2600 Flora Street

DALLAS 4, TEXAS

TELEPHONE PR-4861

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Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
AUSTIN, TEXAS
John G. Barrow, *Chairman*
W. A. Smith, *Treasurer*
Olcutt Sanders, *Executive Secretary*

May 27, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A couple of nibbles have developed at Fisk and at a school in Texas. If these do not materialize, Dot and I will head for Columbia University and may see you in enroute. Thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Byron

Byron Buckeridge

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MAY 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 West Market St. Greensboro, N.C.

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MAY 31 1954
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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 28, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of May 11, about travel and other plans for the Institute. We will look for you either Sunday evening or Monday morning.

It will be fine for Alice Mitchell to be with you. There will be, of course, no tuition charge for her and no room expense, since she will be with you; just her meals.

As for your role at the Institute: The Supreme Court decision is a top question in its own right, and you need not feel obligated to stress the very real connections between your subject and the over-all theme.

Your daily workshop subject "Why We Behave Like Southerners" is intended to give you an opportunity to give background information and insights on the whole South, past and present.

We are looking forward to seeing you both.

Sincerely yours,

David Andrews

David Andrews, Secretary
Carolina Institute

DA:mr

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mr. Tartt Bell
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

A good guy we know, named George McMillan, at Aiken, South Carolina, has a commission from The Reporter to do a story about Greensboro and the schools business. I talked with McMillan today and gave the names of a few people up there who would help him, and promised to write to you and say that McMillan is a straight guy. His wife worked for us for years at the Farm Security Administration and George and I have been good friends since he came down to these parts.

He is a Knoxville boy, with an excellent record in the Marine Corps and did a prize winning book on the First Marine Division, and had a Guggenheim for doing something on things Southern. Now free-lancing. Sometimes a bit picturesque in his language for Quaker connections, but a sound and able technician. Do help him if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Miss Anne Queen
335 McIver Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Anne:

I am whirling around so fast these days that news only hits peripherally -- and better still centrifugally. I had my mind all set for you to be going to the outer ends and now you land up in Cone Hospital. But I am glad you are going to stay and help us all in this part of the world.

I hear great things out of Greensboro. I sent a guy named George McLean to see you and talk to you. He is a good egg.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

335 McIver St.
Greensboro, N.C.
May 25, 1954

Dear Mr. Gunge,

I've saved all the editorials and all the stories on the Supreme Court decision for you. I will clip in the next day or so and send them on. Of course I'm referring to the ~~did~~ editorials etc in the Greensboro papers you can take pride in Greensboro. I'm proud of it

I know you have the money to hire some one

else to read this stuff but I want you to read it yourself.

I won't be going to Indo-China or anywhere but maybe Alaska. I had to make a trip to Case Hospital instead. Jack Stoney sent me just the card I needed to hold me down and put me back in shape.

Greetings to everyone in the Office and to Alice

Sincerely,
Anne Zinn

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date June 1, 1954

To: George Mitchell

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: REPRINTS OF COURT DECISION

Do you know anyone who is planning to reprint the Court Decision? I am told by my lawyer friends that the services through which the lawyers regularly get these decisions cannot possibly deliver this one in less than three months. In any event I think it would be very helpful if there was some way we could lay hands on a simple reprint of the complete decision. Do you know where this can be had?

BTB:mr

June 4, 1954

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

George Mitchell is away, so I am answering your memo of June 1.

The decision will be carried in full in a pamphlet which we now have in the works to be titled Answers for Action: Schools in the South. However, it will be a matter of several weeks before that is in print.

The decision will also be printed in the revised edition of the Ashmore Report due out in about two weeks. Incidentally, there is supposed to be a paperbound edition at $1.50 each.

If you need only a single text of the decision, the best printing of it I have seen was in U. S. News and World Report for May 28 — coupled with the Washington decision and notes.

I know of no plans to print it separately in quantity.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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REGIONAL OFFICE
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Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

June 16, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

Our sincere thanks to you for the excellent job you did at the Carolina Institute. It was an ideal time to have you with us. To me, your way of explaining the South and also the Supreme Court decision is perfect.

I am enclosing our check for $130.22, which is the balance on your expenses plus the honorarium.

I am glad that Alice Mitchell could be with you last week. Our best wishes to you both.

Sincerely yours,

David Andrews

David Andrews, Secretary
Carolina Institute

DA:mr
Enc.
cc: Louise Andrews

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JUN 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 21, 1954

have noted name & address (ens)

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JUN 22 1954

Southern Regional Council:
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The correct name and address for "Edward Olive" is Howard Olive, 522 Farlow St., High Point, N. C. We forwarded the letter to him.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
617 W. Market St.
GREENSBORO, N. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

MRS. JOHN W. STANLEY
525 AVERY STREET
DECATUR, GA.

June 22, 1954

Dear George Mitchell

On behalf of the Atlanta Friends and the members of the A.F.S.C. Project, at Maryknoll, I extend our thanks and sincere appreciation for meeting with the Interns last Sunday evening.

You and your Colleagues give to each one of us courage and help that cannot be measured.

Sunday evening was our regular business meeting and for that reason we could not be with the group.

Again much appreciation.

Sincerely
Sherry R. Stanley

Dr. Geo: 7/12

Am planning to be in your fair city Th & Fri. May I use your place as an appointment site for a couple - three people I'm trying to see? Hope you'll be on hand. Tom

July 12, 1954

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Our Florida people will be having an Executive Committee meeting late this month, and a bigger meeting to get re-organized in September. Haven't you got some names of Florida people who might like to join in the effort to get a permanent and effective race relations outfit going in the State? If you can let me have some names I would get our Florida Chairman (Davisson Dunlap, a respected lawyer in Jacksonville) to cultivate them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 15, 1954

Mrs. B. Tartt Ball
The American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks a lot for Florida help. I have passed the suggestions on to Davisson Dunlap, at Jacksonville, our State Chairman there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 West Market St. Greensboro,

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JUL 14 1954
Southern Regional Council

July 13, 1954

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

The best names I can give you in Florida are: One, V. C. Johnson, Dinsmore Dairy Farms, Jacksonville, and second, Caroline Jacob, 130 19th Ave., S. E. St. Petersburg, Fla.

Johnson is a good thorough going (rebel) liberal! who is at the same time a successful Jacksonville businessman. Caroline Jacob is a weighty Friend who is or has been Chairman of their Peace and Service Committee. You may perhaps know there are about 1000 Friends scattered throughout Florida now and they get together for annual conferences of one kind and another. She would, of course, have names of other strategically located persons.

I can think of one or two others who might be helpful also. First, Ben Stalvey at the University of Miami. He has just returned from two years overseas for us. Second, Clyde Allee, University of Florida at Tallahassee. He likewise is a very weighty Friend who was quite influential in the meeting in Chicago.

Feel free to use my name with these folks for whatever it is worth. I would suggest also your getting in touch with the Florida Chain of Missions. This is a big interdenominational effort down there with which you are probably already acquainted. From what little we know of it, we understand that they have been very good about insisting on open meetings in all of the places where they have held sessions.

Sorry this is so disorganized but as you see one name leads to another. The final one I would like to suggest is that of Dr. Albert Kissling, pastor of the Riverside Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville. He is a very large big wig in church circles in Florida and has been very forthright on race relations affairs.

Best regards,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

July 20, 1954

Mrs. Thelma W. Babbitt
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Babbitt:

George Mitchell has asked me to reply to your letter of July 8. In our opinion the automobile assembly plants are among the more important companies for concentration in an effort to secure "employment on merit." The union has a sound "national policy," even though there is little evidence of it at the Southern local level. There are, of course, many Negroes fully equipped for the work of assembly -- which requires in the main skills acquired on the job.

The regional offices of federal government agencies, all manufacturing concerns with government contracts, the public utilities and the telephone companies are also important. You are at work on a difficult objective -- but we rejoice that the Friends are helping move towards it.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 8, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell, Exec. Secy.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

As you may know, we are operating a Job Opportunities Program in the Greensboro, N. C. area and expect to work in other areas as time goes on. We are making an effort to focus our work of trying to bring about employment on merit, on those companies which might be considered more likely to move forward toward merit employment.

Part of my responsibility here in Philadelphia is making home office contacts with companies which have branches in areas where we are operating Programs. Could you help us by telling us what companies, in your opinion, are considered symbols in the South and upon which of them you feel we might do well to concentrate our efforts?

Also do you have any opinion as to the areas of work for which there are fairly large numbers of qualified Negroes available, but which are now closed to them? While we of course are concerned with across-the-board merit employment, we should like if possible to push the fields where there are most likely to be a pool of qualified applicants.

We will be most grateful for any suggestions or comments you wish to make.

Most sincerely,

Thelma W. Babbitt

(Mrs.) Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Job Opportunities Program

cc to R. K. Bennett

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date July 21, 1954

To: Harold Fleming

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: Job Prospects

Did you get the address for me of John Scott and Cyrus Record from your friend at the CIO office? I'd appreciate your letting me have them immediately if they are at hand.

BTB:mr

Ans. 7/23/54

John Scott
3520 Walton St.
Columbus, Ga.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

July 22, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

Clarence Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Clarence:

Last week in Atlanta I had the opportunity of talking at length with George Mitchell about some of his plans for the future work of the Southern Regional Council. The Council stands now in a strategic position to be of service to the ushering in of a truly "new South".

Among other things, I was interested to learn of George's appeal to the Doris Duke Foundation. This project would make available an adequate picture of the developments in the entire Southeast by clippings from various newspapers.

I think it is a neat idea to entitle this collection something like "The Doris Duke Collection on the Changing South". As I understand it, this would be organized from the very beginning in such a way as to fit it readily into the library system used by Duke University, where it would ultimately be housed.

My only hope is that George is suggesting a project of sufficient dimension to capture the imagination of the Duke Foundation trustees. It seems to me they might well be under a sense of responsibility to plow some of this money back into the South where it is so desperately needed. All kinds of projects now will help to hasten the day when these southeastern states will furnish more of the kind of leadership in the nation and the world which they are fully capable of doing.

I hope you will have an opportunity to put in a good word with some of the persons responsible for the decisions of the Duke Foundation which will move them into this direction.

We were greatly distressed to lose the support for our Peace Education Program with church groups which had been coming to us from the Musser Foundation

in Minneapolis. We feel that the Service Committee program down here is progressing fairly satisfactorily. Our Regional Executive Committee is particularly anxious to initiate a program in the field of school integration. We are hoping that one of the foundations to which Dick Bennett is now presenting our appeal for funds will come through with an appropriation.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 23, 1954

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

After a long delay we are replying to your letter of May 3 to David Swift in which you asked for suggestions of those who might be qualified to serve as a field man directing the twelve new state programs in race relations which the Southern Regional Council is going to set up. We reviewed some of our personnel files and we would like to bring to your attention the name of Paul Blanshard, Jr., who is Publicity Director of George School, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Brief personnel data on Paul Blanshard Jr. is as follows: Date of birth: 5/30/19; married - three children; A.B. from Oberlin College with majors in Sociology, English, and Public Speaking; occupational skills include public relations, writing and designing of publications; experience as a reporter. He has been very active in the Human Relations Council of Bucks County.

We have no idea, of course, whether Paul Blanshard would want to consider changing from his present employment, but we feel he would be qualified for the type of job you have outlined. We realize you may have filled the opening by now since we have been so delayed in locating a suggestion to send you, but we wanted to bring Paul Blanshard's name to your attention in case you were still exploring for candidates.

Sincerely,

Catherine Naysmith

Catherine Naysmith
Assistant to David Swift,
Personnel Secretary

file

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 9, 1954

Mrs. Elizabeth Bradley
Community Relations
Child Study Association of America
132 East 74th St.
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Bradley:

Thank you for writing me on July 16, of your plans to develop materials which will be helpful to parent teacher groups and others in the process of desegregation in the public schools. I am very glad indeed to learn of your plan to make available some materials which you feel will be helpful on this problem. I am in complete agreement with you that we ought by all means to use all of the ready-made channels of access to parents and teachers and school administrators in offering some constructive suggestions of how the various problems connected with desegregation can be handled to the best interest and welfare of the children involved.

Unless I miss my guess, there will be a great demand for helpful materials from all groups connected with the school systems. We know and can anticipate some of the problems that will be faced but I feel certain there will arise new ones with which we have not up to this time had any experience. Your knowledge and experience with the parent-child relationship should certainly come in handy in meeting some of these new problems.

I shall be interested to see whatever materials you produce and would be glad to be helpful in any way possible.

Cordially yours,

B. Tartt Bell,
Executive Secretary

BTB:mr
cc: Harold Fleming

September 9, 1954

Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
104 "C" Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Irene Osborne; and Dear Alma Scurlock:

I do appreciate the kind mention of Answers for Action in the August Bulletin. It is going very nicely and it is being widely used in Churches particularly. We printed 20,000 and have sold about 12,000 a'ready. After we finish the first 20,000, we will get the printer to behave himself on the color map. He didn't on the first batch.

Devotedly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

File

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Job Opportunities Project for Minorities

2600 Flora Street

DALLAS 4, TEXAS

TELEPHONE PR-4861

NATIONAL OFFICE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
AUSTIN, TEXAS
John G. Barrow, *Chairman*
W. A. Smith, *Treasurer*
Olcutt Sanders, *Executive Secretary*

September 13, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sent 9/15/54

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please send us twelve (12) copies of "Answers for Action", and bill us for same.

It was very nice seeing you at the Fisk Institute. I am sincerely sorry that there were qualifications which prohibited Byron Buckeridge from working with the proposed Texas Office. He has returned to New York to complete work on his doctorate degree.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Almita S. Robinson

ASR:nmr

Almita S. Robinson
Acting Director

SEP 15 1954
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Billed
2.40
Postage .12
2.52

October 27, 1954

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Compulsory school attendance is so good and necessary a thing that one hates to contemplate giving it up. Historically, it came in because it proved necessary to protect children against parents who, in many cases, would have kept the children out to work. Just as in that period, the states felt that they could not afford a sizeable block of poorly trained youngsters coming along, so, in this period, and even more vigorously, the state cannot support even a small body of normal children who are not educated.

I think the more statesmanlike course is for local communities, acting through some of the citizens, informally, to meet bi-racially and in significant recognition of equal human dignity, attempting to reach agreement as to the pace at which integration shall proceed. My guess is that over most of the South the Negro people, offered a share in responsibility for the working out of the matter, will be anxious to avoid the hasty and will be constructive and helpful. This is not to say that they will not press for integration; but they will and they should. But it is to suggest that they will try very hard to present a plan that can be agreed upon in that community.

Also, it should be hoped, and said, that integrated schooling, after it has shaken down for a year or two, will prove to be a considerably more effective educational device than what we have known in the past in the South. While we have doubtless achieved for the white children a fairly good level of surface education, we have, in this bi-racial society, by keeping the two groups of children apart, been commiting an act of fundamental mis-education of the white children, and our whole society suffers from it. For the Negro children, we have not only woundingly committed that act of mis-education; we have but thinly accomplished even the superficial education that we give to the white children.

So, I would much rather proceed in a legal framework which contains compulsory school attendance, and which obtains sound and fundamentally moral, as well as superficial, good education for all the children.

Northern cities, further along in the industrial era than we are, but put under a similar pressure about integration, have felt it necessary to retain compulsory school attendance and to accomplish integration. We can afford less than Northern communities the skimped schooling that would go with relaxed compulsory attendance laws. And we can achieve a better kind of school by a good deal than we have ever had in the past.

So, I say, keep the attendance laws and find ways to integrate. And, varying from community to community, the pace would be arrived at by local agreement. There will be upsets, and in some communities where statesmanship would dictate slowness, speed will be urged and ordered. But, pervasively, I believe we can get through and keep schools that are integrated that everybody goes to.

I essay against the business of Bender. In a report of my friend, Dorothy Jonas at Winthrop, who studied certain communities in Hanover County, Virginia, there was a community named "Hell Town." When you go there and think you have got well into it and ask "Is this 'Hell Town'?" the pedestrian will say, "Why lady, it is on up the road a whole mile." Measure the mile and start again. "You done gone clean through it, it's way on back up the road."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

G.T.H. Advise on how to answer - G.S.M.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 3-4516

October 19, 1954
(Dictated 10/15/54)

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

RECEIVED 10/20/54 Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

In talking a couple of nights ago with a member of the Greensboro city school board and one of the Guilford County commissioners I was intrigued to discover that both of them are looking for the North Carolina legislature to meet the demands of the Supreme Court decision by rescinding the law requiring compulsory school attendance. They both seem to think this is the direction in which the Old North State will move. It seems to me to be an extremely interesting one, because it introduces in a somewhat new way the idea of voluntary participation in the desegregation process. Short of full voluntary participation, why wouldn't this be a much, much better way of handling the problem on a state-wide basis, rather than the foolishness of amending the Constitution so as to relieve the states of the obligation of providing public education? I have not had a chance to discuss this very much yet, but it seems to me this method might very neatly by-pass the completely unregenerate opposition of the die-hards. For those who have gotten themselves out on a limb by all of the loud talk about not wanting to send their children to school, etc, etc, the State and the rest of us then could say, "Okay, brethern, if you don't want to send your kids to school, you don't have to do so." It appears to me that this method might provide a maximum of flexibility and would not put the strain on our law enforcement system, which apparently is going to be experienced in some places.

Is this kind of thing developing in many other areas?

I heard a good story the other day that you ought to know. (You've probably heard five versions of it already.) Well, anyway, there were a couple of city slickers from Winston-Salem who had been invited to a cabin in the mountains to fish at their friend's pond. This was supposed to be at a place called Bender, N. C. After wandering all over the mountain for a couple of hours, these fellows were going down a little mountain road and came to a horse path where stood a ramshaklety store with an old mountaineer sitting out in front. They pulled up and

called the old man over and explained to him that they were lost, had been wandering around the mountains for a couple of hours, and were looking for a place called Bender. The old mountaineer looked at them sympathetically, reached in and put his hand on the driver's shoulder, looked him in the eye, and said, "Stranger, don't move a damn inch. You're sitting dead in the middle of it."

Warmest regards to you and your frau.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell

BTB:hr

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 27, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
2892 Ridgemore Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was mighty fine of you to give the time, especially on Sunday, which we spent together in considering our mutual interests in the work which the American Friends Service Committee has been and hopes to continue to do in Atlanta. The name of C. Wilson Record which you mentioned to me has been sent along to David Swift for further consideration while he is in California. Thank you for his definite address there.

As you are thinking further about our needs for the right persons for the Atlanta Merit Employment position with the committee and possible project leadership, I hope you will send suggestions along to me here in Philadelphia with copy of your letter to Tartt Bell in Greensboro and to Phern Stanley in Atlanta.

It is my hope that on another trip to Atlanta that I shall be able to meet and talk with George Mitchell. It will be fine for you to pass along the information which we considered together. We hope that he likewise may have suggestions to forward to us.

Best wishes in your work. We will certainly welcome the opportunity of continuing to work with both of you.

Sincerely,

Grace Powers

Grace Powers
Personnel Department

GP:ms
cc:Tartt Bell
Phern Stanley

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
11/12/54
Southern Regional Council

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LINCOLN 3-2773

November 8, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Your name comes up so often! It seems that everytime someone gets an idea it needs to be discussed with George. The result is that I have accumulated a goodly number of things to discuss with you.

First, I want to tell you about my trip to Knoxville if you have not already heard about it. The Knoxville Fellowship House invited me to speak on their forum series on November 1, to give a report of "Integration In Washington Schools." I stayed around town for November 2 and 3, and talked with several groups, a joint planning committee, and the county superintendent. It's hard for me to evaluate the effectiveness of such a project, but I was most impressed with the extent of interest which appears to be becoming vocal. I know that Mrs. Wilcox, with whom I stayed, and Mr. Beckman are working with your state group there, and I hope this will all key in successfully.

I also went down to Norfolk one day to talk with the Virginia Legislative Committee of the National Council of Jewish Women. Here again everyone was eager about hearing the Washington experience. I was particularly impressed with a group of young and active women from Norfolk; they seem to be followers of yours too.

I am going to join in an AFSC alumni meeting over New Year's in Greensboro, where we expect the school integration topic to get some attention. Aside from that I have no other carpet bagging trips planned. We do continue to get mail from the south requesting various kinds of information and advice. I'm looking for a chance

to talk with you so we can compare notes and do some thinking, to be sure that what we're doing from here gears in properly with the Council's program. The grapevine reports that you will be at the NAIRO Conference in Boston. So will I. Can you save me a nice little block of time so we can talk it over?

We have also had some discussions in the National Civil Liberties Clearing House about how the Clearing House national organizations can help their local organizations to do a good job about school desegregation. The result of discussion is that we have formed a committee to work out a few ideas about how the Clearing House can help. I'm chairman of the committee, which also includes Phil Lerman of ADL, Leonard Aries of NCCJ, Olya Margolin of the Council of Jewish Women, and Margaret Garrity of Catholic Welfare Conference. The next item on the committee's agenda is to have a meeting with George Mitchell. Can you stop over in the nation's capital either en route to Boston or on your way home? If you can manage this, we will arrange a committee meeting to suit your schedule or, if a Washington stop would suit your schedule a little better later, we could cooperate with that too.

If you want to stop en route to Boston, send us a collect wire and we will do a rapid job of arranging the meeting. If we don't meet before, perhaps Margaret Garrity and I can tell you a little more about what the committee has in mind when we see you in Boston. Let us know how we can best get on with our committee business!

Under any and all circumstances it will be good to see you. I am sure we must all have some solemn things to say about "these historic times." We are looking forward.

Sincerely,

Irene

Irene Osborne

November 15, 1954

Dictated November 12

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
104 "C" Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Dear Irene Osborne:

Many thanks for your nice letter of November 8th. I called your office just now and told your assistant that I would be in Washington Tuesday evening, November 16, and could be almost anywhere you say in the city. I will have with me Fred Routh who is our head man for getting around in the states. We will be staying at the Cosmos Club, 2120 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., telephone DUpont 7-7783 -- driving up from Richmond in the close of that afternoon. I could, by mighty effort, be in Washington Saturday morning, November 20, but I don't much want to.

Your assistant said you were fly-planing to Boston Wednesday morning. So will Fred and I. I suggested that you take the plane that leave Washington around 6:00 a.m. and gets into Boston at 10:36 a.m., and we could talk three streaks on the way to Boston.

Your and my Knoxville friends are working hard to get a Tennessee Council on Human Relations going. They picked Beckman the other day as temporary chairman of it. And those good ladies at Norfolk are the salt of the earth. They have an independent women's interracial committee there that does things.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. In re your call late Friday, I will show up at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House at 8:00 p.m., Tuesday, November 16th.

68M

67H

File

Southern Regional Council

_____, 194__

TO: _____ ☐

FROM: _____

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	( )	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 23, 1954

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I want to send you just a note to tell you that, as a result of your suggesting the name of Cyrus Record to Grace Powers, I had a very useful conversation with him by telephone while I was in San Francisco. Unfortunately, although he is much interested in our merit employment program, he feels that he should stay now in academic work, having just gotten well established in it. I imagine that he is right that if he took a block of time out now for something else it would mean leaving teaching as a career. He mentioned a couple of other useful contacts out there in that region through whom we might learn of persons qualified to do our job opportunities work.

We do appreciate your having called Cyrus Record to our attention. Evidently he is working closely with several of our staff members and our Northern California program.

Sincerely,

David E. Swift

David E. Swift
Personnel Secretary

DES/mlg

cc: Tartt Bell

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

November 29, 1954

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

RECEIVED 11/30/54
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

to A. H.

Enclosed is the latest work camp folder of the Service Committee. We are interested in having at least one or two projects of this nature in the Southeast in the summer of 1955.

Unfortunately, good sites for work camps are hard to find, and I need your help. Do you know of any place that would merit our investigation? A community house, church-building project, neighborhood improvement program, privy-building campaign, etc., etc.? Either urban or rural?

There must be a good physical work project involving some construction activity, plus a situation in which the group could contribute to unifying the community.

Surely you know where some "free" labor and good intentions could be put to work. Would you do me the favor of pausing right now to search in your mind for a development in your community or in the Southeast for a suggestion.

Percy Baker, our national work camp director, is planning to be here on the 9th of December to launch an exploration of whatever sites we are able to suggest. I am anxious to plan his travel schedule and program to include any place you may suggest, and so am anxious to hear from you immediately. Your advice and suggestions will be greatly appreciated. Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell

BTB:hr

enc.

Thanks for the hospitality to Henry. He greatly enjoyed it.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

225 East Lee St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman
Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, Chairman
Rufus White, Treasurer
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
B. Russell Branson, Associate Secretary

November 30, 1954

RECEIVED
12-2-54
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your telephone call of this morning. Due to the fact that there have been a few changes in dates on Mr. Surjono's schedule already, we would like to have verified, please, his arrival date of Friday, December 3, rather than December 2.

Sincerely yours,

Done by phone GCM

Helen Redding
Secretary to B. Tartt Bell

December 1, 1954

B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service
Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I remember that way back last July you wrote Clarence Pickett on our behalf.

T'other day the Doris Duke Foundation most kindly sent us $10,000 to help along our problem of raking in info on changes in the South. It fits perfectly into another recent grant of $7,000 from the Marshall Field Foundation for perking up New South. These two grants go a long way toward seeing us through this first year.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date December 6, 1954

To: George Mitchell

From: Tartt Bell

Subject:

I am delighted to learn that the foundation of the well-known lady has seen fit to part with some of its shekles in your behalf. You are sho more than welcome for any part we had in it. I only wish that I could claim full credit.

Our friend Mr. Surjono arrived this morning in good shape after his interesting trip to Atlanta. I hope I'll look as young as this man does when I reach the ripe old age of 34. Warmest regards to you and Alice.

BTB:hr

RECEIVED
12/7/54
Southern Regional Council

Sent 12-31-54 Ast

A N. to do

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

~~125 East Lee St.~~
617 W. Market St.
NATIONAL OFFICES
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman
Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary

Greensboro, N. C.

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, Chairman
Rufus White, Treasurer
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
B. Russell Branson, Associate Secretary

December 16, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
12/17/54

Dear George:

I am wondering if you would send me the latest copulation of admission of Negroes to Southern white schools. I have not received such a list of schools since I was in your office in February last year and I am wondering if you have anything more up to date.

How are things going in Atlanta? I hope that when you come this way again you will look us up. I heard that you blew through Greensboro the other night but you didn't even stop to telephone anyone.

Please give my greetings to everyone in the office and my very best to Alice.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne Queen,
College Secretary

AQ:mr

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

January 6, 1955

American Friends Service Committee
Community Relations Program
104 C Street, N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Would you kindly add my name to your mailing list for your monthly newsletter. I would appreciate having a copy mailed to the above address and, if possible, an additional copy mailed to my attention at the Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenuen, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Thank you for your kind attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

rnf for gth

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director
for
Program

rnf

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Miss Thelma W. Babbitt
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Babbitt:

When I got back I saw that my secretary had promptly and rightly answered your kind inquiry of January 31st. We believe in the Job Opportunities program and want to help you in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

February 3, 1955

Miss Thelma W. Babbitt
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Babbitt:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city and will not return until Monday, February 8th. I will call your letter to his attention at that time.

Meanwhile, the address of the Texas Commission on Race Relations is 309 West Twenty-First Street, Austin. There is also a Louisiana Council on Human Relations at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, New Orleans, which is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. The Executive Secretary of the Louisiana Council is Milton C. Vigo.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary to
(George S. Mitchell
Executive Director)

eab/

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 31, 1955

FEB 3 1955

George Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

When I was in Washington this week, Jake Seidenberg of the President's Committee on Government Contracts informed me that the Texas Race Relations Commission of which Tom Southerland is Chairman has been reactivated. He did not know their address but felt that you might be able to provide us with it. It seemed to us that it would be helpful for our Dallas and Baton Rouge program people to know about this and would appreciate it if you would provide us with the proper address.

Most sincerely,

Thelma Babbitt

Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Job Opportunities Program

TWB:s

February 28, 1955

B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Most kind of you.

We have stuck mighty firmly to the full 50¢ price for Changing Patterns in the New South. But we will send you a hundred on consignment postpaid, billing them to you at 42¢ each. You are then in position to send them out to people who order them from you, and who send you 50¢. Postage on each copy at book rate is 8¢.

So, here come a hundred and a technical bill for $42.00. Send us as much money as you realize from the hundred books, (postage and carriage at your expense) and return the remainder.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Ruth Alexander -- to send books and bill.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

February 25, 1955

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FEB 26 1955

Dear Brother George:

Thanks for sending me a copy of Changing Patterns in the New South. I have it on my list for immediate attention.

In a couple of days I have a news bulletin going to a mailing list of about 3000 names. Your item has been recommended highly for immediate reading. This is the first way we'll be able to give it a slight push. Maybe we'll find others later on.

In any event we ought to have a few copies on hand for resale. Could we work out an arrangement whereby we could keep a supply of these around for this purpose without having to buy them outright ourselves? Which would you prefer to do: (1) make us a wholesale price on 100 copies, or (2) send us 100 copies which we would try to sell as best we can and turn over the receipts at fifty cents per copy to you when the supply is exhausted?

Warmest regards to you and the family.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell
(hr)

B. Tartt Bell

BTB:hr

P.S. It looks like we're going to have four summer projects in the Southeast this year. One, a work camp in Richmond; two, a work camp for high schoolers at Penn on St. Helena Island; three, the interne project in Atlanta; four, the foreign student seminar at Virginia Intermont College at Bristol, Virginia. Keep these in mind in planning your summer schedule.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

File

March 7, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAR 10 1955

Dear George:

I have just looked at the February 1955 issue of New South. I imagine that your listing of desegregating schools is intended for Washington, D.C. and the South. If it was meant to be any more inclusive than that, you ought to keep Lincoln University at Oxford, Pennsylvania in mind. They are actively looking for white students. If you want any more information on this you might get in touch with John Hobart at Lincoln whose job is to desegregate the school.

A.H. has seen

Cordially,

Dick,

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

rkb:s
dictated but not read

March 10, 1955

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

I get back to find your letter of March 4th. Many thanks for getting the Changing Patterns, and for sending them out so helpfully.

My friends in Baton Rouge would be the standard ones with whom Eugene Sutherland would already have been in touch. But he would get the soundest of advice from Elsie Wilson and from Father Gremillion. The head girl at the Catholic Friendship House is Mary Dolan. Wise and informed Catholic couple much interested in employment for Negroes is the Daniells. He runs a battery business.

Elsie Wilson knows the top boys in town and could get Sutherland access to them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

March 4, 1955

MAR 9 1955

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of "Changing Patterns in The New South". I would like to put it in the hands of some of our key staff members who are related to this work so that they can decide on any additional use that they want to make of it and any promotion they feel they can carry on. I would like to order more copies but we are pretty much pressed financially.

Could you send me twenty (20) copies and bill me for them? We will (I think) pay your bill promptly. Sent 3/9/55

You might at the same time send me copies of the flyer on the pamphlet so that we can also distribute them. You may by now know that we have set up a Job Opportunities Program in Baton Rouge with Eugene Sutherland heading it up. We are running into a great deal of local reluctance and resistance especially on the part of the handful of Quakers there, so any helpful contacts you know of would be most encouraging. Sent, also.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

rkb:s

Open.

MAR 14 1955

To Members of the Little River Farm Committee:

Wilmer has sent me the following information about the sale of the farm which I know you will be glad to see:

SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT WITH WILLIAM H. FISHER

Price of Farm	9,500.00	
Friends Service Property	760.50	
Personal Property of W. J. Y. (cows, mules, freezer, machinery, etc.)	4,527.80	14,788.30

Payments Made By William H. Fisher

First Mortgage	3,972.75	
Second Mortgage	6,000.00	
FHA Loan	4,566.50	
Cash Paid to W. J. Y.	224.81	
Interest Rebated Because Deal Was Closed 2 Weeks Before Possession Was Given.	24.24	14,788.30

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDS TO THE YOUNGS

Return of Money Invested by Youngs			2,000.00
Young Loans		3,797.36	
Cash Deficit 2/28/55		874.20	
		4,671.56	
Youngs' Personal Property Included in Settlement	4,527.80		
Less Cash Rec'd. from Fisher	224.81	4,302.99	368.57
To Be Rec'd By Youngs from Settlement			1,631.43

Note: Wilmer expects to sell the tractor for $350 to $400 which will add to the above.

A. Hurford Crosman

3/11/55

Little River Farm
Wells

March 14, 1955

Mr. A. Hurford Crosman
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Crosman:

Thank you for the excellent summary on the Little River Farm matter. // attached

It is a delight to see people who are only proxy farmers deal in all these intricate matters of whose hens and whose second mortgage on what. That is the cross-over between city people and farm people, for lack of which we all suffer!

I wish the Friends' interest in this little, and well-done project, could spread into something that would put similar care onto the arrangements on every Southern acre.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MAR 7 1955
FILE COPY

March 4, 1955

To Members of the Little River Farm Committee:

The sale of the Young Farm at Little River has been consummated. Mr. William H. Fisher, the purchaser, has been managing a farm nearby owned by a Mr. Trask. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher are probably about 50 years old, with six children. One son and one daughter are married and live near; one son is in the Air Force, to be discharged in July. Mr. Fisher will continue to work for Mr. Trask on a salary basis (about $3,000 a year), but will operate the Youngs' farm by spending his spare time plus the help of a 16-year-old son, a 13-year-old daughter, and an 11-year-old son. Mr. Fisher has worked for Mr. Trask for eight out of the past ten years. He is used to cattle, and machinery, and says he is a good "blackjack electrician and carpenter". He has built barns and even one house for Mr. Trask. He expects to continue his job at least until he builds up a somewhat larger herd of cattle on his new grade-A dairy farm. He would like to have between 20 and 25 cows. He apparently counts a lot on his boys. He wants to continue the lease on Mrs. Hill's farm. The above is quoted in part from one of Mildred's letters.

Financially Mr. Fisher was in much the same condition as all the other tenant farmers we have helped to own their own farms, namely, very little cash with which to make a down payment. In order to have the necessary assets to satisfy the banks, Mr. Trask gave Mr. Fisher a tractor, Farmall "H", and four good cows valued at about $1,500 total. He was able, with Wilmer's help, to get a Federal Land Bank loan, giving a first mortgage on the farm, and the net proceeds of this loan were $3,972.75. Then a Farmer's Home Administration (FHA) loan on the machinery and livestock produced a net of $4,566.50, so we have received actual cash of $8,539.25. In addition, we have taken a note backed by a second mortgage from Mr. Fisher in the amount of $6,000. For this everything goes, including sawmill (which Fisher very much wants) and some items belonging to the Youngs, including their freezer and Mildred's hens. Wilmer has held out our tractor, and will sell this independently, so it may be said that the total from the sale will turn out to be close to $15,000, within $1,000 of the original asking price of $16,000 which Mr. Fisher thought too high. Your subcommittee felt this to be as good a deal as any we could hope to find. (You'll remember you gave the subcommittee, consisting of Walter Coble, James Dabbs and myself, power to act.)

Now the final calculation of how this sale price will be divided between the Committee and the Youngs has yet to be worked out. I quote from one of Mildred's letters: "As the figures look now, the receipts from stock and machinery that is 'ours'...namely, not part of 'Special Projects'...will pay off within two or three hundred dollars of our loans and cash deficit, and leave us the two trucks. These we have hoped to metamorphose into a good used car. We recall that it was decided at a meeting of the Committee that we should have back $2,000 which Wilmer had put into the farm from his parents' estate. We have, besides that, $2,500 in Postal Savings. Of course we hope not to use that until we find, sometime in the future, a little place in which to 'settle'. I mention these matters because of the Committee's perennial generous concern about where we are coming out." Later on we will send you a full accounting of the end result.

The terms of the loan to Fisher backed by the second mortgage are that interest only will be paid for the first two years. For the next two years $500 principal will be due each year. From then on there will be $1,000 due each year until the loan is paid off. Interest at 5% will be payable on the unpaid balance each year. If all installments are paid on time the loan will be paid up on February 16, 1964.

Some time ago, when this sale was merely a prospect, the members of the Committee around Philadelphia met, and naturally had a lot of questions in their minds. I hope they have been adequately answered in the above.

Lease purchase agreements have been entered into with both Joe Brown and James T. Liddell for the Thomson tract. Joe Brown is to pay $1,806.00, in yearly installments of $180.60, plus 4% interest. Thomas Liddell is to pay $1,850.00, with annual payments of $185.00, plus 4% interest. Wilmer has arranged with Mr. J. H. Sherard, who has long handled our insurance problems at Little River Farm, to act as our agent in the matter of collections from all three parties and, of course, any other matters that may arise.

The Youngs are expecting to travel a good deal, between now and fall, and have arranged with us, here in Philadelphia, to keep track of their wanderings so that all mail can be addressed to them c/o AFSC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa., as they indicated in their annual letter which you received. Until March 19 their address will be c/o Daniel T. Young, 410 McCauley St., Chapel Hill, N. C., and from March 19 until further notice, c/o Macedonia Community, Clarkesville, Georgia. About March 15, Mildred goes to Illinois, where a grandchild is expected. Wilmer will catch up with her about April 15, then visits in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa for about six weeks. Summer months at Sky Valley, near Hendersonville, N. C., where their friends the Perrys are to prepare their mountaintop place for use of a religious group (something similar to Kirkridge in Pennsylvania) and where the Youngs can help.

The Pendle Hill Executive Board at its meeting yesterday formally renewed its invitation of a year ago for Wilmer and Mildred to be there during the next school year, October to June, on a resident Fellowship basis.

I am sure you will be interested, and have a right to know, about the American Friends Service Committee pension plan as it affects the Youngs. The $75.00 monthly checks which they have been receiving, you will remember, will be discontinued with the March payment. David Swift, Secretary to the Personnel Committee, has written the Youngs stating that, beginning in April, their pension will become effective and a check will be forwarded each month from now on in the amount of $50.00. This, of course, will be in addition to whatever they receive from Social Security benefits.

It has been rather difficult to summarize the great amount of detail that has passed by correspondence between the Youngs and myself and the other members of the subcommittee, but I hope I have given an adequate picture. If you have questions the Youngs can answer them if I cannot. I am sure the Youngs would be glad to hear from you, as they wander around the country. Just address them at 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Sincerely yours,

A. Hurford Crosman

A. Hurford Crosman
Secretary to the Committee

P. S. In writing the paragraph about Pendle Hill I should add that in discussing this matter with Dan Wilson he expressed to me the Board's warmth and eagerness at the prospect of the Youngs' coming.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Brief Summary of Dallas Job Opportunities Project
March 18, 1955

Since the last Annual Meeting, the staff in the JOP office has been reduced from three to two persons. Because of this it became necessary to reorganize the JOP Committee so that it might be as helpful as possible to the small staff. This Committee has been broken down into four sub-committees - Contact or Executive, Applicant Recruiting and Preparation, Planning and Future Trends, and Special Women's Committee. Much time was spent in securing a permanent chairman who is now Ross Forney. In this connection, the able support of Mr. L. H. Lacy has been secured in drawing JOP to the attention of Dallas' business and religious leader There are thirty-seven members on the Committee, with an average monthly meeting representation of twenty.

Some areas in which we have worked are: municipal government, public utilities and transportation, department and retail stores, grocery chains, plants holding government contracts, both retail and wholesale bread and milk firms, insurance companies (very slightly), a few engineering firms, federal agencies, Texas Employment Commission, Texas Manufacturers' Association, Dallas Executives' Association, Dallas Personnel Association, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Dallas Pastors' Association, sales firms such as the Hoover Company, social agencies, hospitals, newspapers, Southwestern Medical School, Mexican Consulate, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, public educational institutions and organizations.

The common denominator in all of these visits has been the problem of how to secure community acceptability for initiating a firm policy of employment on merit. As a means toward the solution of this problem, a few business and religious leaders assembled at the Baker Hotel on March 16th and made preliminary plans for a bigger meeting in which a program geared to eliminate discrimination in employment might be set out.* Among significant things evolving from this preliminary group were: (1) That when present funds expire, JOP should continue under AFSC sponsorship but with Dallas financial support. (2) That expert publicity men should be secured to plan an all-out employment on merit educational campaign geared particularly to Dallas. (3) That JOP has reached the point where it should now concentrate on taking its message to groups instead of using the person-to-person approach only.

It seems to us that we are on the threshold of the culmination of efforts and prayers that have been carried on during the three years of operation here. The goal set by AFSC of trying to awaken the community to its responsibility so thoroughly that it takes up the cudgel seems to be in sight.

Almita S. Robinson, Director
Mary E. Hardison, Assistant

* The time and place for this meeting has been confirmed as April 5th at the Republic National Bank.

April 19, 1955

(Dictated April 18)

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Many thanks for your letter that came April 13th.

I feel a similar need. The problem is when we can get together.

I will certainly remember about the Monday morning staff meeting, and will try to plan the next New York and Philadelphia run to let me be there. And I will try to let you know decently ahead.

The trouble is that I haven't got any early plan to go that way.

I called your office this morning on a possible arrangement about Irene Osborne. I shall be back in the office Wednesday afternoon April 20th, and for some days thereafter, and perhaps we can converse further.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
Henry J. Cadbury

Executive Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins

Honorary Secretary
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, Rittenhouse 6-9372

APR 13 1955

April 11, 1955

(dictated April 4)

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I'm sorry I've been out of town on each of your most recent visits to Philadelphia. I'd like very much to get a chance to sit down and talk with you some day. In addition I'd like it if you could let us know well in advance of some trip to this area so that we could do some planning.

Specifically what I have in mind is that it would be extremely good for our Philadelphia Service Committee staff at some Monday morning staff meeting if we could set aside some time for you to tell us about the South, what is going on, where it all came from, etc. You might want to even do your infamous chalk-talk. Our Philadelphia staff gets together on Monday mornings at 9 a.m. in the Meeting House at 20 South 12th Street at which time different people share recent activities, returned workers from abroad tell of their experiences, etc. We would certainly appreciate it if you could tell us your story sometime. Let me know if ever you are going to be up this way again and as well in advance as possible.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett

RKB:nt

April 21, 1955

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Ed Lukas asked me to come up and talk to an Executive Committee meeting, or something of the kind, for the American Jewish Committee on Sunday, May 8th, in Washington, and I have agreed to go. That puts me near you and near a Monday. How would it be if I got over for part of your staff meeting Monday morning, May 9th.

I suppose that by getting up with the birdies, I could be on hand by 9:00 or thereabouts.

I would expect to leave in the early part of the afternoon, headed back to Atlanta.

If the 9th is a bad day say so, and I will hope for better luck next time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

JT 4R

May 4, 1955

MAY 6 1955

Southern Regional Council
Room #432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

At this time, I am sending you information concerning our project which involves migrant children. If there are ways in which you can publicize this project, we shall be grateful.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

Mary Esther McWhirter

Mary Esther McWhirter, Editor
Educational Materials for Children

MEMcW:rj

Encls.

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Penna.

A GOOD-MORNING-TO-YOU KIT

You're at summer camp. The bugle has just blown "reveille" or the gong sounded. You bounce out of bed, along with the other campers in your cabin or tent. Maybe you dash off for a morning dip or maybe you go out in the clearing to play a game of "Simon Says" for exercise.

Next comes clean-up time. Cold water splashes. Pink, blue and yellow wash cloths get into action. So do toothbrushes. Tousled topknots become neat as combs chase away Susie Snarl. Everybody hustles. And soon, freshly scrubbed faces wear smiles.

Breakfast will taste better after clean-up time. What's for breakfast today? Maybe it's bacon? Or pancakes? Let's go and find out!

Yes, "morning comes early" for children in all camps, including migrant camps. If your family travelled from state to state helping farmers harvest their crops you'd be living in that kind of a camp and it wouldn't be much fun. Your home might be an old chicken coop, a falling-to-pieces shack or just a corner in a big room where lots of other families were living.

Every day you'd have to be up and dressed early -- ("as the sun comes red") -- maybe as early as 5:30. And how sleepy you'd be at that hour!

In migrant families the fathers and mothers usually can't earn enough money to buy all the things that their children need most. But you can help such boys and girls have a happy clean-up time like the clean-up time you have in your camp.

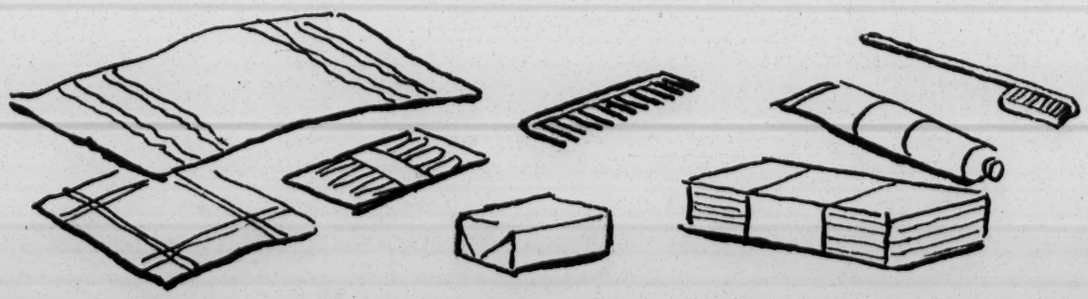
When you send this GOOD-MORNING-TO-YOU KIT to a migrant child you are saying to him:

> "Good morning to you, my friend!
> I hope you'll be happy on this summer day when
> 'morning comes early and bright with dew!'"

And so, your cabin or tent group at camp or vacation church school class will:

Buy

A wash cloth	A cake of soap	A toothbrush
A hand towel	A comb (dark color)	A tube of toothpaste
A package of emery boards	2 five-cent packages of handkerchief tissues	



Wrap

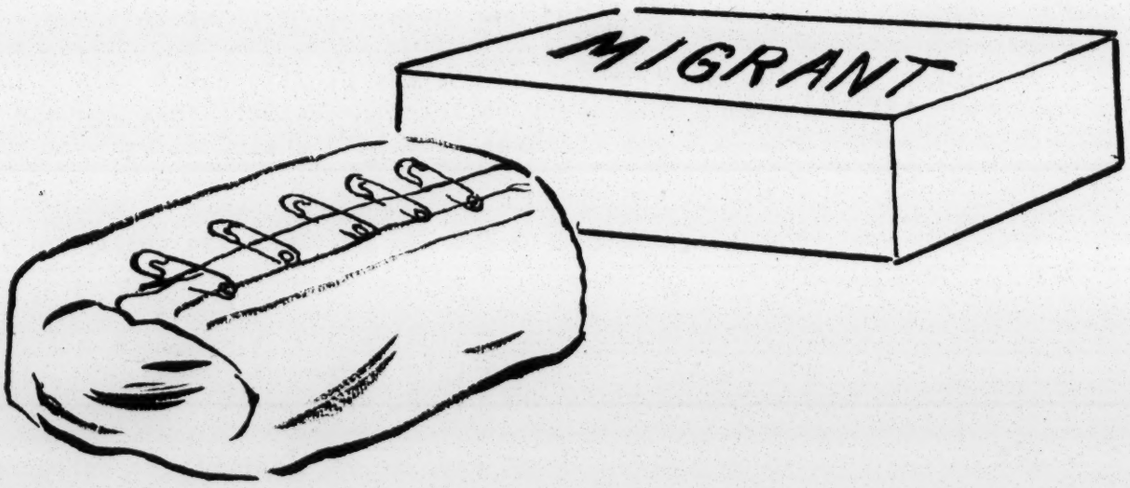
Please place your gifts in a neat pile in the center of the hand towel. Then on the lines at the bottom of the pink sheet print the name and address of your group.* Please do not add any other printing or writing. If you do, you will have to pay letter-rate postage which will make it very expensive to send the kit. Fold this pink page like a letter and place it on top of your gifts.

Fold the long ends of the towel toward the center -- pulling them firmly around the presents. Then fold over the short ends and fasten with four safety pins.

Pack your GOOD-MORNING-TO-YOU KIT in a sturdy cardboard box, tie with a strong string and address the box to the American Friends Service Committee,

23rd and Arch Streets, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania
110 North Hudson Street, Pasadena 4, California

To speed your gift on its way, please mark on the outside of the box, in large letters, the word MIGRANT.



Read

These books tell about children who live in migrant camps:

Agnew, Sandy and Mr. Jalopy	Friendship.	$1.75
Gates, Blue Willow	Viking.	2.00
Kelsey, Blueberry Acres and Other Stories	Friendship.	1.75
Lenski, Judy's Journey	Lippincott.	2.50

---

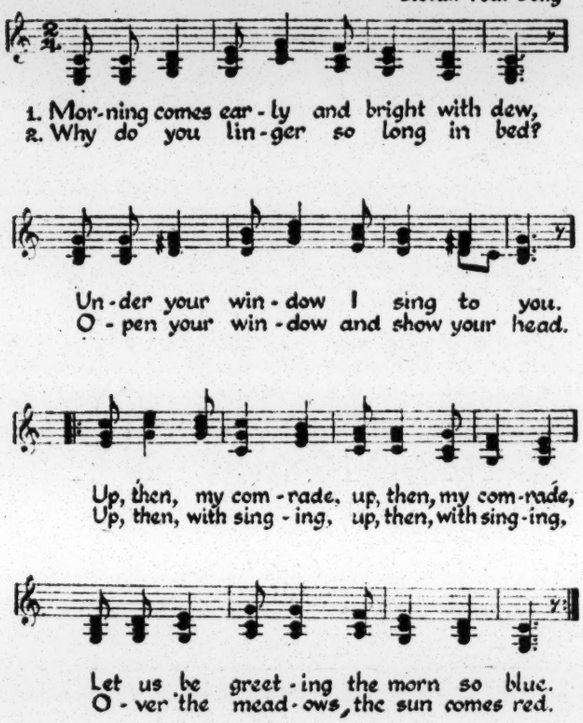
*Additional copies of the pink page are available free upon request if your group or class is sending more than one GOOD-MORNING-TO-YOU KIT.

American Friends Service Committee

20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Morning Comes Early

Slovak Folk Song



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To: A Friend in a Migrant Camp

Each day children everywhere are "greeting the morn so blue" by washing their faces, brushing their teeth, combing their hair, and putting on their best smiles.

Getting ready for breakfast is fun -- especially out-of-doors in summer. We hope you'll find it fun, too, as you use these gifts that we're sending.

"Up then with singing!
Up then with singing!
Over the meadows the sun comes red!"

We like to sing this song and think you will, too. So, here it is!

From:

Name of group _____

Address _____

_____

May 20, 1955

TO: GTH

When last I was in Philadelphia, AFSC said we might have for free one hundred copies of the pamphlet they have just done about Washington, D. C.

Here is the hundred.

We could get more for wider use if you think it wise.

Meanwhile, do what you think best with these.

GSM/eab

May 23, 1955

Mrs. Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Job Opportunities Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Babbitt:

I greatly wish I could be with you in Baton Rouge June 12th, but I am long promised to be at a labor school at Blue Ridge June 12th through the 17th, and I will have to stick to that.

If you are in Atlanta on Saturday, June 11th, do call me at home (Dearborn 5961) and we can talk. On the 12th I will be driving toward Blue Ridge.

Our group in Louisiana is called the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. Milton Vigo is its Director. His address is 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, New Orleans. I think Milton could help you on the Baton Rouge matter.

Difficult for me to be at Baton Rouge between June 20 and June 23. I will have been out a solid week and will be about to go out again to Washington and Lexington, Kentucky, and I have to be in this office once in a while!

What you are doing and what we are doing need to be always closer together, and I appreciate the implication of that in your kind invitation. And wish to goodness I could show.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 20, 1955

MAY 21 1955

George Mitchell, Exec. Secy.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

It was very helpful to have your thinking on some of the questions facing us in our Baton Rouge Job Opportunities Program. I'm wondering whether it might be possible for us to work out some way of bringing you together with our staff person there, as well as with some of the other good folks who have shown an interest in our program and in integration in general.

I expect to be going to Baton Rouge June 12th and wonder whether you would be willing to come over sometime during that week. Is it possible that by chance you may be going in that direction? If not, could you plan to make a special trip?

// is labor school beginning date (end) June 17th

I'll be in Greensboro - Dick Bennett will be there too - June 9 and 10. Then I shall be going on to Baton Rouge and will stop over to visit some good friends in Atlanta on the weekend. They are George & Amey Beal, 1009 Pegg Rd., East Point. Perhaps it might be possible for us to talk together a bit then.

Will you let us know whether there is any possibility of your getting to Baton Rouge sometime during the weeks of June 13th or June 20th? monday after labor school.

Most sincerely,

Thelma

Thelma W. Babbitt (Mrs.)
National Director
Job Opportunities Program

cc Dick Bennett
Gene Sutherland

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

JUN 6 1955

June 3, 1955

Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Kindly send us a copy of your recent publication "Workbook Fellowship of the Concerned". If there is a cost please bill us.

Sincerely,

Eugene W. Sutherland/d
Eugene W. Sutherland
Director

/d

June 14, 1955

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

AIR MAIL

Dear Dick:

We are now in position to make a proposal to you about using the services of Irene Osborne for the twelve months beginning October 1, 1955.

What we would like to do is to guarantee her salary for those twelve months, to be paid to AFSC by SRC in the lump sum of $5,000. In addition, we would held on our books $4,000 to cover cost of her travel when serving SRC's program. We are supposing that the $4,000 would cover both the cost of her actual transportation and a reasonable per diem for her hotel bills, meals, and incidentals. I suggest that when she travels for SRC purposes she send her travel voucher in to the Southern Regional Council for payment direct by us to her. We allow a per diem of $8.00 but I think that for Irene we could be persuaded to set the travel per diem on an actual expense basis. You should write me after conference with her as to the per diem obligation we would be assuming.

We would like it to be agreed that approximately 200 days of service by Irene Osborne in the twelve months beginning October 1, 1955, would be available to the Southern Regional Council. By service, in this context, we mean days of absence from her official station at Philadelphia, being days when she is in the Atlanta office of SRC, or by agreement with SRC at work within the thirteen state area comprising SRC's territory (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia). We include within the 200 days any Saturdays and Sundays necessarily involved in travel by agreement with the Southern Regional Council. The remainder of her time would be at the disposal of the American Friends Service Committee, for the most part for aid by her in non-Southern communities wishing her services. SRC will cover her full salary of $5,000 by check to AFSC, and we will be surrending to your jurisdiction that part of her time (roughly in excess of 200 days) when she would be at her official station or on assignment agreed to by you to non-Southern areas. We cannnt cover her transportation or per diem expenses while she is (a) at her official station — Philadelphia, or (b) on trips to non-Southern points.

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
June 14, 1955

We would expect an agreement with Irene Osborne so to route her travel as to involve longish stays within the Southern area -- that is to say we would wish to avoid arrangements with her for uneconomic weekends returns to Philadelphia.

It is likely that her advisory services will be requested within the Southern area by SRC or affiliated state agencies for some part of the time between now and October 1, 1955. If we undertook to cover her transportation and per diem cost for such travel requested, will her schedule permit such travel, and will it be agreeable with American Friends Service Committee to continue to cover her salary without charge to the Southern Regional Council for not to exceed two weeks of SRC desired travel between now and October 1, 1955?

Irene Osborne for the whole period contemplated in this letter (i.e., through the twelve months after October 1, 1955) would be attached to your staff and would be governed by the American Friends Service Committee's arrangements as to pension, leave, etc.

In addition to the $5,000 salary item for the twelve months beginning October 1, 1955, SRC would forward to you the amount needed to cover social security payments for Irene Osborne for the twelve months.

If this arrangement in general has your approval and hers, please let me know. This or that modification in detail to make the arrangement as workable as possible would probably have our agreement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Clement
Mr. Wright
KS

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

JUN 16 1955

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 16, 1955

Received 6/17/55
Ans'd 6/20/55
GSM

Re: Emily Calhoun

Dear Friend:

The above-named person is being considered for an appointment with the American Friends Service Committee, for the position indicated on the enclosed personnel evaluation form. We understand that you are acquainted with the applicant, and we would greatly appreciate having your judgment of this person.

The enclosed form may be used for this purpose, or as merely suggestive of the kind of information you might want to include in a letter. Any additional comments you would care to make would also be very helpful. Your early reply will be much appreciated and will enable us to give the applicant an early decision regarding an appointment.

Very sincerely,

Margaret Wilson
Margaret Wilson
Personnel Dept.

Encls.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 20, 1955

JUN 21 1955

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Irene Osborne and I have just had our first opportunity to discuss your proposal of June 14 about the use of Irene's services for the year beginning October 1, 1955. For a variety of reasons I would like to make a counter proposal to indicate the way in which we at AFSC feel we would have to operate.

Specifically, we would propose that on or about October 1, you send us a check covering Irene Osborne's salary; $4000 for costs of travel, etc.; $1000 for certain office expenses such as telephone, mimeographing, postage, and part-time secretarial assistance; and a small sum to cover social security and continuation of our AFSC Retirement Plan provisions. If the details which follow are satisfactory to you, I can send you an exact figure for the check we would expect but I estimate that it would be roughly $10,250.

In return for this, the Service Committee is prepared to guarantee that Irene Osborne would work in the South on the problem of school integration at least 150 days during the following year. I should point out that this is approximately two-thirds of Irene's available staff time and seems to us to be the amount of time which can be effectively spent in the South if all the necessary preparation, study, and research is done to make the field trips satisfactory.

During this period of actual work in the South Irene would both try to answer the direct calls for assistance that AFSC gets and feels are worth pursuing and would also respond to the requests and suggestions of the Southern Regional Council in so far as they fit into the AFSC approach and policy. In other words, as this is to be an AFSC project, we feel a need to determine the nature, time and place of Irene's work. In this you would not be discriminated against for it follows our policy in terms of all sources of funds. We would expect to rely primarily on Southern Regional Council for Southern contacts; indeed, we visualize spending a major portion of the 150 days field time with SRC groups.

I think that our relationship is such that we presumably could trust each other to work out an amicable and fair relationship as the project actually is carried on. I do not think that it is either necessary or advisable to try to pinpoint all the details of time, place, and length of stay in any preliminary letter or agreement.

Your letter refers to "longish stays within the Southern area" about which we are somewhat confused. Our feeling is that it would be both economic in a money sense and efficient in a program sense to think in terms of 2-week long field trips with intervals in

between in Philadelphia or wherever else AFSC should see fit. That will give the necessary time for organization of the work, study, etc. and would also provide some period of relaxation or collapse for Irene.

We are not at all certain that the full $4000 of the travel fund would be necessary because we Quakers are a humble bunch who tend to live it down. (Irene says that the word is miserly.) If this proposal is at all agreeable to you we would further propose to keep a careful accounting of the travel costs in the South so that any funds remaining on September 30, 1956 in that travel account would be returned to the Southern Regional Council. We will agree that the $4000 will be used only for travel in the states of Confederate jurisdiction and any "Northern" travel would be at our expense.

I do not know how all this will suit you. It is certainly different from your proposal in the June 14 letter but more nearly fits our thinking and the understanding we had from your comments when you visited us recently in Philadelphia. I think it important for you to let us know within ten days if this is satisfactory because we have slowed down Irene's job hunting project while awaiting a specific proposal from you. If this is not satisfactory to you, I think we ought to turn Irene loose to find a suitable job so that she will not find herself unemployed on October 1. If you cannot agree to this I hope that you will not hold it against us as we will not hold it against you. There need be no bad feelings on either side.

I am sending this letter to you in Atlanta. Irene tells me that she will be seeing you this coming Friday in Washington and I am giving her an extra copy in case you do not get yours so that she can immediately discuss it with you.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

RKB:s

cc: Irene Osborne

July 11, 1955

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

I am glad we get so close to agreement on Irene Osborne, and hope in this letter that it can be locked. She would be on loan to the Southern Regional Council from the American Friends Service Committee for six months forward from October 1, 1955.

We would, in agreement with her, direct her travel during that six months and bear the expense of her travel during that six months. She would be entitled to a per diem of $3.00 for each day spent in the Atlanta office; a concession made in view of the fact that her assignment is short-ranged and she would have no regular place of residence in Atlanta. In addition, we would expect to cover up to three trips for her, during her six months of loan to SRC, to the Philadelphia area. For our own budgetary purposes, we are calculating these trips as not costing SRC much in excess of $100 per trip.

We agree to put up Irene Osborne's salary of $5,000 plus social security from the period of October 1, 1955, forward, and to be prepared to send the money on demand. I regret that we will not be able to cover the nine per cent pension item from the American Friends Service Committee.

If this arrangement is satisfactory, please let us know and we will consider that Irene Osborne will be available to us from October 1, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

cc: Miss Stoney
Mr. Clement
Mr. Wright

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 5, 1955

JUL 7 1955

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Last week I had an opportunity to talk to Irene Osborne in Washington. We discussed the matter of her working in the south on school desegregation especially in terms of the message which you left for me during one of my recent absences from the office. Just to keep the matter alive and to straighten it out as soon as possible, I am sending you this to see how it soundsto you.

Generally speaking, Irene and I are disposed to accept the suggestion that she work six months with the Southern Regional Council and six months with the American Friends Service Committee in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955. Therefore, we are disposed to go along with that suggestion if a few other matters of a minor nature can be agreed to.

First of all, there are a couple of financial matters which need to be dealt with. Irene Osborne will have many unusually heavy expenses while living in Atlanta, both because of the nature of the work and because she will be far from home. We feel that she should have some assistance in meeting her higher than ordinary per diem expenses. Also, because some continuity throughout the year is necessary, if an American Friends Service Committee is to be built, we would request that expenses be provided for a maximum of three trips to Philadelphia during the six months when Irene is assigned to the Southern Regional Council office in Atlanta.

I would propose that since you would be forwarding to us at the beginning of October Irene's salary and social security money, we should consider that during the first six months when she is working with Southern Regional Council she would be considered on the staff of the American Friends Service Committee but on loan to the Southern Regional Council. There are technical reasons why this is important. There is also the psychological advantage of having her tied to the Committee in view of the fact that she will come back on our staff after the first six months are over. Since I have mentioned the salary and social security, I would like to add one additional financial item. Would it be possible for the Southern Regional Council to forward to us with the first and only check an amount which would cover the Service Committees modest retirement fund expenses? I am not going to crowd you on this at all, but I am conscious of the fact that we have no funds available for Irene's work other than what you will be providing by way of salary. How we pay her expenses the second half of the year is something of a mystery to me but that is our problem rather

than yours.

Irene has a tight schedule between now and October 1st. Therefore, we can give no guarantee of accepting assignments before October but we will do our best in terms of what requests we get from the Southern Regional Council.

I assume that we are agreed that if the Southern Regional Council needs Irene's services after March 31, 1956, you will be able and willing to pay travel and expenses. We do not have any funds available at this time.

Our first and greatest desire is to be of help to the Southern Regional Council and to work out whatever arrangements are most satisfactory to you and all concerned. We understand the need for Irene to have a close working relationship with your central office staff and we can see better now the wisdom of having Atlanta as a home station for her during the first six months. This, of course, creates certain problems such as instability for Irene and a delay in building an American Friends Service Committee program but we are willing to face those in the view of value which may come as a result of her services to the Southern Regional Council. Above all, I think that we should not be bogged down in the details of a formal agreement because the success of this venture depends on mutual confidence and trust between you and me. Because that attitude already exists, I see no reason why that shouldn't be a totally happy relationship if the minor items above can be agreed to. We realize that the Council will be bearing the brunt of the load in the South especially relating to school desegregation. As you know, we feel very close to you and through you to your staff. You always have our best wishes for success.

Let me know if this seems reasonable to you. It it is, I will quickly try to get the proposed arrangements approved by our policy people. I have not yet cleared this with them and will not until you and I are in agreement. However, I see no difficulty on that score.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary, Community Relations

RKB:fp
cc: Irene Osborne

P.S. I think I neglected to mention that the retirement fund calls for nine per cent of the salary item. My life will be easier if this can be met but please do not feel under any special pressure.

July 15, 1955

Mr. David Swift
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear David:

Frank Loescher very kindly undertook to telephone you one day this week and ask you to be prepared for a call from me yesterday, toward helping me in finding somebody who might be a suitable executive assistant.

I had a ding dong busy day yesterday, and did not make the call. But if you can name to me by letter anybody you thought of, I would be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 4, 1955

Dictated August 1

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Many thanks for your letter of July 19th.

I take it that all is in order about Irene Osborne.

I will send you in a short while the $5,000 plus the sum for her social security for the twelve months beginning October 1, 1955.

And we are due for her services on loan from you for the six months beginning that date, with the various stipulations agreed upon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

cc: RAB

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

JUL 21 1955

July 19, 1955

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter of July 11. The terms you outlined are satisfactory to me and I am sure that they will be to Irene when she receives a copy of the letter on her return from Ohio. For all intents and purposes we ought to assume that we have a deal.

The one remaining hurdle is I believe, a minor one. Any arrangement such as this needs the approval of someone with overall Service Committee administrative responsibility. I see no difficulty in getting that approval. If you do not hear from me within a week or so after receiving this letter you can assume that all is well. *

I think that this "agreement" ought to serve us both quite well. Thanks to your patience and cooperation. I am looking forward to a very happy closer relationship to you and the Council.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

RKB:s

* We now have the approval!!

August 10, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RA

FROM: GSM

This will be your authority to pay to the American Friends Service Committee, at their Philadelphia office, attention Richard Bennett, $5,000 plus social security appropriate for that salary for one year for Irene Osborne, who is to be on loan to SRC from AFSC for six months beginning October 1, 1955.

This payment should be made from unallocated state monies, in accordance with Mr. David Freemin's letter to me dated May 25, 1955.

eab/

SEP 2 1955

INTERNES-IN-INDUSTRY PROJECT
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA

August 30, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Before the tangible aspects of our project have faded too far in the past, we would like to thank you for lending us you morail support and you physical presence.

We all remember with pleasure the evening you spent with us and that most delightful evening in your home. Please extend to Mrs. Mitchell our thanks also.

We are also grateful to the Southern Regional Council for many things, including hiring one of our internes.

Were it not for those of like mind and belief, such things as Internes-in-Industry Projects would be impossible, and we are indebted to our many friends and supporters. Thank you again for making the project this year the success it was.

Sincerely,

Martha Gaines
Martha Gaines

Anne Queen
Anne Queen

Alvin M. Gaines
Alvin Gaines

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Ga.

September 12, 1955

(Dictated September 9th)

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Herewith a first payment of $750 toward Irene Osborne's salary and social security. I acknowledge that it would be a simpler transaction to send you the entire $5,000 plus social security in one check; but it so happens that we tied up a goodly sum in interest bearing time deposits which for the moment are not available to us. Therefore, I send you enough to cover her salary and social security for the entire months of October and for the first half of November. The balance of $4,250, plus social security for the whole year, will be sent to you in a single check November 7, 1955.

I hope that this does not unduly complicate your bookkeeping.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

cc: RA

September 19, 1955

Mr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Bob:

C.H. and I have both read with interest and appreciation your kind letter of August 29th.

I take it that things will have to stay as they are for the time being, but I would hope that in some happy future we can make a hookup.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 9th)

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

SEP 1 1955

August 29, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Let me first say that I enjoyed the meeting of August 10 more than any consultative experience I have had (with possible exception of the perennially exciting Institute). I was really impressed with the zest shown by all present as they did their best to contribute to the valuable work of the Council. The first and most reassuring thing that I appreciated was your having invited such persons as Ruby Hurley, Bonita Valien and Emory Jackson - critical but constructive and valuable persons. From there on, I was pleased with everything, and I hope your staff found it of value.

I was glad to get to know your state representatives at the Institute. I would have been very happy to work with them (I especially think Chris Mercer is a quite promising young man). I telegraphed you word of my inability to join this program mainly because of my felt need to move closer to the academic world, and because I felt that one can function well in this position only if one has a greater degree of personal serenity than I have at present. I fear that I am somewhat a "victim" of the South, have lost my familiarity with it, and am less able to respond to it with love than my current Quaker colleagues.

So I have a great ambivalence. I am reluctant to tackle any new position unless I am positive that a) this is the best thing for me, and b) I am the best person for this job. Yet, I agree with you that here is the place where the really important race relations job waits doing. I am greatly interested, and I hope to follow the progress of the Council as much as I can. The report I am currently writing for Russell Sage has

attempted to consider race relations issues of far broader scope than the specific work of AFSC. I believe Fred Routh has a copy of my outline, and if I contact him soon, we might discuss whether any of my current ideas would be of value to your staff. I may see him at the Sociological Society meetings in Washington.

Let me know, if you see areas where I might be of future use to the Council. I will assume that if one is needed now, one will still be needed two or five years from now. So keep in mind my continued interest.

Best wishes to all your staff.

Sincerely,

Bob Johnson
(NT)

Robert B. Johnson

cc: Dr. Fred Routh
Dr. C. H. Parrish

RBJ:nt

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

SEP 23 1955

September 21, 1955

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter of September 12 and special thanks for the $750 down payment on Irene Osborne. We will of course be more than happy to receive the balance in November. In case you are not mathematically minded, you should add to the balance of $4,250 the amount of $84 which our financial geniuses tell me is the social security money required.

I am sure that this is going to be a very happy relationship and I know that Irene is quite excited about undertaking this assignment. I hope that we can get together again some time soon and I expect that whether we plan it or not we will bump into each other at one conference or another. Thanks again.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

RKB:s

October 11, 1955

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 2109
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I am scheduled to work with the North Carolina Council on Human Relations from December 5th through December 10th. On December 10th, there will be a state-wide meeting of local interracial councils probably in High Point. It occurs to me that there might be time for me to stay in Greensboro for two or three days to do some work with you. Of course, this depends upon your schedule and your thoughts about it.

Let me know what thought you have on the subject.

Best regards to you and to all my friends there.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/ys

October 14, 1955

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 2109
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt Bell:

Thanks for your prompt reply! I'll look forward to corresponding further about my visit to Greensboro.

We arrived at an agreement that I should best be located here for half the year to be more accessible to southern points and to sources of information. The arrangement is that I'm on loan from AFSC to SRC for six months. During that time I'll visit all the state Councils. Before coming to North Carolina, I'll be in Arkansas, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Florida.

Hopefully, by the time I arrive in North Carolina, I will have learned something of what I'm about.

Best regards to all!

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/ys
Dictated, but not read.

a. F.S.C.
I.O

November 4, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Florence Young

FROM: Irene Osborne

RE: Mail and Files

Throw away the brochures. They are a mistake and should never have been sent, but it's not worth the expense and effort to return them to Washington.

Yes, the folders in the file cabinet are to go to the archives. However, the materials in the bottom drawer are materials which I think Dick Bennett will want.

Dictated by IO/signed in her absence by ys.

November 8, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marilyn Klein

FROM: Irene Osborne

RE: The Typist's Chair

I have racked my brain to try to recall the circumstances of the chair, but I am unable to do so. The date, September 1952, when we bought a chair is about the time when we moved to the new building, and I can't imagine what chair that could have been unless it was four chairs (which we did buy about that time). The inventory items look to me like conclusive evidence that the typist chair does indeed belong to Miss Lineweaver; in any event, I suspect her memory of this is correct. I did not recall it, and thus in confusion in moving.

Apologies and regrets!

IO/ys
Dictated by IO, but not read.

November 8, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Richard Bennett

FROM: Irene Osborne

RE: PAMPHLETS

I am almost out of copies of both pamphlets, and I find lots of uses for them. Can you send me some? I will suggest 200 of "The Right of Every Child." I know you are almost out of "Integration of Washington Schools", so you can use your own judgement. I can use as many as you think you can spare.

IO/ys
Dictated by IO/but not read.

Staff

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date December 16, 1955

To: George Mitchell

cc: Fred Fuges
Dick Bennett

From: B. Tartt Bell

RECEIVED DEC 19 1955

Subject: Legal Counsel for the Persecuted

At a meeting on November 29, our "committee for rights of conscience program" considered an expression of concern from our Texas office about the reprisals against those standing out for integration in the Southeast. The committee feels there is an issue of conscience involved in cases of this type and that the Service Committee ought to do what it can to help support those who are standing up under the pressures. Therefore I want you to know that it authorized the expenditure of a very limited amount of money to secure legal counselling in at least some of the cases that might be brought to our attention. Will you please keep this in mind?

AFSC - Bennett

December 28, 1955

Mr. Richard K. Bennett, Secretary
Community Relations
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 South 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Dick:

I have just read with considerable interest your publication Toward the Elimination of Segregation in the Nation's Capitol. I think it a very fine report and it shows what process you all went through in reaching your desired goal. Would it be possible for us to obtain 15 copies of the report so that we may distribute them to our state organizations. If there is a cost involved, we would of course be glad to take care of it.

I talked yesterday with Irene Osborne who is in Washington and she seemed in good spirits. She will come back with us the 2nd and we have arranged for her to be with you in Philadelphia the two weeks you suggested. We sent you a copy of the "corrected schedule".

Best personal regards and wishes for the New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Jan 3 56

January 3, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr. Richard K. Bennett

FROM: Irene Osborne

We have cleared the dates so that I can be in Philadelphia both for the week of January 16-20 and for the Round-Up January 23-27. So you can expect me to be there on the morning of January 16.

This is a report from my first day back in the office so you can regard this as confirmation that I made it.

AFSC - Bell

January 3, 1956

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thank you for your note. I was more than sorry that it was necessary to rearrange the plans for North Carolina. The press interview you had planned was clearly a fine opportunity and I am sorry that I missed it. Actually, up until just the week before, I was still hoping that I would make the North Carolina trip. It is for that reason that I failed to let you know more promptly that I could not be there.

I have had a good rest and am in good health and fine spirits. As you see, I am back at work now and ready to start out again.

According to revised schedule, I will be in North Carolina March 5-9. If you again want to plan some AFSC participation, it might be well for you to be in touch with Harry Jones. Or, if you prefer, you can write directly to me. I will be going to Tennessee the week following so I think I would find it most convenient to spend the weekend in Greensboro.

I am to spend a week in the Philadelphia office January 15-20 and will attend the Community Relations Round-Up January 23-27. I am wondering if I will be seeing you there.

Thanks again for your interest and your nice note. Regards to all of you there.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

AFSC
Bennett

January 9, 1956

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Penn.

Dear Dick:

Thank you for your letter of January 6 and forthe promise to send us 15 copies of Iren's report on the AFSC program in Washington.

Irene spent last week with us here in the office and we reviewed what is going on in the various states and how her new schedule would relate to state programs. She is in top notch shape again and raring to go. As you already know, she is a great gal with terrific ability and lots of drive. We have been very pleased with the work she has down with us thus far.

I am glad that we could make flexible her schedule so that she could be with you during the two week period of your conferences in Philadelphia. Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 6, 1956
(dictated 1/4/56)

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for your letter of December 28. I am especially glad that Irene seems to be back into shape again and that by now she is back at work. We will be very happy to have her for the two weeks in January and I appreciate very much your being flexible enough to make this possible.

Thanks very much for your kind words about the final report on our Washington, D. C. program. I will see to it that 15 copies of the report which was written by Irene are sent to you under separate cover. Best wishes.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

RKB:s

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 17, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am hankering for a good visit with you. Aren't you coming this way sometime soon? I would particularly like to talk over with you an idea I have for a two or three person team to spend full time for the next couple of years working with and on the churches in an attempt to get them into more effective action on the total race relations front. I believe this can be sold to some of the "big Money" boys. Let me hear from you. Warm regards to you and Alice.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

AFSC - Bell

January 19, 1956

Mr. D. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 West Market St.,
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

It is certainly high time that the Churches exerted their leadership over moderate-minded people in the South. If they don't move soon the extremists in the White Citizens' Councils will have led us all to disaster.

I am in New Orleans January 20 and 21; in Atlanta for various local engagements from January 23 til 31. Early February is clear and I hope to get to Greensboro, Washington and further, and on my northward trip I will give you notice and stop.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

AFSC

American Friends Service Committee
617 W. Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

RECEIVED JAN 24 1956

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

PROGRAM GETS DIRECTOR

A new Quaker program to help persons whose conscientious motivation has brought them into conflict with the law has named a full-time director.

The principal purpose of the program will be to provide competent counsel for such persons and assure, insofar as possible, that "due process" is observed in their trials.

The director is Fred Fuges, a member of the Philadelphia Bar. He is aaociated with the firm of MacCoy, Evans and Lewis. Mr. Fuges is a member of the Newtown, Pa., Friends Meeting, Newtown, Pa., and is chairman of its peace and service committee. He is a graduate of Haverford College and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

His job will be director of the Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee. The program was organized last July and will make available to litigants funds to secure legal counsel.

Mr. Fuges said the program will "be alert to legal cases where a stand on conscience has brought individuals into difficulty or litigation. We will use our resources with the hope that we can assure such individuals a fair trial with competent legal counsel."

The program has a policy-making committee of seven lawyers and eight laymen which reviews all cases and makes final decisions. The committee is responsible to the executive board of the Service Committee.

(MORE)

Roland Pennock, professor of political science at Swarthmore College, is chairman of the committee.

Lawyers on the committee are Wayland Elsbree of the firm of White, Williams and Scott of Philadelphia; Harrop Freeman, a practicing attorney in New York and law professor at Cornell University; Samuel Morris, a member of the Philadelphia Bar; Oliver Stone, a practicing attorney in Washington; Allen Olmsted and Harry Sprogell, both members of the Philadelphia law firm of Saul, Ewing, Remick and Saul.

Other lay members of the committee are Henry J. Cadbury, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee and retired professor at Harvard University; A. Burns Chalmers, secretary for education, American Friends Service Committee; Spence Coxe, executive secretary of the Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union; Mrs. Mary Moss Cuthbertson, YWCA executive for college and university work of the Middle Atlantic Region; John Roche, professor of political science at Haverford College, Lyle Tatum, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia; Frederick B. Tolles, professor of Qauker history and director of Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College; and George Willoughby, director of CO Services for the American Friends Service Committee.

Five consultants to the committee are M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company; Harold Evans, Walter Longstreth, William Rahill and Claude Smith. The last four are Philadelphia lawyers.

The record of the 300-year history of the Society of Friends (Quakers) is full of illustrations of their opposition to unjust law. When the choice is presented, Friends believe it is better to obey God rather than men, even if they suffer for it.

They note a similar view expressed in a speech delivered by Pope Pius XII September 7 in Rome before a meeting of the 10th Internation Congress of

(MORE)

Historical Sciences. Discussing the relationship of Church and state, he said, "Certainly cases of conflict remain possible and when the laws of the state do harm to Divine law, the Church has a moral duty to oppose them."

In seventheenth-century England, Friends and Roman Catholics suffered because they objected to special loyalty oaths aimed to create religious uniformity.

In 1675 Friends organized the Meeting for Sufferings in London to meet the problem of civil liberties. It studied cases involving legal privileges of Friends, circulated information which would help in Quaker defense, promoted test cases in the courts and hired lawyers. It encouraged care of the victims of persecution, of those who lost their jobs, and the families of the imprisoned.

William Penn used much of his time in London working for the correction and relief of legal abuses.

Friends concerns go beyond members of the Society. Their efforts resulted in the release of John Bunyan in 1672 who was a strong anti-Quaker Baptist. They worked for abolition of slavery and have continued their interest in interracial activities. Their concern for the Indians dates from Penn's first treaty with the red men of Pennsylvania.

Freedom of conscience, as interpreted by the American Friends Service Committee may also include various problems relating to conscientious objection to military service, the right of public or private employment without discrimination, and the rights of aliens seeking United States citizenship.

Further information on the program may be obtained by contacting, American Friends Service Committee, 617 W. Market Street, Greensboro, N. C.

-30 -

January 24, 1956

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

We have just received in this office an AFSC release "Freedom of Conscience Program gets Director".

I am enclosing a list of our state officers. Would you please mail each of them a copy of this release. Best regards to you and Ann Queen.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Enc.

February 7, 1956

Miss Ann Queen
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Ann:

How nice to hear from you. I have also heard that you are to be in Atlanta soon. I will be away part of the time that you are here but I will be at Friend's meeting on February 19 and will be here during the week after that. Can we go some place for dinner after the Meeting? If you do not see me otherwise, you can reach me at the Atlanta University Graduate Dormitory, Lamar 9974.

It's very good of you to offer your apartment while I am in Greensboro and I certainly am over joyed to take you up on it. Actually I will probably not arrive in Greensboro until Thursday or Friday of that week, March 8 or 9, so perhaps you will be back while I am there. I probably will spend the weekend in Greensboro before going to Tennessee. If any of this involves times when your apartment is otherwise scheduled, please do not feel obligated as I can always make other arrangements.

I am very much looking forward to seeing you. We will certainly have a great deal to say to each other along about this time.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

M E M O R A N D U M

February 7, 1956

TO: Robert Hughes

FROM: Irene Osborne

On my schedule of visits to the States I am still holding for you March 19-23 as you and I originally agreed. I assuming that is still the date you prefer rather than March 26-30 as appeared on the mimeographed schedule. Will you let me know if that is also your understanding.

I am looking forward to being there which ever date it turns out to be. I know you must be very much involved and very busy from all that we hear about the boycott of busses.

Best regards,

Irene Osborne.

February 7, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Alice Spearman

FROM: Irene Osborne

I will be arriving in Columbia Sunday night, February 12th at 8:25 p. m. via Delta flight 380.

Regards to all of you and I will be looking forward to the visit and to time to talk with you at great length.

Irene

February 7, 1956

Superintendent Rex Smith
Monogalia County Schools
Morgantown, West Virginia

Dear Supt. Smith:

Your name was suggested to us by Blenda Proudfoot as one who could give us information about the proceedures for desegregation of schools. This was in response from our request for a suggestion of where in West Virginia desegregation had been carried out in a particularly effective way.

Through our Central Office of the Southern Regional Council, and through affiliated groups in twelve Southern states, we are searching for ways to help communities move in a constructive way toward implementation of the Supreme Courts School decision. We have a particular need for information about planning and proceedures at the County level. Most of the good publicized accounts of the desegregation process have been about the large cities, such as Baltimore, Washington, and St. Louis. We are working with many areas which have a largely rural population or with only towns and small cities. Consequently, we feel that information you can give us about desegregation and how it was carried out in Monogalia County will be of exceptional value to us.

We are interested in these specifics of what steps were actually taken and who carried them out. Can you send us statements of policy adopted by the Board of Education, a detailed report of the Administrative plan followed, or any other written or published materials which will clarify the proceedures used? What policies were followed with respect to pupil assignment under the new plan? On what basis were teachers assigned after desegregation? Were any special provisions made for assistance to teachers and principals in undertaking integrated classes? Can you offer any advice about public relations at the time policy is announced and as the program is carried out? In your school system, what has been the actual result in terms of the number of children in integrated classes, the number of schools now interracial, and the extent of the integration of faculties? Which proceedures seemed to you to be the most effective and

what would you do differently if it were possible? Are there remaining problems which you feel have not yet been adequately resolved?

We would very much appreciate anything you can send us or any comments you can make by way of answers to these questions. We can assure you that whatever information you can give us will be of immediate and practical importance to the areas which have not yet carried out desegregation programs.

Thank you for your attention to this inquiry. All of us here have every respect for the kind of job which has been done in West Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne,
Consultant on Community Organization.

IO:mf

February 8, 1956

Mr. Robert L. Gray
American Public Relations Association
1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I have your letter regarding participating in a panel at the 12th annual conference of the American Public Relations Association.

The plans you have made sound most interesting to me. All of us who are working toward implementation of the Supreme Court's School decision are most pleased to find interest on the part of organizations such as yours. Certainly Public Relations Officers have a very important role to play as communities undertake desegregation programs.

I will be very happy to take part in the panel on April 5 and fortunately find that I am able to fit this into my schedule.

I'll look forward to receiving a Conference program from you and any further details which you may care to write.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne,
Consultant on Community Organization.

IO:mf

February 8, 1956

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Exec. Dir.
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon about plans for my North Carolina trip March 5.

I recently had a chance to talk to Tartt Bell and Mayes Behrman of the AFSC office and they asked me to be in Greensboro for a meeting of their interracial committee on Friday night, March 9. Tartt Bell is also thinking of a Press Conference with the Winston Salem paper. I hope that you and Tartt Bell can do some joint planning on schedule. I would like to accept these arrangements with AFSC but do not want to interfere with anything you may have planned.

Let me hear from you when plans begin to take shape. I am looking forward to the North Carolina visit.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

February 8, 1956

Miss Charlotte Speer
School Affiliations Service
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Charlotte Speer:

I am very glad to know that some of the Integrated schools in Washington may be included in the school affiliation program. I am not sure whether you use schools at any level or whether the program is restricted to High Schools. I would suggest the two most integrated high schools. If you want schools at other levels, please let me know and I will obtain a more complete list for you. I would particularly suggest McKinley High School, Principal, Dr. Charles Bish, and Roosevelt High School. I am sorry but I don't have the name of the principal of Roosevelt. Both of the schools will receive mail simply addressed to the name of the school.

If you want a much more extensive list than this, please do not hesitate to write again as I can certainly obtain it for you.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

February 9, 1956

Mr. W. S. Kable, Refunds Supervisor
Eastern Air Lines
Miami International Airport
Branch P. O. Box 787
Miami 48, Florida

Dear Sir:

I have your letter regarding my application for refund for lost ticket.

The information you request is as follows:

Form 073, Number 524515

I trust it will now be possible for you to process this request. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

Form + Number - 524515

073

11/10

(and 7)

EASTERN AIR LINES

INCORPORATED

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL

MIAMI INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

BRANCH P. O. BOX 787, MIAMI 48, FLA.

January 13,1956

FILE: 1001

Miss Irene Osborne
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Reference: Lost Ticket Claim - A. T. P.

Dear Miss Osborne:

We have received your application for lost ticket refund but are unable to process same since the ticket form and number are lacking.

Inasmuch as the application indicates the ticket was issued against an Air Travel Plan account (the airline and number of which was not indicated) we request you check the charges to the account and advise us the form and number of the ticket involved. If you cannot readily secure this information, you may be able to obtain it by providing the carrier which holds your account with full particulars regarding date of issue, routing, etc.

We regret our inability to be of greater assistance to you in this matter at present but trust same can be processed upon receipt of the ticket form and number.

Very truly yours,

W. S. Kable

W. S. Kable
Refunds - Supervisor

JAW:ss

JB:ab

Irene Osborne file —

RAMSEUR, BRADHAM & CLARK
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601-606 — FLORIDA THEATRE BUILDING
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

WALTER O. RAMSEUR
JOSEPH W. BRADHAM, JR.
JACK CLARK

P. O. BOX 3991
TELEPHONE 5-4167

February 9, 1956

Dr. Paul E. Firmer, Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Pinellas County Citizens Committee on Desegregation has requested that I communicate with you gentlemen to express our appreciation for the appearance of Miss Irene Osborne at our last monthly meeting.

This committee is an official committee of the Pinellas County School Board and is attempting to solve the local problems occasioned by the Supreme Court's Decree.

We feel that the suggestions of Miss Osborne will certainly help us to solve the problems with which we are confronted.

Again let me express our sincere appreciation.

Yours very truly,

Jack Clark, Chairman

JC:JE

February 10, 1956

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Valien:

Because my last visit to Tennessee was interrupted we have planned another time when I can visit in Tennessee. The time we have planned is March 12-16.

We are agreed here that if there are ways that I could be helpful in Nashville that would be an excellent place to place emphasis. Fred Routh suggested, and I heartily agree, that you are the best person to consult about the possibilities of my being of some help in Nashville. Your job as Coordinator of the Central Tennessee Consultants, and your work with other community groups means that you are able to relate the work of the Council to the many interesting things that are going on in the city.

I will be in the office from February 20-March 2 and hope to hear from you about ideas that you may have. If some other time is more suitable, specify that, too, and we'll do our very best to squeeze any other proposed date into the schedule. I am personally especially interested in Nashville and will be glad to spend two or three days there if this will have some real utility.

Personal greetings to you. We have high hopes for the many projects you are engaged in.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

February 10, 1956

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Exec. Dir.
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thanks for your letter. I am sorry you had to wait for the biographical material, your telegram was the first I had known that you requested it.

I will arrive in Charlotte on Monday morning if at all possible. I am going to be at Highlander Folk School for the weekend and will appreciate being able to stay through Sunday. However, if the transportation times appear to awkward I will make some ajustment.

I want to sound a note of caution about appointments with School Boards and administrative persons. I haven't generally found that I can be particularly effective in talking to school officials if the Council and the ideas are new to them. I think initial contacts need to be made by people in the area and I find that I cannot very well substitute for local citizens. On the other hand, where you have a relationship with school officials, and my visit will fit clearly into this in a way which you can see, then of course, I am glad to cooperate. I say this not to inhibit you at all in your planning but to try to be realistic in making the best use of my time.

Most of my time in the other states has been spent with groups of citizens who are interested in working in the communities and with school officials on the positive aspects of school integration.

While I make speeches to them on occasions, I think that much may be gained by little groups of 3 or 4 key people in informal discussions not rigidly planned.

With this as a guide, please feel free to plan the schedule as you see fit. I will be looking forward to hearing from you and to seeing you in North Carolina.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne, Consultant
Community Organization.

IO:mf

MEMORANDUM.

TO: Dick Bennett.

FROM: Irene Osborne.

I have two invitations to check with you:

Highlander Folk School wants me as a consultant on the Public School Integration workshops. Three workshops are scheduled for July 15 - 21, August 5 - 11, August 19 - 25. I can come for as much as possible in all of the three. They are willing to wait a bit to work out dates for my being there, but would like to have a commitment that I can serve for part of the time as a consultant.

Marjorie Penney asks me to be at Fellowship Farm on June 3 to tell them what Northerners should know about the South. They will pay expenses.

If you want to write direct to Henry Shipherd and Marjorie Penney and send me copies, that is all right. You can let me know what you tell them.

You might like to know that I am to be in Washington April 5 to 7 to speak to the American Public Relations Association. The Fellowship for the Republic is going to pay the bill. Let me know if you will be anywhere in those parts.

I have just returned from South Carolina where I had a rugged but rip-roaring and interesting trip, and am convinced that someday they will come into the union.

AFSC
Bennett

February 14, 1956

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

I was in Dallas last Friday and Saturday. Meeting with my own people. Several of them happened in my hearing to praise what your girl down there is doing in job opportunities. The town simply resounded with the news that Nieman-Marcus had employed a Negro girl in some gratifyingly important capacity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 21, 1956

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I'll be glad to confirm the appointments for Friday, March 9, including the governor and the Winston-Salem press. I'm answering that you can plan the transportation so that this is possible. Where are we seeing the governor? I'll hope to arrive on Thursday night in whatever city we are seeing him.

I'll be in the Atlanta office February 27 through March 2, so we can be in touch if need be.

Best regards to all there.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/rha

AFSC
Bell

February 22, 1956

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Dr. Will's boy John wants back in the South to do our kind of thing. Been teaching philosophy at Columbia. Lately (and now) in Virgin Islands, where wife has a flower-shop, or something. I am anxious to follow through on John's plea for help in landing him. Highly good egg. Suggest you investigate. Hissaddress:

12 Crystal Gade
St. Thomas,
Virgin Islands

Bill Alexander, at Chapel Hill and Durma, would know all about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 27, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred Fuges:

I am glad you are at work.

Three things:

(1) Yes, legal aid where NAACP isn't already giving it or willing to give it, or where (as will sometimes happen, especially with white persons) the NAACP is unacceptable as the agency to give the legal aid. But always (Montgomery and anywhere else) act on matters of law in concert and close collaboration with the NAACP, locally and nationally.

(2) There is a new tactic unleashed in this controversy, and you could help to get it ticketed, described, and understandingly disliked. The trick is to do a "work to rule" job (used in some labor disputes) in reverse, and have the civil authority bedevil protesting people with every silly infraction of laws that can be dreamed up. Montgomery is a good example, where they took to arresting people for driving thirty in twenty-five mile zones. There are larger instances, where the power of Attorneys General is brought threateningly to bear, and where State Legislatures arrogate the power of Courts, and threaten people, and so on. And the Southern Governors are in on the deal, or some of them are. Have you some people at these points, and learn what is being done. It is a new and thoroughly un-American weapon, and the people of the Country will resent it when they know about it. You be an instrument to get it known.

(3) Do a real job of finding new jobs for the honest people that get dug out on these squabbles.

Come to see us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED FEB 27 1956

February 24, 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

The Rights of Conscience Program was established in 1955 to strengthen freedom of conscience by providing financial assistance to persons who have been involved in litigation or otherwise disadvantaged by exercise of their rights of conscience. The issue of individual conscience in each case is evaluated in the light of the corporate experience of Friends and their historic testimonies against test oaths, informing on others, and war.

To-date the program has provided legal assistance to persons who have run afoul of loyalty oath statutes, or who have before congressional committees refused to inform on others, or who because of pacifist beliefs have refused to participate in a mock civil defense drill where the only purpose was to prepare the country psychologically for war.

The program early expressed concern and sympathy for the problems of persons who are working actively or who have taken stands for integration of all races, particularly in the South. In several instances, token economic assistance has been granted to persons who have been disadvantaged in this area although no firm policy has yet been established by the program as to the pattern or extent of assistance.

The demonstration of non-violence and passive resistance by Negroes in the Birmingham boycott may present a situation where the program might be able to make a significant contribution to the rights of conscience of those involved. However, before any action could be taken by the program, a practical plan of assistance would have to be drawn for consideration by the governing committee of the program. Accordingly, I am requesting that you consider submitting some proposals indicating the type of assistance most urgently needed. For instance, one approach might be to consider retaining counsel in Birmingham to assist those Negroes who are brought into court on petty charges.

Any proposals or suggestions you care to make along these lines will be appreciated. The next meeting of the program committee is scheduled for March 12 so that any action you are able to take before then will be helpful.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

AH:mo

MEMORANDUM.

28th February, 1956.

TO: Richard K. Bennett.

FROM: Irene Osborne.

I think the enclosed correspondence is self-explanatory. I very carefully gave the man your name and correspondence directions when I talked with him. Obviously he has ignored this, so I am trying to set him straight.

IO:rl.
Encls.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

February 28, 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 1 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

It was called to my attention that in my letter to you of February 24th, I inadvertently made reference to the "Birmingham boycott", when I intended to say "Montgomery boycott".

I regret any confusion this error may have caused.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

AH/ha

B. Tartt Bell,
American Friends Service Committee,
617 W. Market Street,
Greensboro, N. C.

March 2nd, 1956.

Dear Tartt,

I expect to be staying at the Sir Walter in Raleigh on Thursday night. I will meet you in the lobby at 9.00 A.M. on Friday.

If you want to talk with me before then, I will be in the Charlotte office through Wednesday.

Regards!

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne.

IO:rl.

March 5, 1956

Mr. Charles F. MacLennan,
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

Write to Lillian Smith directly and unembarrassedly at Clayton, Georgia. She is not broke. I don't know at all what she charges, but assume that often she speaks for nothing more than expenses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

1309 East Broad Street, Columbus 5, Ohio

March 2, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 5 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On May 4-6, Friday evening through Sunday noon, we will hold an Institute on "Race Relations in the U.S.A." - In Education, Housing, Jobs.

This is an established yearly event which draws attendance from all over Ohio and Michigan. Each year people of national and international prominence have contributed leadership.

The emphasis in this program has been upon discussion. However we have always aimed to have some outstanding speakers address themselves to the main aspects of the general subject under consideration.

I am writing you at the very warm suggestion of Tartt Bell of our Greensboro office. I talked the program over with Tartt. Incidentally Tartt will be a resource person in one of our discussion groups.

We would like immensely to secure Lillian Smith for an address. Tartt felt I should write you to ask if you can offer any suggestions as to the best way to approach Lillian Smith other than by writing her directly out of a clear sky. Your response and help toward interesting Lillian Smith in coming to us for the May 4-6 week-end will be deeply appreciated. I expect it hardly needs that I should say we are thinking of her for the one address to be made on the school desegregation situation.

Sincerely,

Charles F. Mac Lennan

Charles F. Mac Lennan
Executive Secretary

CFM:k

cc Tartt Bell

We would need to know, of course, what fee would charge. It might well prove to be a certain amount we could undertake.

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 26, 1956

To Each State Director:

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director of the Rights of Conscience Program for the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (RIttenhouse 6-9372), has informed us that the Committee has funds to help relieve, in both the legal and economic aspects, persons he refers to as "conscience victims."

Mr. Fuges writes that the Committee realizes that rights of conscience are involved in the problems which are confronting pro-integrationists in the area and that he is willing to present specific requests for grants to be used in legal aid.

Mr. Fuges also writes that the Committee has a grant to relieve economic distress of conscience victims and also is setting up a project to help find alternative employment for such victims.

We presume that Mr. Fuges, when he refers to "conscience victims" in our area, means those persons who are placed under hardship, legally and/or economically, for their stand on integration.

If you know of any cases of this kind, you might let us know, with full details. Of course, as Mr. Fuges points out, the program committee of the American Friends Service Committee is the final authority in determining if and to what extent the victims would be aided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

M E M O

March 13, 1956

TO: JC

FROM: GSM GM

Will you take it on yourself to be interpreter and simplifier of the Quakerisms in these two items?

I would like to get a memorandum to our State groups telling what these birds can do.

But for the life of me I can't puzzle out what they can or ~~can't~~ won't do.

Will you puzzle and see if you can dope it out and draft a memo to the State people.

I will have to hedge and say these birds are their own authorities.

GM

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

March 1, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 3 1956

Circulate -
Return to 984.

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of February 27th.

If you become aware of conscience victims in the South who would possibly benefit by legal help either prior or during litigation, I should certainly appreciate your contacting me. I would have to present a specific case to the program committee for decision. The committee realizes that rights of conscience are involved in the problems which are arising in your area, but it has not as yet been able to see much opportunity to be helpful by making grants for legal fees and costs.

We do have a grant for sufferings; to relieve economic distress of conscience victims, and in conjunction with this we are now working to set up an alternative employment project for conscience victims. We see not only a pro-integrationist as our customer for this type of service, but also those who refuse to testify before Congressional Investigation Committees on grounds of conscience. In addition there are those who lose employment and remuneration because of a conscience refusal to execute loyalty oaths. Perhaps we can persuade northern employers to employ southern conscience victims and vice versa.

In accordance with your suggestion I will contact the local NAACP in Philadelphia, and through it the national office, to let them know that we are ready to receive applications for help with legal fees and costs in cases involving rights of conscience. I have made this contact previously, but will repeat it now in the light of changing conditions.

I will stop to see you in Atlanta at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 22, 1956

To Each State Director:

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director of the Rights of Conscience Program for the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (RIttenhouse 6-9372), has informed us that the Committee has funds to help relieve, in both the legal and economic aspects, persons he refers to as "conscience victims."

Mr. Fuges writes that the Committee realizes that rights of conscience are involved in the problems which are confronting pro-integrationists in the area and that he is willing to present specific requests for grants to be used in legal aid.

Mr. Fuges also writes that the Committee has a grant to relieve economic distress of conscience victims and also is setting up a project to help find alternative employment for such victims.

We presume that Mr. Fuges, when he refers to "conscience victims" in our area, means those persons who are placed under hardship, legally and/or economically, for their stand on integration.

If you know of any cases of this kind, you might let us know, with full details. Of course, as Mr. Fuges points out, the program committee of the American Friends Service Committee is the final authority in determining if and to what extent the victims would be aided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 4, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Fuges:

We sent some notice of your interest to the staff people in charge of our twelve State organizations in human relations.

From Mississippi I have the enclosed letter for your attention.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

See the Fuges
Gus. Lynch
DFA 3/28/56

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

April 4, 1956

RECEIVED APR 17 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I am enclosing a letter to the Public Pulse from Mr. Eugene Hood, whom you may have heard of and I thought you might be interested in his letter. This letter follows a letter which I believe I will also enclose, attacking the Service Committee by McDaniel Lewis in the paper the Saturday before. I do not know the connection of these letters but it is interesting that they appear one following the other and I am just wondering if there may not be some relationship and if this might not be a project which is being sponsored jointly by the two men.

It was good to see you briefly in Atlanta and now the visit seems so long ago that I am already getting eager to get back to Atlanta again. When do you expect to be in Greensboro? Oh by the way I believe that I did hear that you are going to be at Bennett for the Homemaking Institute and I hope very much that you will have time to come out for a visit with me. Perhaps you could come out for a meal one night and I assure you that I will give you corn bread and not bread with wheat in it.

Please give my greetings to Alice and to other friends in the office.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Queen

Anne Queen
College Secretary

AQ:pr
Enc.

Signed by mef in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

June

April 6, 1956

Mr. Charles F. MacLennan, Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

Many thanks for your letter of April 5. You get good people.

I will show when and where you say, be on hand as much of the two days as you wish, and make speeches or arguments when you say.

Unclear as to how much of Friday, June 29 you want me on campus? Pretty much all day, or for evening speech? Either way I am workable on.

History of GSM herewith. Clean out of pictures and clean out of glossies, unless one riding around has come back in, in which case my Secretary will send it on today. Lacking a glossy, she will send a mat. If that won't do, write back in again, and by then she'll have a glossy (nous esperons).

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls (2)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

1309 East Broad Street, Columbus 5, Ohio

April 5, 1956

RECEIVED APR 6 1956

VIA AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are immensely pleased in the prospect of having you for our Institute on Key Issues in Race Relations in the U.S., June 29 - July 1, on the campus of Antioch College.

Just a word about the structure. Friday evening there will be two addresses, one by yourself on the issue of discrimination in education, and the second by Frank Horne, Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York City, on the issue of segregated housing.

Saturday morning, John Feild, Executive Director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission will make an address on discrimination in employment. Then for the rest of Saturday there will be discussion sessions, in groups of not more than 25 -- 2¼ hours each, morning, afternoon and evening. We will have competent resource people for each of these discussion groups in all three areas of concern -- housing, education, jobs. However, we would want you to be available also throughout Saturday for the groups dealing with the issue of discrimination in education.

Dr. Benjamin Mays is trying to work it out to be with us also. He will circulate in the discussion groups and on Sunday morning will draw together the three divisions of the overall institute subject, setting them in the context of the one deeper issue which underlies all three; see them, too, in their international implication; and impress these as spurs to commit each one present to do something about implementing these concerns in their own local situations.

Following this address there will be a panel discussion growing out of Dr. May's address and the experiences of the day before. For this panel we would want your participation along with Frank Horne, John Feild and Benjamin Mays.

For our publicity material we will need a biographical sketch, and either two glossy prints or a photograph (to be returned, if you wish) from which to make glossies. We would like to have these by return mail if at all possible.

This will also confirm the agreement made, in our telephone conversation, that we would take care of your travel and other expenses and give you a tokem honorarium of $50.

With very warmest appreciation of your willingness to help us in our program in this highly important way. I am very hopeful you will find it a truly rewarding experience.

Sincerely,

Charles F. Mac Lennan
Executive Secretary

CFM:ck

(Letter taken over phone 4/10/56)

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I just had a conversation with a member of the faculty at Orangeburg. The situation there is deplorable and rapidly getting worse. Apparently a crisis will be precipitated next week with the release to the press of a faculty resolution in answer to the legislation authorization of the investigation of faculty participation in the activities of the NAACP. He tells me that the faculty, apparently everyone on the faculty, signed this resolution, is already beginning to look for employment elsewhere next year.

Is there not something that can be done about this? What would be the possibility of trying to get several members of the two Boards of Directors of the Segregated Education Association, or the PTA's, together to consider this whole problem in an off-the-record session. There must surely be some executive way to bolster some academic freedom in the State. I hope that you can give this matter some attention and let me know if there is any way the AFSC might be helpful.

Tartt Bell
S. E. Office
American Friends Service Committee
Greensboro, N.C.

copy to Mrs. Pearsall

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

April 12, 1956

RECEIVED APR 14 1956

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 4, 1956 and the enclosed letter from Mrs. Lyells of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

I plan to correspond with her directly in the matter of the three persons whom she mentioned in her letter to you. Your continued efforts in bringing similar cases to our attention will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program

AH:Dl

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	Coll.			

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

April 24, 1956

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (RIttenhouse 6-9372)

Contact Mrs. R. S. Lyells in Jackson Mississippi, telephone 5-5673 re Irene Osborne.

Beth Friedman
Secretary
Southern Regional Council

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1956 APR 24 PM 4 1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at destination

AA36

A LLV258 (P LLW213) PD AR=FAX PHILADELPHIA PENN 24 337P ME=
GEORGE MITCHELL, SOUHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

NEED TO PHONE IRENE TOMORROW MORNING CAN YOU WIRE COLLECT WHERE SHE CAN BE REACHED IN MISSISSIPPI THANKS=
DICK BENNETT=

SENDER WAITING WESTERN UNION Answer by WIRE SENDER WAITING 6286(54)

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 17, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Irene:

Greetings, gal. The office doesn't seem the same without thy (to use a Quakerism) cheery face. We keep hearing good reports from State people about the work you have done with SRC.

I have just returned from a NAIRO Board Meeting in Detroit. Quite a few interesting things came up there. Among them was a proposal for a case study in desegregation, analysis and prognosis, based on Washington, D. C. The proposal was made by George Nesbitt, though he was not there personally. I obtained a copy of it and am forwarding it to you with this letter. I hope that you will read it with care, write your opinion of the proposed study and send it to Marsh Bragdon, and send me a copy, if you will.

The feeling of the Board was that the conference aspect of the proposed study would probably do as much harm as good in the Washington area. You know my opinions about excessive ballyhoo connected with serious social analysis. However, I don't want to prejudice your thinking. Anyhow, here is the paper.

I am off this weekend to the West Coast: San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, and I am going to take a week off following that and run up to Seattle to see an aunt and uncle I haven't seen for ten years. Upon my return to Atlanta, I would very much like to find a letter from Irene Osborne on my desk, telling me what she is up to with the AFSC and in Philadelphia, with such minor details as if she found an apartment, how she likes the City of Brotherly Love, etc.

Best regards. We miss ya'.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

May 22, 1956

Fred Fuges
Director of Rights of
Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred Fuges:

I have been in touch with the Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Alice Spearman at 1508 Lady Street in Columbia about your letter of May 17th and the people at Elloree.

Mrs. Spearman will write to you directly about them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 17, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The New York Times of May 17th carried a small news item with the date line Elloree, South Carolina, May 16, and indicated that it was a United Press Dispatch. It described that certain Negro teachers at Elloree Training School had refused to sign a statement denying membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They also refused to resign in spite of state legislation barring NAACP members from state employment.

It is possible that cases such as these might come within the scope of the Rights of Conscience Program. If you think that we can be of service, and you have the means of reaching these people, I should appreciate your suggesting our program as a possible source of assistance.

Sincerely

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 25, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

Dear Dr. George:

I am sending you under separate cover a brisk summary of activities during my time in the South. I am also sending copies to Fred, Harold and C. H.

Please regard this as only the first installment. You are also to get soon a nice narrative report which will tell lots more about it.

I don't like this cold Yankee weather. I wish I could have brought a bit of the sunshine of the South with me. I used to complain about being so remote ~~about~~ from desegregation, now I can complain about being so remote from the crisis. What's going on down there? I miss you all. Don't forget to keep sending a steady stream of Southern Regional Council people through Philadelphia. Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Irene

Irene Osborne
Consultant on School Integration

IO/fy

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 29, 1956

RECEIVED MAY 31 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a biographical sketch of Alfred Maund. He writes that his major interest is writing. He might be a good man for us to keep in mind. Could you ask your boy Bob Hughes in Montgomery if he knows anything about this man?

I wish we had some kind of clearing house that would help with the occasional personnel problems we all have. A knowledge of Southern liberals will be mighty valuable in the next few years. Can't you find some money for this kind of a project?

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

btb:pc
enc.

May 31, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Irene:

I rejoice in your report. Every one of those talks and interviews and conferences represented a mustering of energy, a sugh for the patient and persuasive word, and the lavish use of good judgement. We were just bloomin' lucky to be able to get you to take on that toil. But we both know that it was rewarding toil.

I think I can detect in a good many towns now an official disposition to move ahead with actual plans for cracking the schools. One can almost hear the local superintendents saying to themselves, "Never mind what the Governor says. I must be about this town's business." I know that you made your rounds in order to spread such a purpose. I can't prove that present progress (out of sight I grant) should be labeled "Made by Irene Osborne," but I believe it!

You have got a lot of firm friends hereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Richard Bennett

May 31, 1956

Mr. Clarence Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Clarence:

It is no more than right that you should hear of things that work out well.

A while back Dick Bennett and I began to dicker about an arrangement that would put Irene Osborne's Washington wisdom at the disposal of the Southern towns and cities. Dick Bennett assigned her to us. We paid her salary and her travel.

Now mind you, Irene had scarcely set foot in these Southerns before. Though I am sure she here or there occasionally had the shakes, she steeled herself and was strong and tactful and persuasive and informing. And it is clear that she convinced a lot of people that by patient planning the schools in any community can be cracked.

It cost a minimum of money. It did a world of good. And the inner reason why it worked was character and purpose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 31, 1956

Mr. Richard Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Irene made us a bang-up report.

She did us a bang-up job.

I have tried my hand in this letter at telling her how well she did. 'Tis inadequate.

We are deeply grateful to the American Friends Service Committee and to you, and to the sense of purpose that moves you all, for making this arrangement work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

May 31, 1956

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I once met this man. There is currently a good deal of suspicion about him in Montgomery, and I think, myself, he is one whose advocacy far outrun probabilities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl.-Data Sheet Alfred Maund

Atlanta Meeting

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

525 Avery Street, Decatur
June 1, 1956.

RECEIVED JUN 2 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

This is to inform you that the American Friends Service Committee, (Quaker), is again sponsoring an Internes-in-Industry project in Atlanta, from June 15, through August 25. As you will recall this is the fourth summer such a project has been conducted in our City.

We greatly appreciate the help you have been in the past and we shall be grateful for your kindness in doing what you can to help any one of the internes who might knock on your door, looking for a job, to realize his or her ambition.

Again, we thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely,

Phern Stanley

Mrs. John W. Stanley, Clerk
of the Atlanta Meeting of the
Religious Society of Friends

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

RECEIVED JUN 5 1956

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 4, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your comment about Irene Osborne. She has real character as well as public relations gifts. I am glad they came out so well in this venture.

Strength to your arm.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence E. Pickett

June 8, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Fred Fuges:

Thank you for your letter concerning the Ellcree, S. C., situation. I am glad to learn that you had heard from Mr. Solomon of the Palmetto Education Association. There could be no better source of information about this particular matter. My only concern was that the teachers involved know about your program if that seemed indicated. Since that has been achieved, we can safely leave the matter to you and Mr. Solomon.

Whenever occasions arise in which we can work together, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 31, 1956

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Frank Loescher has written us about the situation at Elloree, South Carolina, and has sent along the material which you mailed him, for which I am grateful.

W. E. Solomon, Executive Secretary of the Palmetto Education Association, has written me about this same situation, and I have asked him to supply me with further details in connection with the six teachers who refused to complete the application form or resign.

I assume that he will include information in connection with Rutha Mae Ingram; however, I shall be happy to hear directly from you about this case together with any other information you may wish to submit in connection with the entire situation.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha
cc: Frank Loescher

imminent

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 14, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Have you made reservations for this trip?

April 19, 1956

Mr. Charles F. MacLennan
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

I enclose the photograph (glossy) of Mr. George S. Mitchell, as requested in your letter of April 13th.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary to Mr. Mitchell

P. S. Would appreciate very much the return of this photograph when it has met all of your publicity needs.

RECEIVED APR 16 1956

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
OHIO-MICHIGAN REGION
1309 EAST BROAD STREET, COLUMBUS 5, OHIO

April 13, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We are delighted in the prospect of having you come to us for our institute June 29-July 1 on Key Issues in Relations in the U.S.

The projected publicity material is now waiting upon a few missing photos.

Thank you for the biographical sketch.

We hope to have your photograph (glossy) within a few days now.

Sincerely,

Charles F. Mac Lennan

Charles F. Mac Lennan
Executive Secretary

CFM:k

June 15, 1956

Mr. Charles F. MacLennan
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

I ought now to plan the travel to Antioch.

Has the schedule so far jelled that you can tell me when I shall be needed on Friday, June 29th?

And I have a note somewhere I believe that you are through with me July 1st by or before twelve noon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 18, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Did cancel the first part of your trip to Yellow Springs as per your instructions this morning. Also did card.

Final set-up:
June 29th
Lv. at 12:36 p.m. DAL Fl. 744
arrive Cincinnati at 2:03 p.m.

-- from there you have arranged to get to Yellow Springs.

July 1st
Lv. Dayton, Ohio at 12:35 p.m.
TWA F1607, arrive Cincinnati 1:03 p.m.

Lv. Cincinnati at 2:35 p.m. DAL #447
arriving Atlanta at 5:26 p.m.

TICKET TO BE PICKED UP BY
TUESDAY, JUNE 26th

From George S. Mitchell

My travel plans for coming to the Institute on Racial Issues at Yellow Springs, June 29-Julyl, are as follows:

I will come by airflight ( ) Air line DAL Flite 540
train ( ) R.R.line _ _ _ No. _ _ _ _
car ( )

I am scheduled to arrive at Dayton, Ohio (place) Time 12:39 p.m. (time)

Other comments about travel arrangements:
Leaving Atlanta at 8:30 a.m.
Will expect someone to meet me at the Dayton airport 12:39 p.m., Friday June 29th.

CHARLES F. MACLENNAN
REGIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

LEWIS M. HOSKINS
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

GLENN C. BARTOO
INTERPRETATION AND FINANCE

OHIO-MICHIGAN REGION

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

1309 EAST BROAD COLUMBUS 5, OHIO

June 14, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E,.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell;

The time is close for the Institute on Race Relations in which you have undertaken to be a part. The enclosed flier reviews the main outlines.

Especially I would like for you to read the mimeo sheet enclosed with the flier. It attempts to indicate the Institute focus.

You will see that it is no part of the purpose of the Institute to get into any discussion or talk about the nature and causes of prejudice. We aim to deal pointedly, primarily, and all the way with the effects of prejudice as they show up in the three areas of housing, employment and education.

What can we DO to alleviate and overcome these effects; what are the hurdles which stand in the way of achievment; andHOW do we go about it, avoiding the mistakes of action, what to do, and what not to do, observing the constructive procedures, timing, best sequences of action, and so forth?

You are scheduled for a talk Friday evening on education, keeping in mind the limits within which we have elected to hold the conference sessions. (45 minutes-no discussion).

On Saturday you will be the resource person for 3 discussion sessions on education. On Sunday morning you will be on a panel discussing the overall problems of discrimination in housing, employment, and education.

I hope very much you can arrange your travel schedule to be in Yellow Springs for dinner at 6:00 P.M. Friday. It is hoped we can have all of those carrying leadership responsibility to be together for this occasion. It will give us a chance to get acquainted all around and to talk over a bit more our unity of purpose and direction.

The enclosed return postage card provides for advice about your travel arrangements. Please fill this out and return as soon as your travel plans are made. This is very necessary in order to organize our pick-up arrangements.

The nearest main airport is Dayton -- really Vandalia air-field, about 10 miles North of Dayton. Your ticket will be "Dayton". If you cannot work it out, if you fly, to come to Dayton, but can to Columbus, we will arrange to meet you at the latter airport. (Columbus is about 65 miles from Yellow Springs.)

If you come by train you may stop either at Xenia or Dayton on the Pennsy; or at Springfield on the N.Y.C. We will meet you at whichever place you indicate.

I do hope we will have an outstanding Institute and our appreciation runs deeply for your willingness to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Charles F. MacKennan

Charles F. MacKennan
Executive Secretary

CFM/ram
Encl.

EB Try for Dayton by air, arriving there (Dayton airport) by say 3 or 4 PM Friday. ✓

GMM

Then let me know by postal when to pick you up at airport. I can come airport Sunday noon. GM

A WEEK-END INSTITUTE

on

"KEY ISSUES IN RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S.--HOUSING, JOBS, EDUCATION"

JUNE 29 - JULY 1, 1956 - Friday Evening Through Sunday Noon

ANTIOCH COLLEGE CAMPUS - Yellow Springs, Ohio

To help find practical, constructive, non-violent ways to come to grips in our own communities with the problems with which these issues face us, there will be:-

FRANK S. HORNE	Executive Director, New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations.
GEORGE S. MITCHELL	Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.
JOHN G. FEILD	Executive Director, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.
BENJAMIN E. MAYS	President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

AND 16 OTHER LEADERS (see reverse side)

A major part of the time will be spent in small work-shop sessions with these skilled, widely experienced workers in the fields of minority housing, jobs and education. They will help us to understand not only the extent and nature of the problems, but also will share with us their know-how for action.

The Institute will be open only to those attending full time. There will be no single session admissions. Total attendance is limited to the capacity of the available accommodations in meeting rooms and living quarters.

A Registration Fee of $3.00 will be charged ($5.00 for married couples). Lodging for the period of the Institute is $5.00 per person. This includes maid service. Children can be accommodated on a family basis. The lodging charge will be the same for children as for adults, but they pay no registration fee. Yellow Springs Friends Meeting will provide a child care program during the Institute sessions. Meals will be served in the college cafeteria and dining room.

Complete enclosed Registration Card and mail with registration fee to the

AMERCIAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Ohio-Michigan Region

1309 East Broad Street, Columbus 5, Ohio

OUR SPEAKERS (also resource persons)

FRANK S. HORNE
Executive Director, New York City
Commission on Intergroup Relations

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

JOHN G. FEILD
Executive Director, Michigan State
Fair Employment Practices Commission

BENJAMIN E. MAYS
President, Morehouse College

WHERE WE MEET and SLEEP

MORE RESOURCE PERSONS

B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary
AFSC Southeastern Regional Office

MARSHALL BRAGDON
Executive Director, The Mayor's
Friendly Relations Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio

MARGUERITE I. HOFER
Director, Council of Industrial and
Interracial Relations
Presbytery of Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN HOPE II
Director of Industrial Relations
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University

DE HART HUBBARD
Racial Relations Officer
Federal Housing Authority
Cleveland, Ohio

IRENE OSBORNE
A. F. S. C. Consultant, School
Integration Program

JOHN Y. YOSHINO
Director of Employment on Merit Program
A. F. S. C. Chicago Office

OUR DISCUSSION CHAIRMEN

WILSON HEAD
Education Supervisor of
Psychiatric Social Work
Columbus Juvenile Diagnostic Center

DONALD P. IRISH
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Ohio Wesleyan University

RUTH KEETON
Housewife

WILLIAM D. LOTSPEICH
Professor of Physiology
College of Medicine
University of Cincinnati

ARTHUR E. MORGAN
President of Community Services, Inc.
Yellow Springs, Ohio

ROBERT RUMSEY
Executive Secretary
Wilmington Yearly Meeting of Friends

MELVIN SEEMAN
Associate Professor of Sociology
Ohio State University

WILLIAM E. UTTERBACK
Professor and Vice-Chairman
Speech Department
Ohio State University

June 26, 1956

Mr. Charles F. MacLennan
Executive Secretary
Ohio-Michigan Region
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

You wrote me June 14th about the Institute coming up.

I will leave Atlanta June 29th for Ohio via Delta's flight 744, which gets to Cincinnati at 12:03 p.m. I will then light out for Yellow Springs, fully intending to get there before 6:00 pm. I am told that a good lead would be to try to catch a train for Springfield some nine miles off.

Anyhow, you needn't bother about me, I will show at Yellow Springs by or about 6:00 p.m. June 29th.

On the leaving July 1st, I have booked myself Southbound from Dayton by TWA's Flight 607, leaving Dayton at 12:35 p.m. and then by Cincinnati to home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 29, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 1 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter in connection with Reese Griffin. We will try to get some AFSC staff person to stop and talk with him to get further details and possibly give him some moral support.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

June 27, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges
Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

FFK
circulated
personal
file

Dear Mr. Fuges:

I have a letter dated June 16th from a retired Methodist parson in Macon, Georgia. His name is Reese Griffin. He is a man who has had large churches in that territory and is much respected.

I am privately informed that he is wobbly as a liberal, or has been wobbly in the past. Now he says that by reason of his participation in a recent interracial meeting of Methodist ministers, the Bass Memorial Church, of which he had for four years been retired supply pastor, has dropped him, and his South Georgia Methodist Conference did not reappoint him to the pastorate of the Bass Memorial Methodist Church.

"It has come to the place where a minister will lose his pulpit of [if] he says anything in favor of integration. It is not a matter of what he says nor how he says it He must not dare say anything at all. Good people and well informed people are being swayed by unholy emotions and unchristian prejudices."

Mr. Griffin does not ask me for any service. He is merely reporting these facts. I report them to you. His address is 2758 Cherokee Avenue, Macon, Georgia.

In the same letter he says that an Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend Ronald Merrix, who has for some years served as rector for St. James-on-the-Hill has lately been done out of Mr. Merrix's job also.

Sincerely,

GSM/eab

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. In re the man Merrix: Diocesan authorities deny that he lost his job. He merely resigned and took a whopping job in a church in Savannah.

Register me/us for the Institute on Key Issues in Race Relations to be held on the Campus of Antioch College, June 29 - July 1, 1956. Registration fee enclosed.

Name .....

Address .....

If children are coming give names and ages:

.....

Amount enclosed $..... Date.....

(Packet of material sent upon receipt of registration)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

1309 East Broad Street, Columbus 5, Ohio

FILE COPY, INCOMING, AND PREVIOUS CORRES. CIRCULATED TO:
HCF
FBR

July 16, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred Fuges:

You wrote me July 9th.

No way we can help on money. While our grant has been generous, it is all budgeted out into getting twelve state outfits going.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

July 13, 1956

Previous correspondence attached.

Enclosed to FBR

+ Hof -

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 9, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 11 1956

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Please accept my apologies for the delay in acknowledging your letter of June 15th. Thank you for bringing to my attention the excerpt from the NAIRO Reporter of May, 1956.

I, of course, share your concern regarding the anti-integration laws that have been passed by the legislatures of the southern "interposition" states this year. The Rights of Conscience program has received an application for assistance from six individuals who have been disadvantaged by the operation of the South Carolina statute which denies employment in the state, county or school district to persons who belong to the NAACP. As you know, I am referring to the case of the Elloree teachers.

I shall keep you advised, from time to time, regarding any new developments in this case. In turn I would appreciate your keeping me informed of any matters brought to your attention, either concerning the Elloree teachers or any future cases which may arise in connection with the operation of the other statutes mentioned in the above NAIRO Reporter article.

There is one additional matter I would like to discuss with you. This involves the cases of individuals who have been economically disadvantaged by their position on the integration question, particularly those referred to us by Mrs. Lyells of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

As you may know, this program has two separate funds out of which grants may be made, depending upon the circumstances of the case. The larger of the two funds is allocated for assisting in the payment of legal fees and costs in court cases. The smaller fund is used to make sufferings grants to persons who are economically disadvantaged by reason of a conscience position but whose cases raise no legal issues.

In each instance the above-mentioned individuals from Mississippi have only qualified for assistance from the Sufferings Fund. However, because of the demands that have been made upon it, this fund is almost exhausted for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1956.

Therefore, I want to inquire of you whether the Southern Regional Council has any resources which might be diverted for the purpose of making interim grants to individuals such as those in Mississippi. If the Council does have such resources, our program would only call on you for temporary assistance after our funds were completely exhausted, and before our next fiscal year begins.

Awaiting your reply.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

AH/ha

June 15, 1956

(Dictated June 14th)

Fred Fuges
Director of Rights of
Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred Fuges:

This crazy Mississippi law ought to be overruled in a court and overruled fast.

It is out of our character to go after it.

I suppose the NAACP will get around to attacking the law in due time. But it would come with good grace if somebody else asserted honorable American doctrines against such a scandal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Photo "Anti-NAACP Activity in Deep South"
NAIRO Reporter, May '56.

July 17, 1956

Mr. Charles MacLennan
American Friends Service Committee
1309 East Broad Street
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. MacLennan:

I thought the Yellow Springs Conference a wonderful success, and I am so glad you let me be a part of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

1309 East Broad Street, Columbus 5, Ohio

July 6, 1956

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 9 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

Our hearts are warm with gratitude for the wonderfully helpful contribution which you brought to our week-end Institute at Yellow Springs.

We have had enthusiastic expressions of appreciation from scores of those who attended -- and nothing but! And it is because of the practical help they had received from those who, like yourself, so generously shared in the leadership.

The enclosed check is for the expenses you submitted and the token honorarium we said we would include.

Again, our very deepest thanks to you.

Sincerely,

Charles MacLennan

CFM:k

encl.

Office serving The Ohio-Michigan Region

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Southeastern Regional Office
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

RECEIVED JUL 19 1956

Dr. Mitchell: I did fill out the card "Yes" and mail it back to them 7/19/56
EAB

July 18, 1956

Dear Friend:

Your past interest and participation in the educational materials and action projects prepared for children and children's leaders by the American Friends Service Committee is much appreciated. We hope you and your children have had as much pleasure and satisfaction from these activities as we have.

I am revising the list of persons to whom announcements of the new projects, packets of materials, etc., will be sent from September 1956 through June 1957. If you wish to receive these mailings please return the enclosed card. There are some fine, imaginative new materials being prepared. We hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,

B Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:sh
Enclosure

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 23, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 25 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

I have your letter of July 16, 1956.

You make your position very clear on the unavailability of any money from the Council for the purposes which I mentioned to you in my letter of July 9th. I want to thank you for advising me on this matter with such dispatch.

I have nothing new to report to you regarding the case of the Elloree teachers at this time.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program

AH:dl

ofsc

September 25, 1956

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
48 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear George:

I have been in on the praise for the things the American Friends Service Committee are doing in North Carolina. Tartt Bell, who is in charge of it, and I are close associates. I recommended to the American Friends Service Committee their principal employee on this project, John Alexander.

My position in general and specifically in this matter is that the job is so vast that it is altogether unlikely that there will ever be too many persons working at it.

John Alexander is W. W. Alexander's son. Do help him.

For the time being, SRC's eggs are in the basket of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, of which Harry S. Jones at 121 East Third Street is the Executive Director.

I met with a group of Asheville people last Summer when I happened to be at Junaluska, and they were proposing to do a quite real job of finding the facts toward integrating the schools in Asheville. I gave the lady your name and said you were a good egg. I continue firm in that opinion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
48 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

September 19, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 22 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Some weeks ago Russell Branson of Greensboro, Associate Secretary of the Southeastern Regional Office of The American Friends Service Committee, told me of plans for work in the school integration situation in North Carolina. I expressed some doubt about the wisdom of entering a field which has been so well served by The Southern Regional Council and agreed to ask you for information.

Now that the North Carolina referendum has placed the responsibility on school integration clearly with the local community, I think the need will arise for all of the wisdom and good will available, including that of your own organization. Are you planning to be near Asheville soon, or would you care to write me your views on the wisdom of two well known organizations such as American Friends and yours operating in the same field?

Congratulations on the recent issues of New South. I am passing my copies on to a Chapel Hill classmate who is a feature writer living in California.

This carries good wishes for your work and sincere admiration for the wisdom and determination which is now being crowned with well deserved success.

Cordially,

George M Stephens

GMS/np

George M. Stephens

Staff-Reading File

American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

For release Monday, October 8

QUAKERS DEFEND WASHINGTON INTEGRATION

The American Friends Service Committee drew on its experience in Washington, D.C. to defend the program of school integration which was recently under attack by the Davis Sub-committee.

Miss Irene Osborne, speaking for the Quaker group, said the Davis hearings had been "the greatest possible disservice to the program."

Miss Osborne directed a four-year program launched by the American Friends Service Committee in 1951 to aid full integration of the Washington public schools. She is now AFSC's national school consultant.

"Integration in Washington has enjoyed a great degree of success. Problems that have arisen are the behavioral and teaching problems that must be faced by any large metropolitan educational system. In the days of segregation the Washington School Board and administrators had little time to give to the business of education, engaged as they were in the constant struggle merely to house school children and to maintain the precarious balance of a dual system. Having rid itself of the handicap of racial segregation, the school system is now for the first time in a position to give good education to all," she said.

"The Davis Sub-committee conducted its hearing without objectivity and with predetermined goals. The hearings were conducted in a manner which will lower morale within the school system and interfere with the children's learning situation," she said.

- more -

Miss Osborne said integration had brought innumerable gains to Washington school children and the community.

Among the improvements in the school program now possible for the first time she listed:

1. Children can attend the school nearest their home, thus correcting poor school assignment for thousands of children.

2. The most overcrowded schools have been relieved by utilizing available space nearby.

3. All teacher services are available where they are most needed.

4. Special education is available to those who need it without racial restriction.

5. Parents and children in the same neighborhood can work together in the same school program thus providing a stabilizing and unifying force for the community.

6. A child can enter an educational program suited to his individual needs without being considered as an anonymous member of his racial group.

7. There is for the first time an adequate testing program and skilled use of test results for the guidance of individual schools.

Miss Osborne said the Davis Committee "brough back into school discussions the kind of racial labelling which the Board of Education in its original policy statement on desegregation hoped would never be re-introduced.

"The Davis Sub-committee gave sensational treatment to the problems of the poor, impoverished and deprived who are present in all communities and appear in our schools whether integrated or segregated. It is a disservice to give such problems a racial label. It is inhuman to view them with scorn rather than sympathy

- more -

and responsibility. A real problem of education in America is that we tend to give the poorest education to those who need it most," she said.

The Service Committee's statement regretted that the Davis Sub-committee did not give equally dramatic treatment to many stories of success which have come out of the integrated schools. Stories like these may be told, it said: the Negro child who is going to a better school, getting better marks and living happily; the prejudiced white mother who through PTA work learned to respect her Negro neighbors; the Negro child elected to class office; the slow learner who can for the first time have space in a special class; the school where white and Negro parents are working jointly to improve their neighborhood.

Miss Osborne expressed the Service Committee's regret that the moral rightness of integration was ignored and that the Davis Sub-committee focussed no attention on the responsibility and wisdom of giving each child the full equality of opportunity he inherently deserves.

"The Washington school system is to be commended for doing so well what is right and just."

The Washington school integration project was directed through the AFSC Community Relations Program.

During the four-year project the Service Committee published two widely circulated pamphlets based on its experience in the nation's capital.

"Integration of Washington Schools" is a question and answer pamphlet discussing issues most often raised about integration.

"The Right of Every Child" recounted the successful first-year experience of integrated schools and details some of the administrative actions which contributed to the successful transition.

The American Friends Service Committee has other programs in the field of race relations. Last July it launched a similar program in North Carolina seeking to assist in desegregation in that state. In other areas the Committee works to enlarge housing and job opportunities for minorities and conducts programs to improve the status of the American Indian.

- more -

The American Friends Service Committee was founded by a group of Quakers in 1917 to relieve human suffering and to ease the tension between individuals, groups and nations. It functions in more than a dozen countries besides the United States -- in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, Africa and Europe. The Committee's work is open to anyone, regardless of religion, race or nationality. The international work is administered from its headquarters in Philadelphia. Throughout the U.S. the work is carried on by 12 regional offices.

The AFSC works for peace through speakers and publications, and through practical projects like relief and rehabilitation, work with refugees, village development, race relations, work and study projects for young people. It conducts conferences on international relations at the community level as well as with diplomats and government officials of many nations.

###

1. HCP ✓
2. Fred Roth ✓

With reference to your memo of March 22, 1956

COPY

October 15, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 17 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Fuges:

I am informed that you have a fund set up to provide grants to relieve economic distress of conscience victims, and to help them find alternative employment.

I have heard that Mr. Gordon of Clay, Kentucky has been fired from his job and no one in the town or vicinity will hire him. I am also told that Mrs. Gordon is in the fifth month of pregnancy. You will recall that it was Mrs. Gordon who enrolled her two children, James Henry and Thersa, in the Clay school.

We will seek more definite information on this matter. I realize that the information we have now would not be sufficient, and we are seeking more details. When we have more complete information, we will write to you.

Sincerely,

Galen A. Martin
Executive Director

GAM:vs

October 15, 1956

Mr. B. Hartt Bell,
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
617 East Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Bell:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to answer your letter of October 10 in reference to your getting a ride from Atlanta to Tuskegee with some member of the staff on October 24.

Dr. Mitchell and Harold have made commitments to other persons and will not be able to take you down. Fred is away on vacation and will not be back in time to attend the meeting. There is a possibility that you may be able to get a ride back from Tuskegee to Atlanta.

However, there is a daily train which leaves Atlanta at 8:35 A.M. Eastern Standard Time and arrives at Chehaw (nearest station to Tuskegee) at 10:39 A.M. Central Standard Time. Taxi service is available from Chehaw to Tuskegee - a few miles away.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant

GSA:fc

95A to reply

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

October 10, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 11 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter giving me the details of our gathering at Tuskegee. What's your travel schedule to this affair? If I got as far as Atlanta by plane or train, could I maybe bum a ride the rest of the way with you? I could get there on the early morning train and this would give us plenty of time to arrive in Tuskegee by lunch. If it isn't convenient and you have other plans, say so.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:pr

Check with Hubert

File

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

October 26th, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Perhaps someone has already passed on to you the Greensboro Daily News excerpts from Tom Lassiter's speech made to the Rotary Club here. In any event, enclosed is a copy. There is some good stuff here which you might find useful in a number of different ways.

Many thanks for getting our gang together at Tuskegee. In spite of some frustrations with this kind of confab, I still think its worthwhile for us to do this occasionally. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:as

CC: John Alexander

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

NOVEMBER 14, 1956

TO: AGENCIES REPRESENTED AT TUSKEGEE MEETING, OCTOBER, 1956

FROM: B. TARTT BELL

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-THROUGH OF TUSKEGEE

This past Sunday afternoon and evening we put together a group of wise people from five or six places in the state and put to them the question of selecting a North Carolina city for a "saturation" effort. The idea very much appealed to the group but there were some uncertainties about which place should be selected. Durham, Greensboro, and Winston Salem are very much in the running.

As a further follow-through of Tuskegee, we have taken the initiative to plan a meeting on November 26 for agency staff representatives in North Carolina. A decision about selection probably can be made by this group.

We would be glad to have any regional or national agency representatives meet with us if you happen to be in this area at the time. The meeting will probably begin with lunch on the 26th, and will be held in Greensboro. Let me know if any of you can join us.

BTB:as

November 26, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

Dear Irene:

Thanks for your letter following up the various matters we discussed when you were in Atlanta.

As to the handbook, I hadn't dared hope you or John Alexander would have the time to produce a manuscript. But John had suggested that you two might jot down the main points you thought should be dealt with. This would be very helpful to us as we struggle with the first draft.

We are delighted with the prospect of an article by you based on the poll of superintendents. We will hope to get it in time for the February issue of New South. A piece between 3 and 4 printed pages in length would be fine.

We will keep in touch with John about the possible use of SRC consultants to buttress his work in North Carolina communities. Judging by what he has told us of Bryson City, Chapel Hill, and the rest, I think we can work together fruitfully. Tartt sent us a copy of his memo to cooperating agencies re selection of a piedmont city for concerted effort. SRC - and I believe the other agencies represented at Tuskegee - are taking our commitment with equal seriousness. Seymour Samet has circulated a similar memo on the Miami push. Perhaps this can mark the beginning of some really business-like coordination.

I'll look forward to seeing a copy of the North Carolina pamphlet on desegregation.

Sorry I don't see you at the NAIRO meeting. Barbara Moffett and I were fellow-sufferers at the New York inter-agency meeting last week.

Miss Irene Osborne November 26, 1956

I got saddled with enough coordinating duties to last me quite a while.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mhc
CC: Barbara Moffett
Yarett Ball
John Alexander

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 15, 1956

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

This is to set forth further thoughts on some of the things we talked about when I was there recently.

First, about a handbook for citizens on desegregation. John Alexander and I talked at some length about the usefulness of a booklet which would give citizens some specific ideas on how to work and give some specifics of the experience across the nation and what we have learned from it. We are clear, as I know you are, that this would be a useful document. However, neither of us has the time available in the foreseeable future to produce such a document. We want you to know this at once, so that you will not be prevented from searching for someone else who might do the job. If you do not find another way to produce it we might think about it again in the spring, or if you should want help on specific parts of it do say so and we will make every effort to be useful.

Second, we do very much want to do the New South article reporting on what desegregated superintendents have written to me. My timetable says I can write this in January and should be able to get it to you by the end of January. I suspect this will be something like 3 or 4 New South pages in length but this remains a guess until I get into the material. Let me know if this arrangement will be satisfactory.

I discussed 3 other items with John Alexander and Tartt Bell which you will want to know about. First is the possibility of John finding ways to use SRC consultants in North Carolina. He is still of the opinion that some arrangements might be

worked out at Chapel Hill, Greensboro or Bryson City. I encouraged this very strongly and believe he will make every effort to follow through. If and when he is able to make such arrangements he will communicate directly with SRC.

Tartt Bell and John Alexander are taking very seriously the instructions of the Tuskegee meeting. They have on their timetable and conscience the job of convening organizations in North Carolina to stimulate intensive work where it is needed. They also have in mind to let SRC know which piedmont city they select as most essential for help.

We also have in mind to publish a brief pamphlet on desegregation suited for North Carolina. It may be in Question and Answer form and will include both the standard "desegregation is feasable and practical" approach and some more specific treatment of the North Carolina situation. This will be produced by the Greensboro office and we hope will see the light of day some time in late winter.

Personal greetings from all of us to all of you. We hope to see a pack of SRC people here at the NAIRO meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Irene

Irene Osborne

IO/fy
cc: Barbara W. Moffett
Tartt Bell
John Alexander

December 6, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
27 Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Fuges:

Enclosed you will find copies of letters from Jim McCain and Bill Williams which relate to the inquiries you made during your recent visit. I assume you plan to visit Jim McCain in Columbia. If you find it difficult to do so, we will be glad to help in any way possible.

Very truly yours,

Paul Anthony
Information Service

PAtmbo
Encs.

December 28, 1956

B. Tartt Ball
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

The appointed day is Thursday, February 28th, but it might turn out to be the 29th.

Thank you for the map.

Nobody stay home or do anything queer. But if I am within reach I will show. At an appropriate time of day I will show at home, or also at an appropriate time of day I will show at the office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/aab

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
CONDENSED ANNUAL REPORT 1956

The Sources of Hope

Where lie the sources of human hope? Men who are weary from centuries of war and poverty ask this question. So also do we of the American Friends Service Committee as we conclude our 39th year of responding to human needs. We feel that we must strengthen our work with the causes of these needs.

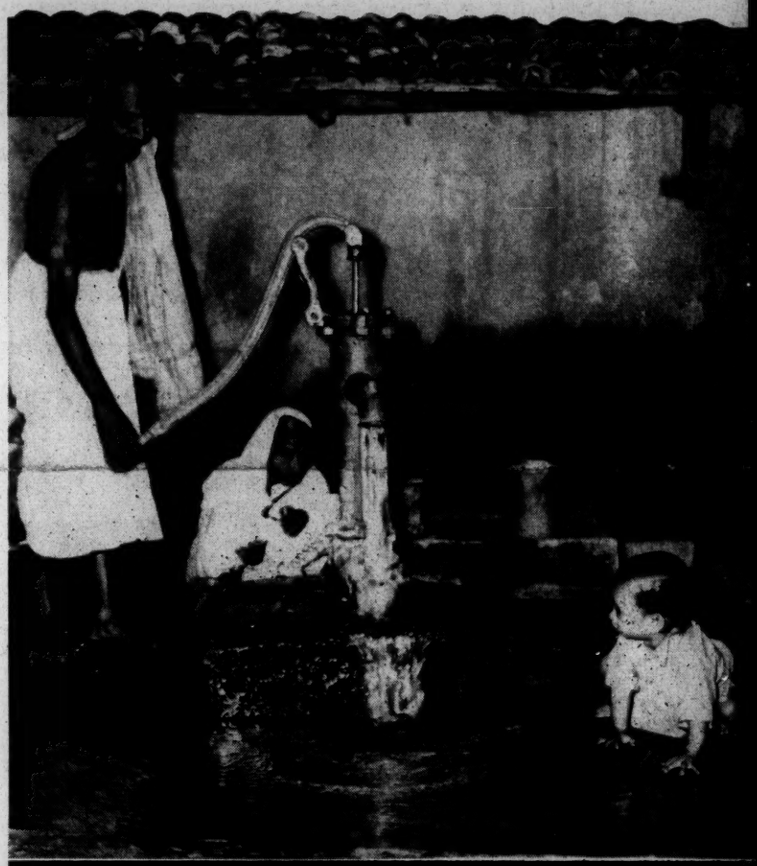
It is true that immediate relief remains vital in many areas. War victims struggle for clothing and shelter, and even people untouched by war linger near starvation in harsh environments. In these situations, we continue to provide such necessities as coats, bricks and grain.

Increasingly, however, we are working for the *prevention* of discord and suffering. We seek to inspire understanding between diverse and suspicious peoples through programs which bring them together informally to exchange ideas. We endeavor to make privileged men sensitive to the problems of the underprivileged, by opening avenues for constructive action. Among the distressed themselves, we try to quicken the will to self help through training and encouragement.

Varied as our activities are, they spring from ideals that have been practiced for 300 years by the Religious Society of Friends. Care for growth of the spirit led the early Quakers to face imprisonment for their beliefs; today we strive for free expression of the individual conscience. Respect for personal dignity motivates our helping minority Americans to find suitable homes and jobs, just as it prompts our guiding Asian villagers toward a more wholesome existence. Our prayer for peace has led us to help both children and diplomats to grow in friendly ways. Thus we feel a unity throughout our program.

We feel a unity also in our fellowship. Included are the child who saves his nickels to help a child in another country, the adult who budgets to share beyond his family circle and the large organization which finances an entire project. The committee person who gives his evenings to plan a service unit with the mentally ill, and the student who volunteers his summer to work in it are cherished members. So too are the textile manufacturer who donates yards of cloth, and the grandmother who stitches it into little shirts. So too the builder who shares our ideals by making his houses available without regard to religion or color.

Our staff members, like our contributors, are of many faiths, races and nationalities. About one-third are Friends. Nearly 500 people work regularly with the Committee—in our national headquarters in Philadelphia, in 12 regional offices and 16 project areas across the United States, and in long-term programs in 15 foreign countries.



Three generations in rural India look to a fresh hope reflected in the water from their new well. The father dug the well and installed the pump with AFSC help. At last grandmother, baby and all the family can enjoy pure water.

These are the American Friends Service Committee —our staff and our contributors of time, energy, money and goods—more than 80,000 individuals seeking to relate themselves to the problems of humanity and to express their ideals in creative ways. Believing that man's hope rests on his response to the leadings of God, we recall the words of Quaker William Penn: "True godliness does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavors to mend it."

Henry J. Cadbury

CHAIRMAN

P. S. The accounts of our work which follow are brief. We hope they will give you a broad picture of what we have done, and tried to do, in the year October 1955 through September 1956. We will gladly send more detailed information about any program.

The AFSC seeks to keep a heart receptive to the needs and aspirations of those among whom it works. In 1955-56 the programs abroad constantly adapted to changing conditions. AFSC gifts of food and materials, still needed to ease war sufferings, also gave a lift to the self-help efforts of underprivileged peoples. The Committee was able to conclude one refugee project in Germany, but the growth of others showed that the plight of the displaced person is still with us.

SERVICE ABROAD

In India the Committee continued social and technical assistance to villages. A similar program was ended in the Middle East, although a neighborhood center and youth activities were maintained . . . the Committee looks for other ways to use its experience in that critical area. Service in Africa was begun with an international work camp. AFSC school affiliation increased by a third its exchange of European and American high school students. And in a flood-stricken village in Mexico, volunteers accepted the invitation of local authorities to "walk with our people in their extremity."

SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE has worked beside villagers to find new answers to ancient problems of starvation, disease and ignorance. Over 50 villages in India saw tangible results this year—a better level of health, improved livestock, new foods, marketable crafts. In Jordan an American-Arab team continued village work until a period of general political unrest in January, when the project was destroyed by rioters from another area. Since it had achieved many of its objectives, work was not resumed. In Italy AFSC acted through indigenous agencies which run literacy centers in 43 isolated villages and train teachers and social workers. AFSC aid has enabled these groups to operate free of political pressures.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION in Korea has been the mission of an international Quaker team—building 186 houses for war victims, helping widows to start small businesses, training school teachers. Although fire ruined one wing of the hospital the team had partially rebuilt, another was pressed into service, and the training of medical personnel was continued.

MATERIAL AIDS worth more than 3½ million dollars were shipped to the cold, hungry and sick in Austria, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea and the U.S. Hundreds of volunteers pitched in to make, collect, repair and pack 637 tons of clothing, cloth, medicine, soap and other supplies. AFSC also distributed 5300 tons of government surplus foods.

AID TO REFUGEES in Austria, France, Germany and Korea enabled them to become respected, self-supporting participants in community life again. Clothing, job training and placement, housing and financial aid were provided. In the U.S. sponsors were located to help settle 874 refugees, and AFSC worked with other agencies for more liberal immigration policies.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS widened their fellowship through a variety of educational and recreational programs for all ages. Centers in Berlin, Darmstadt, Frankfurt and Wuppertal, Germany, and in Mito and Tokyo, Japan, are now locally directed and working toward financial independence. The Acre, Israel, center is gaining increasing support from its predominantly Arab community of diverse cultures.

SCHOOL AFFILIATION was a vital educational experience for 237 public and independent schools in the U.S., England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan. Partner schools shared classroom projects; 40 students and teachers were exchanged. Eighty Americans visited their partner schools last summer.

OVERSEAS WORK CAMPS had Americans laboring beside East Germans, Arabs beside Jews, Filipinos beside Japanese on needed construction projects. AFSC camps were held in Austria, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya; 100 Americans participated.

COMMUNITY SERVICE UNITS in Mexico and El Savador had 191 young people cooperating with government agencies and villagers on rural development. "Los Amigos" worked in medical, educational, agricultural, building and recreational projects. Representing 11 countries, they brought remote villages a spirit of international comradeship.

The Committee had barely closed its books on the fiscal year 1955-56, which is reported here, when the disastrous events in Eastern Europe and the Middle East placed new demands before it. Both areas are well known to the Committee through previous activities.

Because the Committee had on hand undesignated materials and funds, the staff in Vienna were immediately able to distribute food and clothing and to purchase other supplies for Hungarian refugees. The Committee is grateful for the trust represented by these contributions and for the support of the special gifts that have poured in during the last two months. A goal of $250,000 for emergency relief has been more than half reached, and 500,000 pounds of supplies have been given to Hungarian refugees.

The Committee has also made available financial assistance and material aids to Egyptian civilians rendered homeless by the hostilities. The staff in Israel have continued their projects during the Middle Eastern crisis.

* * * * *

Individuals, groups, corporations and foundations gave to the Committee in 1955-56. Cash contributions totaled $2,832,151. Material contributions were valued at $3,479,294. Gifts are needed for the whole range of AFSC activities which seek to build a world of peace and opportunity.

A refugee lad about to make a fresh start receives good wishes from the AFSC worker in Germany who found him a home and job.

The world looks to America for an example of a people working democratically toward solution of their problems. Thus as the Committee serves abroad it is constantly reminded to strengthen constructive forces at home. Twelve AFSC offices across the country join in programs of national scope and initiate special activities to aid those in their regions. In 1955-56 a social scientist completed a two-year study of AFSC work in community relations, giving firm ground for charting the future. Meanwhile the AFSC continued basic projects to enlarge opportunities for minority groups. Just as the Committee pleaded for social and economic rights, it pleaded for the courts to clarify the legal rights of the individual conscience. Knowing that all freedoms flourish best in times of peace, the Committee redoubled efforts to awaken citizens to their responsibility in the shaping of world events. Faith in the future was sustained by work with young people who directed their active minds to current problems and rolled up their sleeves to accomplish many useful tasks.

SERVICE AT HOME

HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES for minorities are inseparably linked to progress in other group relationships. In Philadelphia and Santa Clara County, Calif., staff helped builders of private housing developments to provide a demonstration of integrated living. AFSC also sent a mission to explore the possibility of new approaches toward the Trumbull Park crisis, which has tightened residential barriers in Chicago.

THE SCHOOL CONSULTANT SERVICE this year began to give guidance to communities trying to implement the Supreme Court decision. Behind the service lay AFSC experience with school integration in Washington, D. C.

MERIT EMPLOYMENT without regard to race, creed or national origin was promoted with the aid of local citizens among businesses in Chicago, Dallas, Indianapolis, Baton Rouge and Greensboro, N. C. Staff aided firms to set up merit hiring systems, informed minority persons of jobs opening up to them and advised schools and colleges to intensify their vocational preparation.

SELF-HELP HOUSING in Philadelphia enabled families to own apartments through cooperative labor and mortgaging. Restoration of an old but sound city block was continued.

THE FARM LABOR PROGRAM was launched among underprivileged workers in Tulare County, Calif. AFSC began to spark community action to improve their shack towns.

WORK WITH LATIN AMERICANS in Texas and California aimed to prepare them for both the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship through education and integration.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN PROGRAM helped develop long-range cooperative efforts to improve conditions on reservations in Arizona and, this year, South Dakota. Youth participated in two Indian work camps. A center in Oakland helped Indians new to city life. Two widely-read AFSC pamphlets suggested a more equitable government Indian policy.

PRISON VISITING brought encouragement to men in California institutions, helped them readjust and find jobs when released; made citizens aware of institutional needs.

THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE PROGRAM, in keeping with Friends' traditional concern for civil and religious liberty, aided 30 victims of litigation or economic reprisals for conscientious stands on such issues as non-disloyalty oaths, segregation, informing on others before legislative committees.

SERVICES TO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS offered fellowship and assistance to young men who cannot accept military duty. Many were visited in prison or alternative civilian service. Some 55 served in AFSC projects.

COMMUNITY PEACE EDUCATION brought together thoughtful adults in over 300 conferences, institutes and family camps to discuss their obligation to help find peaceful solutions to the problems of our day. A number of volunteers felt inspired to organize study groups on significant films or an AFSC statement on non-violence in international affairs, "Speak Truth to Power."

FRIENDS PEACE SERVICE sought to strengthen the peace testimony among U. S. Friends and to keep the AFSC near to its religious roots through close contacts with Meetings.

PEACE ACTION THROUGH CHURCHES was stimulated by helping church councils and other religious groups in 14 states to plan thought-provoking conferences for members.

THE RADIO SERVICE provided 10,000 copies of 500 tape-recorded programs about AFSC work or objectives to 257 commercial stations for use as guest spots and to 64 educational stations for classroom broadcasts.

THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION carried AFSC concern for spiritual values and freedom in academic life to educators, kept AFSC youth projects attuned to educational trends.

CAMPUS PROGRAMS tried to make students aware of their ability to do something positive about human need and conflict. AFSC secretaries visited 350 colleges and high schools, recruited for over 130 projects.

DISCUSSION PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE included seminars at Washington and the United Nations; world affairs camps; peace caravans; conferences on civil liberties, race relations and industrial relations.

INTERNES IN INDUSTRY became, for a summer, part of our vast labor force in Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta and Lynn, Mass. These 73 young men and women found unskilled factory jobs in order to study social and economic problems of industrialization.

INTERNES IN COMMUNITY SERVICE gave 2 to 12 months to help integrate minorities and halt the spread of urban blight. Some 53 young people worked in 30 social agencies in Chicago, Oakland and Bloomington, Ind.

INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE UNITS brought 115 college-age volunteers to work last summer in 11 mental hospitals and schools for the retarded and delinquent. They shared the duties of the regular staff, offered friendship and respect to those in their care. Weekend units were held in 3 hospitals.

AMERICAN WORK CAMPS last summer introduced 102 high school and college-age people to victims of neglect and disaster in their own country. Campers worked beside Indians, Latin Americans, migrants, flood victims on significant projects. Weekend camps gave a chance for winter service.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS FOR CHILDREN provided dozens of learning and sharing activities. For example, youngsters saved nickels enough to build walls for 256 refugee houses, collected 28,000 pounds of clothing for overseas. They also learned to appreciate God's plan for a diversified world.

In a large department store that hires on merit, a Negro saleswoman shows the skill and poise that make her a valued employee.

While working to build an active concern for human welfare and world peace among peoples at home and abroad, the Committee also serves on an international level. It believes that in spite of barriers of nationalism, warm individual relationships can be developed as a foundation for international progress. One application of that belief in 1955-56 was work toward improved East-West relations. In America the Committee gathered groups of national and international officials away from the glare of publicity to discuss means of lessening cold-war tensions. The Vienna international center fostered contacts between East and West Europeans. Bulgarians, Poles and Russians were among the participants and consultants in conferences for diplomats and student seminars. A widely-noted booklet, "Meeting the Russians," recorded the impartial observations of last year's Quaker mission. In these and other activities in crucial areas, the Committee emphasized the need for informed thinking and a sincere desire to understand the viewpoints of others.

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

INTERNATIONAL CENTERS provide a setting of warmth and hospitality where responsible people—including diplomats, government officials, U.N. workers—may gather freely to discuss approaches to peace. AFSC operates centers in Paris, Geneva, Vienna, Dacca, Delhi and Washington; aids centers in Amsterdam and Copenhagen; has special representatives in Tokyo and Mexico City. International houses in Washington and Los Angeles serve foreign students.

QUAKER WORK AT THE UNITED NATIONS sought to apply the philosophy and experience of Friends to international affairs. Evening seminars gave delegates and Secretariat members an opportunity to examine world problems together informally. Special attention was focused on the Middle East, the Kashmir and South Africa questions, disarmament negotiations, economic assistance programs. Over 1000 students and Friends visiting the U.N. got a closer view through meetings with AFSC staff.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SEMINARS of Washington assembled monthly groups of government executives, legislators, and journalists to discuss the application of recent research in human relations to world relations. Social scientists and foreign affairs experts were consultants in 55 off-the-record sessions with 375 participants.

CONFERENCES FOR DIPLOMATS encouraged a frank and friendly exchange of views on world affairs in a non-political atmosphere. Some 93 young foreign affairs officers from 35 countries of Africa, Asia, East and West Europe, the Middle East and North America met in three unpublicized ten-day conferences in Switzerland and Ceylon. They discussed the dilemma of "National Interest and International Responsibility."

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SEMINARS called together potential leaders of tomorrow to study current issues. About 300 young people from 40 countries attended seminars in Austria, Denmark, England, Japan, Switzerland, Yugoslavia and the U.S. Participants discovered the common fears and hopes behind their diverse attitudes, formed a new sense of personal responsibility for the peaceful development of the world.

Diplomats at an AFSC conference become better acquainted than is possible at highly-publicized official meetings.

• *Photographs by Prakesh, p. 1; Weissmann, p. 2; Hays, p. 3 and bottom of p. 4; Schlemmer, p. 4.*

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
617 W. Market St., Greensboro, N. C.

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1956 CONDENSED ANNUAL REPORT

AFSC volunteer aids mentally-disturbed children.

AFSC BULLETIN Number 51
® 3547 Requested

January 9, 1957

Mr. J. Burt Bauman
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bauman:

In reply to your letter of January 2, I will wait until you are in Atlanta on the 16th to discuss with you about the possibility of any meetings that could be arranged. I'll be in the office on the morning of the 16th, but that afternoon and all the next day, even the evening hours, I will be tied up in another meeting.

I am interested in your suggestions for an exploratory conference and will be glad to discuss it with you.

Cordially,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MEtom

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 2, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. W. A. Smart
Emory University
Emory University, Ga.

Dr. Albert Barnett
Emory University
Emory University, Ga.

Dear Friends:

Perhaps the enclosed newssheet will serve as a fairly good introduction to my work with the AFSC. Most all my experience for some years has been with Councils of Churches.

For a long time now I have been slowly lining up dates in a number of southern states in an itinerary that begins in Virginia January 18th with a preliminary meeting and ends with a series of exploratory conferences about March 3rd. Similar conferences are being scheduled in North Carolina, South Carolina, Athens and Atlanta, Georgia, and Florida. I had allowed a considerable block of time for Georgia but at present I am not at all sure whether my time will be scheduled to any extent by the Georgia Council of Churches. I am to speak to the Atlanta Council of Churches February 4th and might be available for the next ten days in the area.

The sort of thing I like to do is outlined in the enclosed yellow sheet and Rev. McMains, I think, is planning on such a meeting in Atlanta. I should be glad to meet with representatives of churches in a smaller community in or near Atlanta wherever such a meeting might be arranged, or for that matter anywhere in the state. Also I would be glad to meet with any group large or small to discuss the role of the church in world order.

I am writing you at the suggestion of our mutual friend, Claud Nelson of the National Council of Churches, who has told me of your interest in this field. If you have the sort of contacts or if you want to get a small representative group together for an evening's visit, I shall be glad to sit down with you. I expect to be in Atlanta for a day on my way south about January 24th or 25th, and may contact you by telephone at that time.

Yours in the cause of world peace.

Cordially,

J. Burt Bouwman

J. Burt Bouwman

JBB:r
enc.
cc: Edward Lantz

SUGGESTIONS FOR AN EXPLORATORY CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Under auspices of

Councils of Churches

"Deeply and persistently does man long for peace. He no longer finds any glamor in war; he has tasted the fruit of its insanity and found it bitter and poisonous. His ideals are mocked, his liberty curtailed, his possessions destroyed, and his future undermined by total war, even as its high-sounding goals have eluded his grasp. He is sick of it, and wants to be at peace."

Evanston meeting, World Council of Churches
1954

PURPOSE

To explore together possibilities of an aggressive program, under the leadership of councils of churches, of Peace Education and Action through the Churches which will make real the teachings of Jesus.

PERSONNEL INVITED

1. Members of International Relations Committee of the Council
2. All members of Social Action Department or certain key leaders of the Department
3. Representatives of Local Council of Church Women, YMCA, YWCA
4. Any denominational leaders of the city who have some responsibility for peace education
5. Friends, FOR leaders
6. A few key ministers and lay people having a special concern

A POSSIBLE AGENDA

1. Review of present activities of the Council in international relations.
2. Statement of concern of Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of Churches and of the American Friends Service Committee and outline of procedures now being used in many councils. J. Burt Bouwman
3. Discussion by committee of suggested procedures
4. Review of resources available
5. Recommendations of the group to International Relations or other appropriate committee of the Council

ARRANGEMENTS

While this suggested meeting can be held at a time and place convenient to all concerned, the following items should be kept in mind:

1. If this is to be a luncheon or dinner meeting, a separate room should be provided

2. At least two hours for a thorough exploration of possible programs should be allowed
3. Some one -- perhaps World Relations chairman of Council of Church Women or other volunteer worker -- should follow up letter of invitation with telephone calls reminding people of the meeting

POSSIBLE RECOMMENDATION TO COMMITTEE

A recommendation to set up a conference on a community level or Congressional District level

A recommendation to hold a community-wide briefing conference for local church leaders in the interest of local church conferences on world order

INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION

There are opportunities of cooperation with such agencies as:

1. National Council of Churches -- Department of International Justice and Goodwill
2. Council of Church Women
3. Round Table of Christians and Jews
4. UNESCO Councils, etc.
5. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations
6. Regional offices of American Friends Service Committee

For additional information
write to:

J. Burt Bouwman
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

NEWSLETTER

PEACE EDUCATION AND ACTION THROUGH THE CHURCHES

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

A PROGRAM FOR PEACE

"We can best find the ROAD TO PEACE back home in our International Relations Committee of our Connecticut Council of Churches, in our respective denominational groups, in our local Councils, in our parsonages and rectories, in our pulpits and pews, and in our hearts and minds, as we encourage our United States Government to practice the teachings of Jesus in the United Nations." Quoted from an article by Howard Huntington, official representative of the Conn. Council of Churches to the NGO Section of the UN, entitled "Our Responsibility at the United Nations," Connecticut Church Councilor, May, 1956.

The Church Program of the American Friends Service Committee is following that road to peace in its work of encouraging local church groups to set up conferences, workshops and institutes on international affairs. In the last four years communities in almost 200 cities throughout 35 states have participated in this vital activity. Those attending the conferences have helped each other come to a clearer understanding of the issues involved, and in some cases have placed before their Congressmen at Congressional District Conferences, their own views on world order and peace.

EXPLORATORY CONFERENCES

During the spring quarter of 1956, Burt Bouwman sat down with many concerned groups in the mid-west to discuss with them how a program of peace education might be carried on in the local community.

Exploratory conferences were held in April in the Illinois cities of Peoria, Ottawa, Galesburg, Champaign and Decatur as well as a Congressional District Conference meeting in Bloomington.

A similar series took place in Wisconsin from May 9th to 19th in Fond du Lac, Antigo, Appleton, Kenosha, Cedar Grove, Stevens Point, Beloit, Watertown, Wausau, Madison and Lancaster, and in almost every case, plans were made to hold a community conference in the fall or winter, or to refer the question to the Council of Churches for approval. In Milwaukee, Burt Bouwman met with an enlarged committee of the Council of Churches to evaluate their last Congressional District Conference and to make plans for the next conference early in February, 1957.

From Wisconsin, the Bouwmans made a quick trip east to Connecticut where they attended exploratory conferences in Bridgeport, Waterbury and New Haven. Again the response was, in general, enthusiastic, and plans are under way for community conferences in the future.

Although the schedule for June was crowded for the Bouwmans, they were able to work in three exploratory conferences in Indiana - Jeffersonville, Vincennes and Indianapolis. A further series of conferences in Indiana is

being planned for the spring of 1957.

After a summer of desk work at home in Ada, Michigan, Burt and Frances are again on the road with conferences in Minnesota and Iowa. From October 17th to 31st, conferences are scheduled across New York State in Niagara Falls, Batavia, Rochester, Oswego, Watertown, Utica, Schenectady, Albany, Troy, Oneonta, Ithaca, Binghamton and Elmira. On November 19th, Burt will go to Yonkers, for a conference with church leaders there.

The coming winter and spring quarters will find the Bouwman trailer moving through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, where exploratory conferences are being planned in many cities.

COMMUNITY CONFERENCES More and more communities are finding in this type of conference an opportunity to share viewpoints on peace and to work together toward peace. Delegates from churches of various denominations sit down together for several hours to discuss problems of international affairs. They then take their findings back to their own churches to help in developing a program of peace education there, or they may go on to plan a broader Congressional District Conference.

In Berkeley the community conference, held February 25th, 1956, was so successful that they have developed in both directions to work on local church conferences and a Congressional District Conference. On May 30th they had a good time at a Peace Picnic.

Concerning the community conference held on April 15th in Redlands, California, Mrs. Tirzah McCandliss said: "The Methodist women of the area had a similar day's program, growing out of it; our Presbyterian women gave over their next regular program to a review of it and United Church Women are setting up a study class meeting for six weeks in the fall, leading up to World Community Day... it was the consensus of the group that day that such a conference should be an annual or bi-annual thing in Redlands."

Between February and June, other community conferences were held in Sacramento, Modesto and Burlingame, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Cleveland, Ohio and Ann Arbor, Michigan.

WORKSHOPS AND INSTITUTES The Texas workshop mentioned in the last Newsletter was held in Austin on April 17-18. There was not as wide attendance as had been hoped - about 45 people participated - but they accomplished what they set out to do. Dr. Barton Hunter took part and did a magnificient job. Dr. Harry Munro had this to say: "As a result of the workshop, we have made commitments to try to start the cycle of projects in the following situations: Waco, Waxahachie, Bee County, Eastland and Dallas..."

Just the other day we received an announcement of a workshop planned in Waco for October 24, with Harry and Dorothy Munro as resource leaders. Their projects are already under way!

Four institutes are being planned in Pennsylvania in Johnstown, York, Lewisburg and Allentown from November 7-10, under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Council of Churches.

LOCAL CHURCH CONFERENCES Although there have not been very many local church conferences held in the past year, one which took place in Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, South Bend, Indiana, on June 10th, demonstrated the value of this type of conference as a technique for a church that wishes to introduce a program of Peace Education.

Various groups in the church were in attendance, including a good representation of youth and young adults. Several people were present from other parishes and one lady went away with the determination to set up a similar conference in her own church.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONFERENCES The first Congressional District Conference of the fall quarter was held on October 6th in Bloomington, Illinois, where church people from the 17th District sat down with Congressman Arends to discuss with him their opinions on international affairs.

Chicago, Dayton, Akron, Cincinnati and Berkeley are also planning such conferences to be held in early 1957.

In order that the delegates may be better prepared to participate in the conference, local churches are being encouraged to set up study groups on pertinent subjects. Though no set length of time has been designated, each church group will probably take one topic and spend about four study periods on it. The AFSC Church Program has prepared seven study packets for $1.00 each which include a study guide and pamphlet material. The subjects covered are: The Christian's Responsibility for World Order, the United Nations, Helping Others to Help Themselves, Militarism in the United States, Disarmament, Civil Rights and Negotiation. The packets may be obtained by writing to the Church Program.

SUMMER CONFERENCES June 3-8, Burt and Frances Bouwman attended an ecumenical institute at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, sponsored by the Southern Office of the National Council of Churches. Burt was leader of the workshop on Peace Education and Action, and also gave an address one evening before the entire Institute.

June 18-23, Burt and Frances attended the annual meeting of the Association of Council Secretaries at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. During the week, Burt interviewed thirty men and women about forthcoming plans or work already done in the field of Peace Education. In a 26-page report of local Councils, the section on world order included only three items - the conferences in South Bend, Indiana, Berkeley and Sacramento, California. It was interesting to note that all three were inspired by the AFSC Church Program and held according to our pattern.

August 20-23, the Church Program held a conference at Burt and Frances Bouwman's home in Ada, Michigan. Harry and Dorothy Munro, who are doing volunteer work for the program in Texas, Jim Bristol, Director, Peace Education Community Program, his wife, Dorothy, and daughter, Tina, Adella Langill, former associate in the Church Program and now doing volunteer work in the south, Adele Rickett, secretarial assistant in the Program and her husband, Allyn, and Burt and Frances Bouwman were present. The assumptions of the Church Program, content of its field work, methods of operation and resources were examined with a view to enlarging and improving the work of the program.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING During the summer Burt Bouwman devoted some time to working out a syllabus for a leadership training course, "The Christian's Responsibility for World Order." This syllabus is designed to answer the question "Is the Church doing its best to build in our country the way to Peace?" by providing a study outline, suggestions for texts, reading material, films and plans for promotion of enrolment for the course.

A flyer announcing the course will be circulated within the next two months and the course itself will be ready for use at that time.

OPINION SCALES Dr. Harry Munro, Executive Secretary of the Fort Worth Area Council of Churches, has developed a set of "Opinion Scales" on controversial issues involved in world citizenship and world understanding. This is a very helpful device in conducting an institute or workshop to determine the range of opinion of the participating group. Each person is asked to check one of seven opinions on a given subject and the numbers are then tabulated. The topics on which he has developed a range of questions include: national security, military disarmament, the United Nations, economic and technical assistance and how to deal with Communists.

The Opinion Scales would be useful at almost any type of conference - community, Congressional District or local church. For further information, please write to Dr. Harry Munro, Fort Worth Area Council of Churches, 2909 Lubbock, Fort Worth, Texas.

* * *

RECOMMENDED FOR READING

MEETING THE RUSSIANS, American Quakers Visit the Soviet Union. A Report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, 1956. AFSC Philadelphia or Regional Offices. 94 pp. 35¢

QUAKERS VISIT CHINA, Prepared by members of the British Quaker Mission to the People's Republic of China, 1956. AFSC Philadelphia or Regional Offices. 73 pp. 75¢

SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER, A Quaker search for an alternative to violence. A study of international conflict prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, 1955. AFSC Philadelphia or Regional Offices. 71 pp. 25¢

COLONIALISM AND YOUR VOTE, A Program for '56 and the Years Ahead, by Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr. A Toward Freedom pamphlet. Toward Freedom, Room 503, 343 South Dearborn St., Chicago 4, Illinois. 42 pp. 35¢

WHEN SENDING FOR MATERIAL PLEASE WRITE TO
J. Burt Bouwman
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

January 9, 1957

Mr. J. Burt Bouwman
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bouwman:

In reply to your letter of January 2, I will wait until you are in Atlanta on the 24th to discuss with you about the possibility of any meetings that could be arranged. I'll be in the office on the morning of the 24th, but that afternoon and all the next day, even the evening hours, I will be tied up in another meeting.

I am interested in your suggestions for an exploratory conference and will be glad to discuss it with you.

Cordially,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:mm

File

February 26, 1957

Miss Carolyn Beck
Secretary to Mr. Randall
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Beck:

Thank you for your letter of February 20th, and for the memo re radio programs.

Mr. Fleming will not return to the office until Monday, March 4th, and shortly thereafter will be writing Mr. Randall.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED FEB 23 1957

February 20, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of a memo which Edwin Randall asked me to send to you.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Beck

Carolyn Beck
Secretary to Edwin Randall

CB

C O P Y

February 8, 1957

Olcutt Sanders

Barbara Moffett

Radio Programs

As I agreed over the phone shortly before leaving for the Guilford Conference on the role of the AFSC in the South, I did bring up at that meeting the subject of the availability of Ed Randall's services and the possibility of tape recordings for use on radio stations throughout the South. This was brought up on Friday afternoon after most of us were rather weary and while, I'm sorry to say, one or two members of the group were out serving as a drafting party for a statement we wanted to hammer out. Nevertheless a significant portion of us discussed it and I can report our reactions to the idea in general and to the specific question of possible people to be interviewed. There was not a great acquaintance among the group with previous tapes, so that not too much time was spent on past experiences.

I think the important thing to pass along here is that our whole conference made the decision, not on the basis of philosophic discussion but on the basis of the kind of programs it discussed, that our role in the South was that of a "stirrer of conscience and advocate", not primarily that of a reconciler - at least not in the sense of not taking a position (though our approach would be a reconciling one). Given this role it would seem that any radio efforts in the South should follow that general concept. This seems to indicate that we should look for people for any tape recordings who would be capable of stirring the conscience of the South and advocating equality. It also seems to indicate on the other side that we would not be interested in investing time, effort and our reputation in putting before the South anyone who was not in favor of integration or believed in maintaining "radial integrity" or any other ideas basically opposed to ours.

I'm afraid that the group did not come up with too many useful suggestions of people to interview. It did express, however, a clear feeling that perhaps we did not need to aim our sights too low and that there was real possibility for getting a rather forthright message on some southern stations. For example, our conference was considering the very serious question of how to aid the South in its understanding of the aims and methods of the NAACP. This is an educational job of highest priority. The group wondered if there were ways of having someone like Roy Wilkins, who is extremely persuasive and engaging as you may know, explain in a tape recording just exactly what the processes are that are used by the NAACP and what its goals are. At the same time the threat posed by recent repressive legislation passed in some southern states could be interpreted and seen in its true light - which would indicate that it threatens all voluntary associations, not just the NAACP. Alex Morisey has also reported to you, I believe, that Ben Smith of Greensboro might be an excellent person to interview.

I would say that from our conference might come encouragement for Ed to aim his sights as high as possible and expect some acceptance in some southern radio stations. There is some experience which might indicate possibilities of such acceptance. For instance, it would be useful to explore the possibilities of helping Rev. Martin Luther King get his message before more people in the South. A basic concern of our conference was the lack of response from the white community to the kind of non-violent challenge to a situation represented so well by Martin Luther King. Mayes Behrman heard Rev. Martin Luther King speak in Durham, North Carolina and has now

recommended to the Interracial Committee of Greensboro and Guilford County that it invite him to address an open mass meeting in Greensboro. King has accepted the invitation and, as I remember, is scheduled to speak in Greensboro some time in March. If this can be done in such a meeting, might it not be done on radio stations? Is it part of the AFSC's role to try to gain acceptance for the idea that a variety of points of view should be heard?

A final thought: Could Ed work with Tartt and our Community Relations staff in planning southern interviews?

BWM:bs

cc: Earle Edwards
Tartt Bell
Ed Randall
Alex Morisey
Mike Yarrow

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

March 6, 1957

HCF:

Concerning "Books Are Bridges"

I have turned the bibliography over to Florence Irving, who gets a good many requests concerning books in this field for children. FBI will be able to put this information to good use.

The only other suggestion for promotion would be a small notice in New South.

JC — advise. A.

February 26, 1957

Miss Mary Esther McWhirter
Editor
Educational Materials for Children
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss McWhirter:

Thank you for your letter of February 20th and the information about the bibliography, "Books Are Bridges," which you are sending. Mr. Fleming is out of the city at present, but upon his return I will call your letter to his attention.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

February 20, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 23 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Recently when I was in New Orleans talking with Milton Vigo of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, he indicated that you might perhaps be interested in our new publication entitled "Books Are Bridges". As the title indicates, this bibliography is an attempt to list some of the best books in the field of human relations prepared with children in mind. I wonder if there are ways in which the Southern Regional Council through its publications can call attention to this piece of work which was done in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Under separate cover we are sending you a complimentary copy. With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

Mary Esther McWhirter
P.T.

Mary Esther McWhirter, Editor
Educational Materials for Children

MEM/pt

March 12, 1957

Miss Mary Esther McWhirter
Editor
Educational Materials for Children
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss McWhirter:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your excellent bibliography "Books are Bridges." We have made this a part of our own reference files and will call attention to it in the descriptive material we put out.

Enclosed is a list of our affiliated state organizations in case you would like to send a sample copy of the bibliography to each one of them.

Congratulations on a fine piece of work.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Encl.

June 6, 1957

Mr. Charles E. Davis,
Associate Director,
School Program,
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Davis:

In checking our files concerning orders of publications today, we turned up a letter from you requesting 100 copies of "What the Supreme Court Said."

We are in doubt as to whether this order has been filled or not since our records do not indicate the disposition of the order. We do have a sufficient quantity of the publication to fill the order and would appreciate your letting us know if you have not received the order and if not, would you like it filled.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 24025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

April 18, 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us 100 additional copies of the booklet "What the Supreme Court Said ...", The School Segregation Decisions with an Analysis by Prof. Robert A. Leflar.

Please send the bill along with the copies.

Thank you very much for your prompt attention.

Very truly yours

Charles E. Davis

Charles E. Davis,
Associate Director
School Program

CED/as

March 25, 1957

Mr. Edwin Randall
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter and the tapes, which several other staff members and I have audited.

Since I am hard pressed trying to get away for a week's travel, I'm not able to write you as I should and would like to. I'll try to remedy that on my return.

The purpose of this hasty note is to give you our reactions to the tapes:

(1) Thrasher - Very good and helpful, particularly the last three spots, where he gets down to cases.

(2) Jordan - All right, though, as you say, few Southern stations are likely to use.

(3) Williams - I can't quite figure out what Osgood was trying to do with this Chamber of Commerce approach. Our unanimous opinion was that the picture he gives isn't balanced or honest enough to be helpful, and might even be unhelpful. Since I like Osgood and admire many of his undertakings, I'm sorry to have to give so negative a judgment, but I must.

Our conversation when you were here was a very stimulating experience. I hope to explore further the possibilities for cooperative efforts with you soon. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

P. S. The tapes were mailed to you Friday, March 22nd.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED MAR 20 1957

March 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I want to thank you again for your counsel and help. It was certainly delightful to meet you and I look forward to working with you with a great deal of pleasure.

Shelton in Baton Rouge was not inclined to do any recording. Actually he is so completely a segregationist I doubt if he could have given us anything usable anyhow. He pointed out an article by James Byrnes in U. S. News as representing his idea of the proper attitude in race relations. The two business men in Birmingham were out of town, but gave some encouragement over the telephone.

I made what I consider a most excellent recording with the Reverend Thomas Thrasher a copy of which has been sent to you. As you are probably aware I also made a recording with Osgood Williams and one with Clarence Jordan. These we have also sent to you.

I was very much encouraged with Tartt Bell's attitude when he and members of his staff talked about the problems involved and listened to some of the tapes. I think he was little more inclined than either of us to accept the thesis in Barbara Moffett Hayworth's memo, though he was a little reluctant to put it quite in that form. He did write a memo urging changes in attitude; however no change has been visible up to now and I felt compelled to take your advice and send out these tapes on my own. We will soon learn now whether we are right about their having more or less appeal this way. I am still very hopeful.

I haven't sent out the Osgood Williams tape because I wanted to have your reaction to it. I would, I think, favor its use in spite of the fact that he goes to considerable length to explain how good the present situation is. I'd like to have your suggestion on this.

I'm also anxious to make recordings with Dr. Clement and Dr. Mays and your United Church Women's Leader there in Atlanta together with any other you want to suggest. Perhaps it would be well to plan something about the last of April so that we could get them sent out pretty promptly after having them made.

I hope you're making some headway in the questions of support which we discussed. You will be interested to know that quite spontaneously help was suggested from a similar source in specific support of the educational work we are doing. This might make a combination of these two angles entirely adequate.

I want to say that I was very much surprised and of course most happily by the enthusiasm, I think that's not too strong a word, of radio people almost every where we went for usable material on the issue of integration. There's no question but what we can get a great deal of such material used if we will be careful to design it with the listeners in mind. Alvin Gaines of the Board of Education radio station in your city put it very well when he said he thought we have an obligation to the rural and small town white people of the South who have little left ~~of which to~~ to bolster their self respect except their white skins to give them something with which to light their way out of the woods.

In this connection I would like to offer a suggestion for your consideration. Are there not many projects throughout the South which are quietly going forward on an interracial basis without any fanfare whatever which could be described primarily from the standpoint of the accomplishment itself, making the interracial quality appear as incidental as in truth it ought to be?

I thought for instance of writing to David Weaver, director of Agricultural Extension for North Carolina to ask if there are not some agricultural projects in the state in which people are working across the racial barriers. These could be used it seems to me very effectively. Do you approve of this idea and do you have some suggestions for source material?

Of course something a little different but also important is the description of situations where the conflict is being resolved by careful planning as in some of the places where integration is working out on buses, in schools, or elsewhere. Are there places like this where we could be sure that there might not be unfortunate consequences as the result of any kind of publicity. I talked at Chapel Hill with Dudley Carroll for example about integration at the University and he felt the story could be very well told of what goes on there.

I am enclosing a copy of the listing which as you can see I am sending out in my own name covering these tapes which you suggested.

Of course any other ideas will be most gratefully received.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin Randall

ER:cb

SPECIAL LISTING - 1957
5-6 minute spots

Although this is a personal project of my own (because the Community Relations division of the AFSC does not wish to be identified with these tapes) they have been worked out carefully with the cooperation of southern Friends. They are offered because of the enthusiastic approval and use given our tapes with Omer Carmichael, Rev. Dr. J. P. Weatherspoon, and Clarence Pickett's report on his visit to Montgomery, and because of many earnest requests for such material from broadcasters in all parts of the country. Each tape has already been submitted for review to several broadcasters of experience and sound judgment and is offered with their approval. In seeking to provide material for everybody I am sure not everyone would want to use all of it, and of course you will listen with very great care in considering possible use. But we will be glad to send any tape for audition and you may feel free to use all or any part. We will be particularly anxious to have your suggestions about these or future tapes.

A6 JAMES DABBS
Seventh generation South Carolina farmer (Mayesville) who has definitely unconventional views on race relations. ("Most extraordinary and timely . . . should be distributed widely." N.Car. "I believe our listeners in Oklahoma would be most interested in what he has to say and in the very reasonable approach he makes to the whole problem of race relations.")

A7 THE REV. THOMAS L. THRASHER
Montgomery, Ala., pastor for twelve years, persuaded the two sides to sit down together at beginning of bus trouble. Speaks with understanding of problem as, in his judgment, basically a religious one with careful analysis of some of present difficulties and suggestions toward possible solutions. ("Well tempered statement of man who obviously speaks with deep spiritual conviction.")

A8 THE REV. CLARENCE JORDAN
Leader of inter-racial Koinonia Farm near Americus, Ga., where there has been economic boycott and some violence, gives factual account of events leading up to as well as since beginning of trouble. I doubt if many will want to use this, but several asked specifically that it be made and you might want to hear it, anyhow.

A9 GOVERNOR COLLINS OF FLORIDA
Excerpt from his inaugural address dealing with the problem of integration. (One spot)

If you have not already used them, these are still pertinent and useful:

01 OMER CARMICHAEL
Story of integration of schools in Louisville, Ky., by the superintendent.

Y1 THE REV. DR. J. P. WEATHERSPOON
Story of Southern Baptist study of race relations and action in Convention, seminaries, etc., by the man who was for years chairman of the social action committee, revered teacher in Louisville seminary.

Indicate any of these you would like to hear on the same card.

EDWIN RANDALL
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

March 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 14 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have sent you copies of tapes with Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher of Montgomery, Osgood Williams of Atlanta, and Clarence Jordan of Koinonia. These are tapes Mr. Randall made while on vacation and asked me to send them to you. We are very anxious to have your reaction, particularly on the Osgood Williams tape.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Beck

Carolyn Beck
Secretary to Edwin Randall

Thought you would be interested in this.

EMORY VIA

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

COPY

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

CC: Colin Bell
Barbara Moffett

Date June 4, 1957

To: Tartt Bell

From: Earle Edwards — Legal Advisor of National AFSC.

Subject: North Carolina Legislative Proposals

Since our telephone conversation Colin Bell has talked with Claude Smith. Claude agrees that SB #434 and HB #984 could affect AFSC. We are, therefore, within our rights as a tax exempt organization to appear at a hearing on these bills, but we should confine our testimony to how they would or might affect us. He feels that it would not be wise for us to testify with respect to the possible effect on other organizations.

The North Carolina Bills dealing with organizations working in race relations.
"Anti-NAACP Legislation"

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

BULLETIN

May · June, 1957

40 Years of Service

● Let us then try what Love will do . . . *TO RELIEVE SUFFERING*

● . . . *TO BUILD PEACE* ● . . . *TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY*

"A good end cannot sanctify evil means; nor must we ever do evil, that good may come of it . . . *Let us then try what Love will do:* for if men did once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but Love gains; and he that forgives first, wins the laurel."

—WILLIAM PENN, *Some Fruits of Solitude.*

The American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council (London) were joint recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. The AFSC is the only U.S. organization ever to receive the honor. Henry Cadbury, AFSC chairman, spoke in accepting the award in Sweden.

With this report you are invited to pause at a moment in history. Recall with us 40 years of world-wide service. Consider the need and the promise of the next decade.

If you have come to know the AFSC only recently, you may place our current efforts in some perspective.

If you have followed one strand of AFSC development, you may see your particular interest mingled in a broader pattern.

If you have known the AFSC for a long time, you may catch fresh insights from familiar facts rearranged.

APRIL 30, 1917–1957

Photos without credit line are by photographers unknown to us.

The birth of AFSC

by HENRY J. CADBURY, *Chairman, American Friends Service Committee*

It was 40 years ago on April 30, 1917, when 14 Friends gathered in a small room at 140 North 15th Street, Philadelphia and founded the AFSC. America had just entered the first war against Germany after sitting two and a half years on the side lines and boasting with superiority, "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." Conscription had been instituted, with still undefined status for conscientious objectors. It was evident that in the Society of Friends many young men, following the principles of Quakerism, would refuse military service. But they would be dissatisfied without some chance to engage in active and constructive tasks consistent with their peace witness. To provide such young men (and women) an opportunity to satisfy this "concern" and to render aid to civilians abroad in dire need, the AFSC was founded. Older Friends and Meetings could cooperate through financial as well as moral support.

Conscription had been last used in America in the Civil War and, except for the remote Spanish American War, Friends had had little experience in the problems of a major war. Two years before, their young Friends had called a conference in Indiana, which by an important precedent had included representatives of all groups of Friends in America. It had organized a Friends National Peace Committee which had spoken for Friends' position inside and outside the Society. As chairman of that committee, I was to arrange for the AFSC to succeed it. Other scattered Quaker efforts had been undertaken in this country to try to provide alternative moods and actions to the draft into war. Friends in England had dealt since 1914 with similar situations. We were in touch with their activities. Some Americans had joined the Friends Ambulance Unit. Others volunteered for the English Friends War Victims Relief, which was working, as in 1870, for civilians in France, reviving as badge the familiar eight-pointed red and black star.

The new American committee arranged to cooperate with this committee, adopting these volunteers and calling for others. By July a hundred young men, including like-minded non-Friends, had assembled for training at Haverford College under the direction of Dr. James A. Babbitt and, of course, Rufus Jones, chairman of the AFSC. They studied carpentry, automotive engineering, medical first aid, and—hardest of all for some—a little French.

I was living—like my colleagues, Professors Babbitt and Jones—at Haverford College, but when summer came I was soon, with one secretary, in charge during the daytime at a small office desk in Philadelphia at the present familiar AFSC address. My memories of that time are of feverish activity in many directions by members of the Committee. We little knew whether we would succeed even in the small beginnings of that day. I had been a teacher in a country at peace and with a major prepossession with the philosophy of religious pacifism. Now I had to turn my mind, not for the last time, to more "practical" matters. There were sailings to be arranged, passports to be secured for a hundred men who, in spite of the required oath of allegiance, would neither swear nor defend by force. Releases had to be obtained from unwilling draft boards all over the country. There was the continuing selection of more workers from new applicants.

Undoubtedly, many details have faded from my memory in forty years. Ten years ago, when AFSC bank check #1 was unearthed from the files for exhibit at our thirtieth anniversary, I was chagrined to find that it was drawn to my name, though I could not in the least recall what I had done with it. The evidence happily suggests that I opened with it a bank account for the unit at Haverford.

Retrospect has its limitation of memory, but the past is secure. For forty years the events of the rich history of AFSC have followed each other in now unchangeable sequence. Prospect is different, though it too has its sequences, but they cannot be foreseen. Every beginning is small and obscure. By present perspective, we were living then in a fog. We had no inkling of either the opportunities or the difficulties that lay before us. We might have been dismayed if we had foreseen. Rufus Jones loved to quote the words of Cromwell, "A man never goes so far as when he does not know where he is going." In 1917 he and his associates were willing to take the first steps that those days seemed to demand, and they trusted God with the future. Our case is really no different today as we begin the fifth decade.

In 1922 the Committee tried what love would do for the bewildered, hungry children of Germany. Over a million children were fed a good hot meal each day.

Let us then try what Love will do . . .

to relieve suffering

"We wanted to mend houses," wrote an AFSC worker in France during the First World War, "but the reason we wanted to mend houses was that it would give us a chance to try to mend hearts."

There has been much mending of both kinds for the Committee to do in the past 40 years. Each time, AFSC workers have earnestly sought to transform relief activities as soon as possible into long-range self-help efforts to build peace and community. Yet a succession of emergencies in more than 50 countries has continued to call on AFSC resources.

Although the Committee is staffed by only a few hundred workers, it has been able to give a response out of proportion to its size. This is due to the wide fellowship of its supporters—those who volunteer their spiritual, mental and material resources. These AFSC supporters include tens of thousands of individuals who are diverse in background, but united in the creative expression of their love for mankind.

Wm. J. Finley

(Top) AFSC workers haul supplies to help war victims through bitter Russian winter, 1920. (Left) Refugees from Spanish Civil War learn shoemaking. (Right) Children of unemployed miners get cod liver oil and food during U.S. Depression.

Support also comes from groups—religious, philanthropic, industrial and governmental. For example, many religious denominations underwrote AFSC relief services during bitter 1929 labor strife in North Carolina. Quaker groups from other countries worked along with the AFSC in 1918, and have cooperated in many projects since.

American manufacturers helped make possible AFSC relief services after the Korean War by donating such items as textiles and drugs. Largely through the generosity of Finnish-Americans, the Committee was able to perform extensive rehabilitation in Finland after World War II.

In 1921 the United States government contributed funds to AFSC relief projects in ten countries. Today the government makes available millions of dollars worth of surplus foods.

Through the AFSC, many nations expressed their sympathy for Spain during her Civil War by sending supplies such as Brazilian coffee and Canadian dried fish. In 1948 the United Nations invited the Committee into the Gaza Strip to administer international aid to 230,000 Palestinian refugees.

Much support has come to the AFSC because of its impartiality in the face of need. This non-partisan spirit enabled AFSC workers to cross and recross battle lines giving medical aid during the Chinese Civil War, and to rescue distraught Hindus and Moslems stranded in hostile territory following the partition of India. Most recently, the Committee has helped both Arabs and Jews in Egypt.

AFSC workers must be able to distribute good will as well as relief supplies. When work campers undertook to rebuild Austrian homes which were leveled by American bombs, they first had to clear away the rubble of bitterness.

Staff have found the understanding grows when people work side by side on constructive projects. The Committee was able to extend both its physical and spiritual reach when it

Campbell Hays

After feeding and clothing Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip, AFSC helped them set up schools.

drew in 40,000 Germans to help prepare food for malnourished children in 1921. Over 1,000,000 German children were fed daily by this means.

The simplicity of its organization has enabled the Committee to move quickly in emergencies. With a trans-Atlantic go-ahead, staff in Vienna began to distribute supplies immediately to Hungarian refugees who streamed into the city. Such lacks as underwear and stoves were filled at once by purchase.

This flexibility has allowed the Committee to set boldly to work in situations in which it can, by its character, make the fullest contribution. When Japanese-Americans were hastily evacuated from the West Coast after Pearl Harbor, the AFSC helped many to terminate their business affairs. Staff brought them supplies while they were in camps, and later helped place them in new homes, jobs and schools.

From time to time the Committee has responded to natural, as well as man-made, disasters—a flood in Iowa, a fire in Korea, an avalanche in Austria, an earthquake in Japan. But since the Committee is above all concerned with human relations, it has been drawn principally to areas in which these relations have broken down—to mend hearts as well as houses.

It also follows that the Committee is reluctant to depart abruptly when the immediate physical suffering is relieved. From AFSC relief efforts have sprung village development projects, neighborhood centers, international centers and affiliated schools in countries—including our own—in which the need for emergency help is decreasing, but the need for human warmth and understanding remains critical.

Friends ambulance team fights epidemics and does emergency surgery in China during World War II.

RELIEF AND RECONCILIATION

1917-1918 FIRST WORLD WAR

France and Russia: emergency clothing, housing, medicine, transport of supplies and refugees.

1919-1924 POST-WAR RECOVERY

Austria, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Syria, Albania, Bulgaria: material aids; anti-typhus and malaria campaigns, agricultural and industrial rehabilitation; home, school and hospital rebuilding.
USA: relief during 1922-1923 strife in Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal fields.

1925-1938 UNREST AND DEPRESSION

Russia: limited medical aid until 1931.
USA: relief during 1929 textile strike in Marion, N.C. and 1931-1934 depression in coal fields of six states.
Austria: aid to victims of 1934 civil uprising.
Spain: relief to both Loyalists and Nationalists in Civil War 1937-1938; Cuba: hostel for Spanish refugees.
Austria, Germany, France, Switzerland: aid to non-Aryans fleeing Nazi persecution.

1939-1945 SECOND WORLD WAR

France: relief for French, Jewish, and Spanish refugees on both sides of invasion line until 1942; work continued in limited manner by French **Secours Quaker** until truce.
Italy (until 1941), Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland: aid to stateless refugees seeking emigration.
England: medical-social services in air raid shelters; hostels for bombed-out families.
USA: homes, jobs, hospitality for European refugees; aid to Japanese-Americans evacuated from West Coast.
India: famine relief.
China: Friends Ambulance Unit carrying medical supplies; mobile medical units.

1946-1949 POST-WAR RECOVERY

Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland: rehabilitation, food, clothing, tuberculosis campaigns, reconstruction, industrial aid; help for displaced persons, orphans, apprentices, the aged.
Algeria, Morocco, Spain, Switzerland: aid to stateless refugees; Holland: aid to Indonesian refugees.
USA: assistance to wartime immigrants; helping Japanese-Americans relocate in homes and colleges.
China: campaigns against malaria, blackwater fever, kala-azar; impartial aid during 1948 Civil War.
India, Pakistan: famine relief; evacuating pockets of displaced Moslems and Hindus during Punjab riots.
Palestine: administration of U.N. relief to Arab refugees in Gaza strip 1948-1950.

1950-1957 UNSETTLED YEARS

Austria, France, Germany, USA: relief and rehabilitation of war refugees.
Korea: food, clothing, housing, medical care, widow employment beginning 1953.
Austria: aid to refugees from Hungarian uprising, beginning 1956.
Egypt: aid to homeless Arabs in Suez canal zone and to disturbed Jewish community, beginning 1957.

Let us then try what Love will do . . .

to build peace

In 40 years of service in building for peace, the American Friends Service Committee has become an active laboratory for experiments in truth and love. This part of our work has been especially important in a nation such as ours, which has emerged—almost during the short life of the AFSC—as a leader among world powers.

Peace work brings the Committee into contact with people at the policy-making level in governments, with leaders in local communities, and with ordinary citizens perplexed by the problems of war and peace.

Over 2,000 people a year attend Institutes of International Relations, inaugurated by the Committee in 1930. Through them educators, churchmen, community leaders and concerned citizens from all walks of life have experimented with new ideas, new approaches to conflict problems. Peace Caravans, begun in 1927, enable college-age people to tour the country, going into communities with the challenge of peace-making. This project, discontinued for a lengthy period during and following World War II, is being revived experimentally today.

Conferences for Diplomats encourage free and informal exchange of ideas.

Schlemmer

In 1926 the Service Committee sent its first two peace speakers on a nationwide tour. Since then literally hundreds of speakers from the United States and abroad have addressed audiences totaling many hundreds of thousands in communities across the land.

The AFSC has long advocated talks between nations at all levels. In the years of vigor for the League of Nations some support for it came from the Quaker International Centers in Europe which grew out of Friends' relief work in World War I. Today, a similar program works closely with the United Nations in New York, reaching diplomats and UN personnel in informal, off-the-record sessions. Service Committee observers in Centers in Europe and Asia support this emphasis.

Since World War II, the Committee has developed other programs which involve upper echelon policy makers. The Washington Seminar on International Affairs brings together United States governmental staff in exploratory sessions with social scientists and research scholars. Conferences for Diplomats and Conferences for Parliamentarians involve diplomatic personnel and lawmakers of many lands in separate programs. Such conferences bring diplomats together for short periods of communal life, enabling them to engage in informal discussion and friendly exchange of ideas. International Student Seminars similarly bring together future leaders of many lands.

Practical Peace-Making

Field workers for peace in the 1920's and 1930's laid the groundwork for today's more fully developed regional office programs which touch on work with youth, relief projects, race relations and other concerns. Experience gathered at the community level made clear the need for approaching farm, church and labor people through their national organizations. Work with conscientious objectors in three wars has led to more and more work with Friends groups in seeking reaffirmation of the peace testimony of Quakers in our time.

Through its educational materials for children, the AFSC gives youngsters opportunities to learn brotherhood. In these programs children share gifts and affection across the barriers of intolerance which can develop between nations, religions, races and classes. High school and college students have their own institutes where they think out their attitudes on world affairs. Special programs for teenagers and college-age youth—which include guided tours and study programs—are held in the nation's capital and at the UN headquarters. A School Affiliation Service today links over 200 American and European schools through exchanges of letters, school work and gifts as well as teachers and pupils.

What has this education for peace included? At times it has been a con-

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF AFSC PEACE WORK * * * * * *

WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH

1917 AFSC formed to give conscientious objectors opportunities for constructive work in the relief of suffering.
1920 First international center established (Paris, France).
1922-1924 More international centers established (Berlin, Frankfurt, Warsaw and Moscow).
1923-1924 Peace Section begins operations.

THE RETURN TO NORMALCY AND ISOLATION IN AMERICA

1926 First AFSC peace speakers make nationwide tours.
1927 First peace caravan (24 young people) goes into the field.
1929 Conferences on peace-making with editors of religious periodicals.
1930 First Institute of International Relations (Haverford College).

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE LENGTHENING SHADOWS OF WAR

1932 News releases, stressing peace point of view, reaching 450 editors regularly.
1933 Nofrontier News Service begun, aided by AFSC.
1935-1937 Two year Emergency Peace Campaign planned and executed (with other peace groups); 30,000 contributors give over $500,000; 20 regional offices set up.
1937 Work among the 10,000 college students involved in the Emergency Peace Campaign assumed by AFSC Peace Section.

WORLD WAR II

1939 New centers opened in Copenhagen and Amsterdam to help Jews, other refugees.

Peace Caravans take their challenge to American communities, after being organized in 1927. Ten years earlier the first CO workers helped build houses in France.

certed effort to win support for the peace-making functions of the United Nations. Often it means promoting public discussion and support of disarmament. Above all, it has sought to show the relevance of religious values in any world political situation.

East-West Relations

As far back as 1922 the Service Committee noted:

"Russia will call for our kindly help and sympathy for many years to come. Her people must be made to feel that the people of the United States are interested in their welfare, and that no matter what political or social changes take place, they are still our brothers and sisters."

As relations between the United States and the Soviet Union deteriorated rapidly in 1949, the AFSC formed a Quaker working party to seek insight and present specific measures. The result was the booklet, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION — SOME QUAKER PROPOSALS. This was followed by other group studies. The most recent, SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER, challenges the doctrine of peace through military strength and seeks to analyze the relevance of the Sermon on the Mount to contemporary world conflicts.

When travel to Russia became possible, an American Quaker team visited the USSR in 1955 to demonstrate good will and to gain first-hand information. Members of the team toured the U. S. reporting on their findings to large audiences and issued a printed summary of their views. In the midst of cold war fatalism these Quakers pointed to the seeds of hope in Russia: evidence of some relaxation of internal controls, the growth of interest in religion accompanying a new measure of religious freedom, a genuine longing for peace among the common people, the impact of education, and the decline of fanaticism in a middle-aged revolution.

Experiment and Challenge

Service Committee pacifism is not the result of ivory-tower theorizing but stems from direct experience with the raw edge of strife. That these peace efforts have not been wholly in vain is attested to by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the AFSC and its British counterpart in 1947.

Peace and freedom must go hand in hand. The Service Committee has been concerned with conscientious objectors from its beginnings in 1917. Today, the Rights of Conscience Program gives financial and moral support to persons who encounter legal difficulties because of their unpopular stands on grounds of conscience. A recently inaugurated civil liberties program holds statewide conferences for high-school youth, utilizing nationally known leadership. Even in times of world and domestic tension, the AFSC points to the need for reaffirmation of the basic tenets of democracy.

Over thirty years ago the Service Committee noted:

"It is comparatively easy to carry on relief when there is a tremendous need and people know about it. The starving child can always be fed, but when one comes to dealing with the more subtle things that engender ill will and hatred between races and nations, one is confronted with a far more difficult task." It has always been harder to find the pennies to work for the prevention of armed conflict than the dollars to minister to the appalling suffering caused by war.

In its peace-making — its experiments in "what love can do" — the AFSC has always been more concerned with prevention than with picking up the pieces, with reconciliation more than with relief for its own sake.

* * *

At the close of World War I, the French poet Paul Valery viewed the destructiveness of man and sounded a solemn warning: "The abyss of history is big enough for all of us." In the era of the H-bomb and the intercontinental ballistic missile, the abyss yawns wide and all of humanity stands at the brink. Only basic truths can have relevance. Only truth can speak to such power.

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1940 C.O. problem comes to fore. AFSC aids in formation of National Service Board for Religious Objectors.
1941 Civilian Public Service camps organized with AFSC support and administration.
1943 Friends Peace Service inaugurated. Peace testimony stressed among Friends.
1943 Committee on Educational Materials for Children formed.

THE COLD WAR

1946 AFSC ends administration of CPS camps. Does not wish to condone peacetime conscription.
1947 Quaker UN Program inaugurated.
1947 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to AFSC.
1947 Centers well established in New York, Paris, Geneva, Calcutta and Shanghai.
1948 First high school institutes planned and held.
1948 School Affiliation Service establishes ties between 192 American schools and 215 European schools—mostly in France and Germany.
1949 First center set up in Japan.

FROM KOREA TO THE SUEZ CRISIS

1952 Washington Seminar on International Affairs begun.
1953 First Conference for Diplomats in Clarens, Switzerland.
1955 Rights of Conscience Program begun.
1955 First Conference for Diplomats in Asia takes place in Ceylon.
1957 Conference for Parliamentarians in Europe planned and approved.

Let us then try what Love will do . . .

to strengthen community

Dandelet

Young work campers help American Indians get a better water supply.

Self-help housing in Philadelphia approaches a serious urban problem on a cooperative basis.

Revolutionary changes alter century-old patterns for villagers in Orissa, India.

Neighborhood centers in Germany, Israel and Japan open new vistas of health, recreation and culture.

In each case AFSC programs draw on four decades of experience, often in short-term undertakings, to achieve long-range results. Objectives are carefully determined through mutual exploration and agreement between the Committee and those it offers to help. Thus the Committee, and those who receive its aid, have self-imposed boundary lines in anticipation of the date when programs can be taken over by the communities where they operate.

In a typical summer project 18 college-age students worked on the Hoopa Indian reservation in Northern California. One of their tasks was clearing a dam and laying water pipes to give a community a supply of clear mountain water. A high school group on the Navajo reservation helped remodel a barn into living quarters and repaired other community buildings.

These were among some 1,200 young people who were given work and study opportunities in the country. Beyond this number countless others in summer and year-round projects get closer to the problems of a world they must help build as adults. They work in community service projects in hospitals and on industrial jobs. In week-end projects they try to improve the surroundings of those in blighted neighborhoods. Work camps in foreign countries provide enriching experiences on an international level.

At the beginning in 1917 the Committee did not foresee its present role. It had expected its mission of service to have a terminal point after the crisis of war and rehabilitation. Its new outlook foresees that in race relations, as in some other program areas, long-range undertakings are necessary. Its short-term approach is being altered to the realities of long-range needs.

For example, regional offices in High Point, North Carolina and Austin, Texas hope to expand their service in the South. Already there is a strong emphasis on merit employment for minorities in both offices. In North Carolina the Committee is working with communities which show a willingness to desegregate their school systems.

As a further step the Committee hopes to place a representative in Atlanta to develop a program aimed at improving intergroup relations in that area.

In the Southeast the Committee's work with minorities reaches the problems encountered by Latin-Americans. Literacy and citizenship classes in Texas help them make an easier adjustment and become more self-sufficent.

Another area in which the AFSC gets at problems where answers come slowly is housing. The need for better housing for minorities and low-income persons was tackled first by the Committee during the depression era. The Penn-Craft homestead project in Pennsylvania was a self-help venture meeting the need of 200 families.

The idea is being used in Philadelphia to improve a blighted neighborhood and provide modern apartments for families who may use their own labor for the capital investment in the cooperative housing project.

In another approach to the problem the Committee, through its Community Relations Program, encourages builders to adopt an open occupancy policy and tries to help expand and encourage integrated neighborhood patterns.

Overseas the Committee is working at other long-range problems and

MILESTONES TOWARD COMMUNITY * * *

1922 The Committee started its first "home service" programs to give young people a chance to work on some of the social or industrial problems. Another of the first projects in this hemisphere was appointment of a man and wife good will team to serve in Mexico City.

1925 Committee reorganized to include Foreign Service, Inter-racial, Peace and Home Service Sections. Inter-racial Section launched programs of study and information on minority problems. Sponsored Japanese students for study in this country.

1931 A three-year village health service project in Bengal, India was the Committee's first approach to social and technical assistance in that area of the world.

1934 First work camp in the United States held at Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Forty-one men and fourteen women volunteered to help miners at homestead project establish water system and improve homemaking and recreational facilities. The idea has grown to include summer and year-round work camp experiences in the U.S. and many others abroad.

1937 200-acre Penn-Craft homestead project in Pennsylvania organized to relocate miners and provide opportunity for self-help construction and community improvement projects. By 1950 the Committee could be relieved of active staff participation.

1939 Little River Farm project in South Carolina started rehabilitation work with sharecroppers on 808 acres as an experiment in simple cooperative living. After nine years all the former tenants had become owners. A summer work camp in Mexico helped build a school and model village. Year-round projects in Mexico began in 1941.

1940 First Internes in Community Service project permitted 23 young people to work in Philadelphia settlement houses and assist the regular staff with summer projects. The program continues to offer on-the-job summer and year-round experiences for youth.

1943 Women's Service Units supplemented staff services in mental hospitals. This project complemented the opportunities offered conscientious objectors and in 1945 expanded into Institutional Service Units for men and women.

1944 Race Relations Committee organized for attention to increasing racial tension. The present Community Relations Program continues this concern and included the Committee's efforts in housing and job opportunities, school integration, and work with American Indians. Lecture series project started sending Negro scholars to white institutions. First interne

TCA photo by Chapelles

AFSC encourages use of natural resources, modern machinery, to increase income of Indian villagers.

Phil Stein

Quaker workers help American Indians adjust to urban life. Other programs are on reservations.

In work camps, begun in 1934 in the coal fields, young people learn as they give practical assistance.

and needs. Beginning in 1952 it undertook a program in India to stimulate and help villagers of Orissa make better use of their resources. New possibilities would soon be opened when the vast Hirakud Dam was completed.

Thus, early in 1957 life for the villagers took on new dimensions when the dam made possible large-scale irrigation and electric power resources. But new ideas were adopted before the dam was complete. A village leader could say after the first year's work, "You see, we now have a little more courage to do the things we never dreamed we could do before."

Methods of community organization being used in India evolved from experimental approaches of the Committee at other times and places in its four decades of service. Some had been tried in the coal mine areas of the United States during the depression, when furniture-making enabled idle men to create a new source of income.

Elsewhere abroad the AFSC shares its experience. In Korea, housing and small loans have given widows of Kunsan a start toward security.

In Italy the Committee assists the Union for the Struggle Against Illiteracy to help isolated villages with agricultural projects, clinics, workshops and literacy classes.

Rural development projects in Mexico and El Salvador cooperate with government and villagers in varied community service activities. Language, sewing, crafts, hygiene and recreation are taught in Mexico. Other program areas in El Salvador include crop and poultry improvement.

In more urban settings the AFSC works in another way to strengthen community. Neighborhood centers, an idea developed in America, apply social service techniques to community problems.

The center at Acre, Israel, is an example of how health, welfare and cultural programs can be used to unify people of different backgrounds. Arabs, Jews and Christians share their religious holiday celebrations as well as their common desire to use the center's baby clinic. At other times they enjoy crafts, dancing and cultural programs.

Other centers in Germany and Japan have similar services modified to meet local needs. In each case the committee encourages the expansion of community responsibility for financial support and program leadership.

Undergirding all these programs are ideals which have motivated the Society of Friends for 300 years, and the AFSC since it was organized in 1917. The Committee's experience has convinced it that the power of love is a compelling resource the world around for those who would tighten the ties of community.

* * * * * * * * *

in industry project permitted students to combine on-the-job experience and cooperative living. AFSC cooperated with Friends Ambulance Unit transporting building materials to villages for reconstruction project. The Committee's work in Italy continued to include social and technical assistance to indigenous agencies.

1945 New program started to seek broader job opportunities for minorities through placement and counselor services. Advisory help given Flanner House self-help housing project. Cooperative industrial crafts centers started in villages of India.

1946 Neighborhood centers established in three zones of Germany to provide educational, cultural and leisure-time activities. Overseas work camp program started in Finland.

1947 Neighborhood center started in Vienna. Committee counsels group setting up self-help housing project in Lorain, Ohio.

1948 Work camp on Navajo Indian Reservation built dormitory to permit school re-opening. AFSC renewed emphasis on problem of American Indians. AFSC took over Indian Center at Los Angeles and in 1954 was able to withdraw when Indians took full responsibility.

1949 Neighborhood center organized at Dacca, Pakistan. The first of three centers started in Japan. The Committee now makes annual grants to the Japanese centers which have complete local direction. Self-help housing project started in Philadelphia to improve blighted neighborhood.

1950 In Israel an agricultural development program was started at Tu'ran. After five years the Committee withdrew leaving the project to be continued under Israeli government direction. A neighborhood center is organized at Acre and continues to draw intercultural support and approaches the point of becoming independent. Village development work started in El Salvador.

1951 Village development program started in Jordan. It was discontinued in 1956 after physical facilities were destroyed by rioting.

1953 Work camp in Alaska helped Indian fishing village repair school and provided children's recreation program.

1955 Indian center in Oakland, California was opened to serve growing number of Indians migrating to city.

1956 First work camp in Kenya helped build tuberculosis recovery home.

. . . the long-range problems . . .

Philadelphia, Pa.
May, 1957

Dear Friends:

The AFSC has never expected to look with precision at its responsibilities for many years ahead. It has tried to keep flexible—to be ready to meet new needs. Of course, there has been considerable continuity in programs where the need seems perennial. But varied emergencies have arisen all too frequently, and more are likely to come.

On this 40th anniversary, however, perhaps we can look ahead for at least a decade. Our convictions and our experience led us beyond war relief and post-war rebuilding. In some programs, stemming from Quaker testimonies on peace and human equality, the task is obviously long-term.

Recently the AFSC Board has for the first time accepted responsibility for certain programs over a period of years. For example, the social and technical assistance project in India should cover a decade. The first five years, already productive in themselves, yet leave to be harvested some of the richest benefits.

We are committed to maintain a Quaker witness in some of the key capitals of the world—like the United Nations, Washington, Paris, Geneva, Tokyo and Delhi. Our message of international understanding and reconciliation becomes increasingly effective with the continuity of these Friends Centers.

In our own country we feel an ongoing responsibility to help build peaceful attitudes; citizens of this powerful nation need to discuss world issues and challenge the military assumptions that limit the quest for peace. Likewise, our concerns for harmony among people of different backgrounds cannot be laid down as long as large segments of our population are deprived of their rights and opportunities as citizens and human beings. Finally, we must continue to offer our young people constructive channels of service, relating them realistically to human needs here and abroad.

These, then, will tend to become core programs where continuity of effort and long-range planning can increase effectiveness. We must not let continuity become routine, however, nor let planning make us rigid. There should always be room in AFSC programs for individual Friends and groups to express fresh concerns.

We hope and pray we may never be called upon to pick up the pieces from another war. We hope that in time our responsibilities for refugees and displaced persons may be completed. We hope we will not be faced with new major crises.

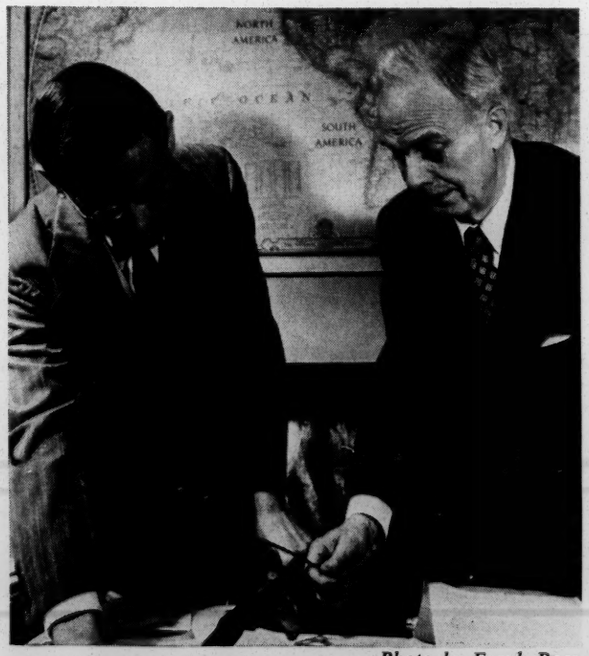
Our energies can then be directed with renewed devotion to the long-range problems of constructive peacemaking. On our anniversary 20 years ago Rufus M. Jones spoke of the values I have in mind:

> *We must now cultivate trust and confidence and understanding and good will. These things are stronger than navies. They hold across frontiers and beyond seas . . . They draw people together for cooperative ends and for higher ways of living.*

You will see the part you can have in this effort during the coming decade.

Sincerely your Friend,

Lewis M. Hoskins *Executive Secretary*



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Lewis M. Hoskins, left, became executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in 1952, when Clarence E. Pickett retired from the responsibility he had held for 20 years. Clarence Pickett continues to share his services with Committee as executive secretary emeritus.

OLDEST AFSC PROGRAM REPORTS RECORD MONTH

The Material Aids Program, originally called the Clothing Program, is the oldest activity of the AFSC. It has been in continuous operation since the Committee's founding in 1917. Thousands of tons of materials have been shipped to needful people abroad and at home during those 40 years.

The month of January, 1957, witnessed a new record for the amount of clothing and related materials processed by the AFSC clothing centers at Philadelphia, Pasadena and San Francisco—over 300,000 pounds. This increased volume was made possible by two things: First, gifts of materials from thousands of individuals, groups, churches, hotels, manufacturers and others. And second, gifts of labor from hundreds of volunteers.

Service of Love Speeds Supplies

One clothing center kept a record of volunteers during the peak of the Hungarian crisis. In those four months there were almost 2300 entries, representing 1100 individuals.

Some came once, some many times. Some worked a few hours, some all day. Devoted AFSC staff workers kept the center open evenings and Saturdays so that volunteers could give the time most convenient to them.

They Came in Groups and Alone

There were students from 43 high schools and colleges. There were groups from 20 churches and 50 Friends Meetings. There were workers from 23 organizations, including the YWCA, Scouts, Rotary Clubs, a local bank, a publishing company, a German-American club, a Hungarian club.

And there were many who came as individuals — ranging in age from 10 to 88. One, a Hungarian refugee, worked placidly at the mountains of splendid clothing, but broke down when he saw a barrel of sewing supplies. He said that women in the refugee camps needed such supplies very much. So too did his wife, who was still in Hungary.

SIX MONTHS REPORT OF MATERIAL AIDS SHIPMENTS
(October 1, 1956 to April 1, 1957)

Clothing, shoes, bedding, textiles, soap, drugs, and the like:

400,000 lbs. to Austria for relief of Hungarians

612,000 lbs. to Cuba, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, Jordan, U.S.A.

Government surplus and other food:

304,000 lbs. to Austria for relief of Hungarians

3,946,000 lbs. to Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea

5,262,000 lbs. total shipments

American Indian Work Expands

A new program with Indians on the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona will start this summer. Chuck McEvers, with previous AFSC experience in Indian work, will direct the program. He will work closely with the tribal council to develop social welfare and economic activities.

Another new program has been started to work with Indians on reservations in Southern California. Emphasis will be placed on problems related to termination.

High School Director Named

Stronger emphasis and coordination of the AFSC programs for high school students will be directed in the new office of High School Program director starting next fall.

Most regional offices of the Committee have seminars and institutes and sponsor other programs which involve high school students. Several have staff members assigned full or part-time to work in the area.

Wilbert Braxton, head of the science department at William Penn Charter School, will direct the office. His responsibilities will include the School Affiliation Service and the American section programs with high school students.

He was a member of the first AFSC work camp, held at Westmoreland, Pennsylvania. He and his wife have directed work camps for the Committee in Indiana and Tennessee. He was formerly principal of the Friends Boarding School at Barnesville, Ohio.

Junior Work Camps Announced

Some 60 teen-agers will serve and learn in three AFSC junior work camps this summer.

In Eastern Kentucky, campers will join townspeople in a project to control erosion from the steep hillsides around their community. They may also help with sanitation and flood reclamation work.

Campers in a West Virginia mining town will help families clear away flood debris and repair damage to their homes.

A traveling work camp in California will enable campers to serve in two locations. They will first work with Russian refugees in their cooperative settlement at Glendora on such projects as renovating houses. Later they will move to a Mexican-American community near Santa Barbara. There they will convert a barrack into a much-needed youth center.

Seminars Expand Outreach

This summer the AFSC will sponsor an international student seminar in Poland—its first program in that country since relief work was ended in 1949. The three-week seminar will be held near Warsaw.

Other European seminars are planned for Austria, France and Yugoslavia. Each will include about 40 students and faculty from all parts of the world, including East Europe. There will be two seminars in Japan.

The Committee hopes that students from Poland, Russia and Yugoslavia will, for the first time in many years, be able to take part in its three U.S. seminars and other activities.

Surplus Food Cost Is Low

Surplus commodities being distributed overseas by the AFSC are being handled for less than three-fourths of a cent per pound.

At current costs to the Committee, one dollar will deliver 133 pounds of food, valued at about $35, to a family in a foreign country. A ton of food can be sent abroad by the Committee for $15.

Costs to the Committee do not include reimbursement by the U. S. government and other countries for ocean freight. Another factor keeping the AFSC cost low is the usual distribution through indigenous welfare organizations in countries where the Committee has staff members who supervise program.

Conference for Lawmakers Set

A new AFSC program will bring together about 25 lawmakers and their families at Clarens, Switzerland September 2 to 8.

The Conference for Parliamentarians will be similar to Conferences for Diplomats held each summer in Switzerland. The idea has been extended to Asia, and the second diplomats' conference in that area is scheduled for next December in Ceylon. The informal conference atmosphere permits a free exchange in off-the-record group and personal discussions.

For the new conference parliamentarians from 16 West European and North American countries are being invited. An effort is being made to secure representatives of majority and minority political groupings in each country.

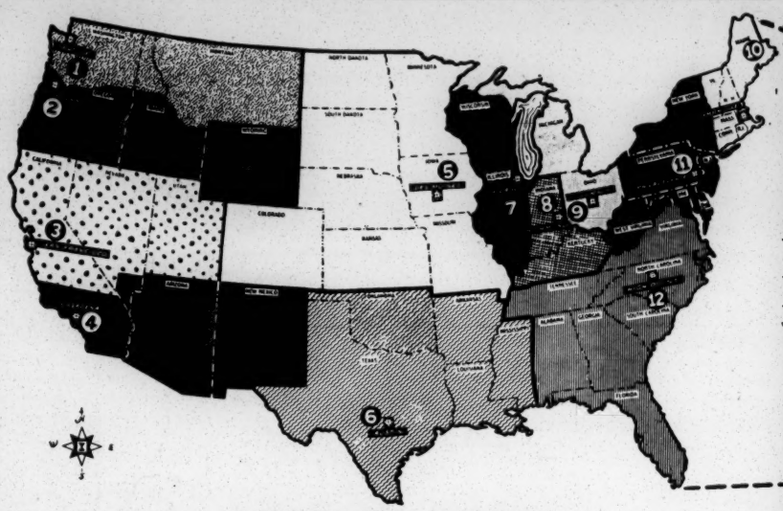
Brock Chisholm of Canada, retired director of the World Health Organization, will be chairman of the conference. He has served as chairman or consultant in four of the Conferences for Diplomats.

New Publications, Film

1957 WORK AND STUDY PROJECTS (April Edition)—A one-page "newspaper" giving times, places, and costs of youth projects scheduled for the coming months.

IN EGYPT—Colorful six-page folder describing an Egyptian mother's troubles in today's war-torn Middle East—and how American children can help her have a little stove. Includes an Egyptian recipe Americans might like to try. (Single copies free). Illustrated coin card available for children's nickels.

"Hungarian Refugee Report" is a new movie of the story of relief supplies from this country to Austria. Most of the silent, 16mm, 10-minute film was made during the Christmas holidays by AFSC staff members.



REGIONAL OFFICES

1. **SEATTLE 5, Washington**
   3959 15th Ave. N.E.
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American Friends Service Committee
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Years of Service

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 19 1957

3547 Requested
AFSC BULLETIN Number 53

August 15, 1957

Mr. Wade M. Mackie, Director
Merit Employment Program
American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Mackie:

I presume the film to which you refer is "The Face of the South." Two copies of this film are now available on a rental basis through the Anti-Defamation League, Kemper Building, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia. I believe the rental fee is one dollar and a half but any further correspondence concerning the film should be addressed to the above organization.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

RECEIVED AUG 15 1957

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

MERIT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

1608 GOVERNMENT ST.

NATIONAL OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
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TELEPHONE DI 2-2157

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AUSTIN, TEXAS

Otto Hofmann, *Chairman*
F. F. Hutchens, *Executive Secretary*
James L. Anderson, *Treasurer*
Wade Mackie, *Director*
Merit Employment Program

August 13, 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

We would like to know the rental fee on the film "THE SOUTH".

Yours truly,

Wade M. Mackie

Wade M. Mackie

WMM:im

Encls: "Race In the News"
Staff Memo - re: Press Relations - H.C.F.
N.Y. Herald Tribune Reprint - Apr. 16, 1950
Newsweek - Time Reprints - Oct. 3, 1949

September 23, 1957

Mr. Alex Morisey
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Alex:

I was glad that you were willing to take on the proposal for a manual on work with the media. We'll help in every way we can.

As an initial token of cooperation, enclosed are Race in the News (with the newsmagazine treatments) and a memo on press relations that I prepared for our state affiliates some time ago.

I hope to make the October meeting of the mass media committee.

Meanwhile, let me know if it would be helpful for us to discuss the outline by letter or telephone.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

October 8, 1957

Miss Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Merit Employment Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Babbitt:

Your letter to Mr. Harold Fleming concerning insurance has been referred to me.

The only case of insurance being canceled that we at the Council are familiar with in detail is the Koinonia Farm incident. As you probably know, there has been an across the board cancellation of insurance there.

However, I talked with Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional Director of the NAACP, and she suggested that Mr. T. M. Alexander of this city would know more about this subject than most people.

Mr. Alexander confirmed the fact that he has been investigating several cases not only here in Georgia but in other states in the South. I suggest that you write to him personally for further details. His address is 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta.

Mrs. Hurley told me that the National office of the NAACP has some records concerning this matter. I am sure if you contacted this office that it would be glad to cooperate.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Write Monday

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friend:

During our recent experience in working with the Myers family in Levittown, we learned that their fire insurance was cancelled in the midst of all their other harrassment. We have been working on this particular case and they are now covered, but this question has led us to wonder whether a pattern is developing around the country whereby people's insurance policies are being cancelled when they take stands on civil rights.

We don't know any very accurate way to find this out except by making inquiries of people like yourselves who have contact with those who are in the forefront of this civil right struggle. Therefore, would you be willing to just jot down answers to the following couple of questions?

1. How many people that you know of have had insurance policies cancelled as a result of their stand on civil rights? Who are they and briefly what were the circumstances?

2. Do you know of any people who have been unable to get insurance because of their stand on civil rights?

Thanks very much for your help.

Most sincerely,

Thelma Babbitt

Thelma W. Babbitt
National Director
Merit Employment Program

TWB:lw

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date October 15, 1957

cc: Harold Fleming
Olcutt Sanders
Mike Yarrow/Steve Cary

To: Barbara Moffett

From: Alex Morisey

Subject: Press Analysis of Desegregation Coverage

It seems appropriate to record some of the ideas which have been explored tentatively in conversation and set them forth for our talk with Harold Fleming Monday October 21.

Attached is a brief topical outline of what I propose as the content of a study.

It seems that there would be three principal methods of securing the material for this study:

1. Interviews - editors, reporters, readers, educators, agency staff, etc.

2. Questionaires - a good group to use would be the stringers of Southern School News -- other groups of informed people could be included.

3. Direct Research - comparative study of newspapers of certain dates of periods. Other study of newspaper and magazine files would help.

Before any start is made some questions must be answered. I have in mind questions which will affect the subsequent decisions on the study.

Will this analysis cover the nation, the south, white dailies only, weeklies?

Where is the major audience for the published report of such a study and how many copies may be needed?

The above questions relate to the method of financing. How can we determine how much it will cost and who will undertake the financial responsibility.

Obviously the Mass-Media Committee can do no more than give its blessings so in the end one of the agencies must take formal responsibility -- and perhaps may want to seek funds to undertake the assignment.

AN OUTLINE FOR AN ANALYSIS OF

PRESS COVERAGE OF DESEGREGATION

1. Background

   A - "Race in the News" and other studies
   B - Great increase in race relations reporting since 1954 Supreme Court decision.
   C - What Southern School News does

2. Source of News to the Press

   A - Staff assignments
   B - Hand-outs
   C - Wire reports
   D - Southern School News

3. Press Treatment of desegregation story

   A - Editorial Opinion
   B - Columinists
   C - Wire Reports
   D - Local Stories
   E - Pictures
   F - Cartoons
   G - Letters

4. Reader Reaction

   A - Negro readers
   B - White readers
   C - Letters to editors

5. Role of policy-makers

   A - Management
   B - Editors
   C - Reporters

6. Role of Readers

   A - What will they accept
   B - How do they react to liberal treatment
   C - What is reactionquantitively

Staff - EFV

November 1, 1957

Mr. Sydney Bailey
International Affairs Reports
c/o American Friends Service Committee
345 East Forty Sixth Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Sydney Bailey:

Thanks for putting me on the International Affairs Reports mailing list. You may wish to correct my name from "I. Via" to Emory Via. If this is already on an address plate, don't bother.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

C.F.S.C.
Philly

November 18, 1957

Miss Lucy Perkins Carner
205 West Tulpehocken Street
Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Carner:

Your recent letter has been referred to me since Dr. Mitchell has retired and now lives in Scotland.

Listed below are the minimum salaries and the minimum yearly increases for the Council's professional staff. These figures are established as the base on which salaries are determined by the Personnel Committee and do not, therefore, necessarily represent either the starting salaries or the yearly increases of a particular position.

Position	Minimum Salary	Minimum Yearly Increase
Executive Director	$10,000	
Asst. Director	7,000	$250.00
Secretary-Treasurer	5,000	200.00
Director of Information	6,000	200.00
Administrative Assistant	6,000	200.00
Director of Women's Work	5,000	200.00
Research Assistant	4,000	200.00
Field Services Assistant	5,000	200.00

The Council employs, on occasions, consultants, field workers and trained persons for fact-finding projects. The established fee for consultants is $35.00 per day. In securing the services of professionals, generally, the Council attempts to meet the norman scale of remuneration for specific individuals and services.

The above mentioned information is not particularly confidential though I am sure you will handle it with proper discretion.

If we can be of further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Miss Lucy Perkins Carner

205 West Tulpehocken Street, Philadelphia 44, Pa.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

RECEIVED NOV 14 1957

Dear Mr. Mitchell-

I apologize at the outset for bothering you about a question of only secondary concern when your organization is constantly faced with major issues. However, as a member of the Community Relations Committee of the American Friends Service Committee, I have been asked to collect some salary data from organizations in the field of inter-racial relationships. This is purely for the guidance of our own committees and staff and will be treated as confidentially as you wish.

We are interested in the salary ranges

Miss Lucy Perkins Carner
205 West Tulpehocken Street, Philadelphia 44, Pa.

for professional positions in such organizations: executive, field worker, workers on special subjects.

If you have such material at hand, I should appreciate your sending me a copy.

In order to make the process as painless as possible, I enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope!

Thanking you for any help you can give and with every good wish,

Lucy P. Carner

November 13, 1917.

VIA AIR MAIL

November 20, 1957

Mr. Alex Morisey
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Alex:

I'm sorry I didn't have a chance to communicate with you after receiving your letter on Friday. As you will know by now, I wasn't able to make it to Tuesday's meeting. I did have a chance to tell Harry Fleishman by telephone that (a) I don't feel there is any overlapping of the fact-finding project and the mass media analysis, and (b) I'll be glad to support a proposal to the Sidney Hillman Fund in every way I can.

Let me know what was decided at the meeting and how we can lend a hand.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 13, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Harry Fleischman has contacted Howard Samuel of the Sidney-Hillman Foundation regarding the possibility of their underwriting the press analysis. Harry reports Samuel as being dubious but wanting to receive an application for consideration.

Jean FAIRFAX reported to us on the recent meeting in Atlanta on inter-agency coordination. The discussion and plans regarding the fact-finding project caused us to wonder if there may be considerable overlapping of that with the mass-media analysis. If so, should we anticipate that possibility in planning and in seeking funds for the projects. Maybe both ideas presented together would be a more impressive package.

We want to move ahead and apply to the Sidney-Hillman Foundation but thought we'd better get some reaction from you before proceeding.

With the Mass-Media meeting in New York next Tuesday we are wondering if you plan to attend and if so, what is the chance of stopping by again on Monday. We would provide some hospitality if needed.

Maybe the thing to do is to raise the questions for the group on Tuesday since they are so intimately involved in the matter. However, I'd like to discuss it with you beforehand and have your reaction before I go to New York.

Cordially,

Alex

Alex Morisey

cc: Barbara Moffett
Olcutt Sanders
Jean Fairfax

November 19, 1957

Mr. Herman Roether
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Herman:

Greetings, and can you give me some information? We are currently working with other agencies and individuals in developing an overall view of race relations in the Atlanta area. This information is to be used for background purposes and it may be treated as confidentially as desired. One of the items which we feel would be helpful for us to have is a report on the experiences of the various interns in industry projects held in Atlanta by the AFSC. Specifically, we would be interested in the kind of reception that the intern projects received and especially as related to its interracial make-up and its being [redacted] a Negro college campus.

Such matters as acceptance and rejection by individual employers, any industry patterns, degree of acceptance on the job, and any relations with unions, would be of interest to us. Also information regarding housing and recreation problems, the exploration for facilities, and the successes in this general area.

I know that this is a large size order, especially if there are no formal reports pulled together; but this is information of real interest to us and I would like to urge you to do what you can to

Continued . . .

Mr. Herman Roether November 19, 1957

supply ~~us~~ it within the limits of the possible.

Margaret and I are in a newly rented house in Decatur, Georgia, half way through the settling process, and happy. Come South again and receive some of the Via brand of Southern hospitality - a warm welcome sans all gentility.

Love to Kathy and regards to all good (F) friends.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

December 3, 1957

Thelma How, Director
US Projects Program
AFSC
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadephia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Thelma:

Thanks so much for your timely and full reply to my request for information on the Atlanta intern project. At this point I do not think I will need any further material although I will be in touch with Phern Stanley.

I will return your original typescripts shortly, but would like to have them a few days longer for further reading.

Margaret joins me in sending you our best personal wishes. Regards to Hermann, and we trust that all goes well with you and the program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

December 30, 1957

Mr. Max Heirich
College Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Max Heirich:

I am sorry that travel and the holiday interruption prevented my replying to your letter of December 18 with the promptness that the situation required.

I understand, however, that you consulted Emory Via and Tartt Bell, and I would have every confidence in their judgments on the matter in question.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

HCF:

Emory received a letter identical to this one. For his answer see attached.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

December 18, 1957

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am writing to ask your confidential judgment regarding a proposed AFSC youth project for next summer.

Some of us would like to approach Highlander Folk School concerning the possibility of either a high school or college age work camp. Some questions have been raised locally regarding the clear reputation of the school, and as to whether students going there for the summer might be exploited by some group which would want to use the conference facilities. After we had a chance to discuss the positive concern and questions expressed, Tartt Bell suggested that I write you and ask for your frank appraisal before we approach Highlander directly.

Would you be willing to answer these three questions? One, do you have any personal reservations regarding Highlander Folk School, your association with it, and its clearly defined policies? Two, knowing AFSC, would you suggest any caution flags which we should be aware? Three, if your first two answers are positive, do you have any advice regarding the comparative advantages to be gained at Highlander by a college versus high school group?

Thanks very much for your help. I would appreciate an immediate reply, if possible, so that we can make contact with Highlander if it seems wise.

With best wishes,

Max Heirich

Max Heirich
College Secretary

MH/as

CONFIDENTIAL

116 Ponce De Leon Court
Decatur, Georgia

December 20, 1957

Mr. Max Heirich
College Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Max:

This is a personal letter in response to your inquiry about Highlander. To answer your questions in order:

1. I personally would have reservations about organizational co-operation with Highlander; I'm not sure what your letter means by "your association with it", but my visits to Highlander and conversations with its staff have been limited. I do not have a firm feeling of "clearly defined policies", but then this is a very difficult thing for most organizations to do.

2. Yes, there are flags of caution which I would fly. Concern over any group's reputation would often lead a good AFSCer to still take a calculated risk; but he should be certain of what he is calculating on. Charges of Communism, of course, are used too loosely and often mean too much. This is the main "public" charge against Highlander, but I do not think it has been borne out by any competent investigation. I do feel that the AFSC would be hardpressed to justify organizational cooperation with a Communist outfit; this doesn't mean that there might not be shared platforms, open discussions, and private discussions. In other words it is not fear of the smear brush, but some understanding of shared basics must undergird joint organizational endeavors - three seem obvious: shared ends, mutual reliance, and a similar respect for personality. The reason for going into such detail on this score is that the difficulty arises with other than Communist groups. I personally doubt that Highlander has a clear view of itself and its work; I think they use persons and events propagandistically in a way that makes mutual trust difficult; and I have the feeling that facts and events are sometimes reported in a way that jeopardizes mutual understanding.

Highlander is certainly not as cautious in its associations as I would be - to some extent this reflects on my own conservatism - but my view is that they do not show the discretion and appreciation of means-ends, and of such standards in others that would lead to a sense of confidence in organizational cooperation.

As you know there are and have been good people associated with Highlander; it may be that I am unduly sensitive about certain kinds of operational procedures, and I am certain that many groups have had worthwhile experiences there. However, the work camp relationship involves a good bit more than just holding a meeting or an institute. The sum of this paragraph

Mr. Max Heirich December 20, 1957

is that I am not equally "suspicious" of all associated with Highlander, but I think the kind of relation you envision is chancey.

3. Going into any controversial situation - one assuming more than the normal calculated risks of the Committee in the South - I would take my most mature group. They should have understanding of the situation and of what AFSC hopes to do in it.

Some other practical considerations: Highlander's tax exemption is in question; I regret very much that I do not know the facts and merits of the case, but the question should be raised as to what kinds of "cooperation" can another agency engage in. I take it the work camp would do something for Highlander.

Highlander is under attack - mostly for false or ill-motivated reasons. But do you take the kids into that situation - unless, of course, taking them in under adverse circumstances is the project. This factor of attack does lead to a loss of control over the public front presented by the group or the privacy it might enjoy. There is a difference, too, between publishing the truth and welcoming publicity.

Even I could say good things about Highlander, but you asked for my reservations. One final suggestion: what are the possibilities at Frogmore, South Carolina at Penn Community Center with the Siceloffs?

This is a confidential judgment, as you requested.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:fcl

Materials sent to Miss Martha Mackie
P. O. Box 353
Guilford College, N. C.

History & Aims of SRC
South of Promise
Annual Report, SRC - 1957
Organizations & Personnel Engaged in Human Relations...
~~Special Report on Resistance Groups~~ No copies available
Negro Voter...
Next Steps
Cong. Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint

February 19, 1958

Mr. Wade M. Mackie
Director - Merit Employment Program
American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Wade Mackie:

Thanks for your recent letter asking us to send material about the Southern Regional Council to your good daughter, Martha. This we are doing, and without cost.

It was good to see you in Kansas City and when I next get out to Baton Rouge I will certainly stop by 1608 Government Street.

With every good wish,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Ruuth
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

MERIT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

1608 GOVERNMENT ST.

NATIONAL OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

TELEPHONE DI 2-2157

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Otto Hofmann, *Chairman*
F. F. Hutchens, *Executive Secretary*
James L. Anderson, *Treasurer*
Wade Mackie, *Director*
Merit Employment Program

Return

February 12, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

I knew that sooner or later I would get around to writing you as I said I would do when we were in Kansas City.

My daughter, Martha, is a student at Guilford College, North Carolina, and has an assignment to write a term paper on "The Objectives and Activities in Contemporary Race Relations of the Southern Regional Council". This course is under Dr. Lovejoy which may give you some clue.

Will you please have someone gather up some materials and send them to her and send me a bill for the cost of the same?

I will see you in Atlanta on the 24th, 25th and 26th of February, I hope.

My daughter's address is: Martha Mackie
P. O. Box 353
Guilford College
North Carolina

Sincerely,

Wade M. Mackie

Wade M. Mackie

WM:jh

read

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

NORTH CENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

4211 Grand Avenue

Des Moines 12, Iowa

CRestwood 4-0453

NATIONAL OFFICE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *National Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Executive Secretary Emeritus*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

REGIONAL OFFICE
William L. Brown, *Regional Chairman*
Garnet Guild, *College Program*
Wilmer L. Tjossem, *Finance and Interpretation*
Roy J. Clampitt, *Material Aids*
Cecil E. Hinshaw, *Peace Education*

25 March 1958

Dear Friend:

At the NAIRO Conference in Kansas City last November, we were asked to be alert to ways of interpreting the field of inter-group relations to potential workers.

Therefore, we think you would like to know about the two projects described on the enclosed sheets. One is for high school students and the other is for college students. Each project offers the opportunity for service in an area of need, and each provides direct experience in the field of inter-group relations.

We hope that you may know some students who would be interested in working in these projects.

Will you please call these opportunities to the attention of others? We would appreciate receiving the names and addresses of students who might be especially interested.

Cordially yours,

Garnet Guild

Garnet Guild

Encl: Des Moines Workshop
St. Louis ICS

INTERNES IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

June 13 - August 22, 1958

Sponsored by
The American Friends Service Committee

A SEARCH FOR TECHNIQUES IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

THE PROBLEM During the past few years, St. Louis has earned the reputation of being a progressive city. The schools have been integrated; public housing has been developed; and many other measures have been undertaken with courage and intelligence. However, this does not mean that St. Louis is without problems. It means that St. Louis is attempting to meet its challenges constructively and to serve the needs of its people.

One of the main social problems in St. Louis, as in other large cities, is an in-migration of people from other parts of the country. To St. Louis they come from Arkansas, the South, the hill country, the Midwest, Indian reservations, Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Some of them were share-croppers; some were refugees; some were farmers; and some were seekers of freedom. Many of these "immigrants" are unprepared for the complexities of urban living.

The American Indians constitute a special group in St. Louis. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has opened a Relocation Office there, and within a short time more than 200 Indian family units representing 17 different tribes have moved to St. Louis. Many Indians are caught in a conflict of cultures. Some of them do not know the resources available in St. Louis; and some of the people in St. Louis do not understand the special problems of the Indian. Everything is strange to the Indians and they feel lonely and unhappy.

THE PROJECT The INTERNE IN COMMUNITY SERVICE PROJECT will help these newcomers by working through social agencies and expanding their program outreach to meet the needs of the different groups.

Internes will serve as staff members of various social agencies and organizations which provide community services. The work of each agency varies according to the needs of its immediate community. Job assignments for internes may include any of the following: recreation with a particular age group; teaching arts and crafts; directing clubs; conducting excursions; helping conduct surveys; organizational work; home visiting; helping with educational programs with Indian families on orientation, counseling on the problems of shopping, budgeting, installment buying, and citizenship. Some program activities will be developed in one of the large public housing projects where the occupants are Indian, Negro, Oriental, and Caucasian (European and American).

(over)

EDUCATION Each social agency where an interne is placed will provide adequate job supervision, and the interne will attend the agency staff meetings. Most of the agencies will be those participating in the United Fund.

The internes will live together with the leaders in a house reserved for the project. Everyone will assist with the duties of the household.

The members of the project will help develop their own recreational and educational programs. They will be assisted by a committee of key St. Louis citizens. Excellent resource leaders are available to help with group discussions on the problems of a multi-racial community; the problems of urbanization; the nature of conflict; Indian culture; and other topics selected by the group.

RECREATION In the recreation line, free tickets are available to the project for the nationally famous St. Louis civic opera which plays all summer in the amphitheatre. There will be a weekend trip to the Ozarks; and swimming, picnics, and singing. We have been reminded that St. Louis has the second largest zoo in the country!

FINANCES This is a voluntary service project. Internes receive maintenance (board, room, laundry) at the project house; health and accident insurance; daily transportation to work; the project educational and recreational programs; and a monthly stipend of $25 for personal use.

QUALIFICATIONS This project will be of special interest to students, both graduate and undergraduate, and teachers who are studying the problems of culture conflicts; community development; inter-group relations; human relations; and social work.

To be able to contribute to this program, the following qualities are desirable: ability to work in group situations; ability to relate effectively to others; emotional stability; recreational skills; and patience. Participants will be between the ages of 18 and 30.

APPLICATIONS Write this office at the address below for an application form. A health examination will be required shortly before the project opens. Job placement will be handled by the St. Louis committee who will attempt to match the skills of the interne with the needs of the agency.

OTHER PROJECTS Similar projects will be held in Chicago, Illinois; Seattle, Washington; and Oakland, California.

The American Friends Service Committee also sponsors other projects where students work in industry; in mental hospitals and correctional institutions; projects on Indian reservations; in migrant labor camps; and service projects in Mexico and overseas.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
North Central Regional Office
4211 Grand Avenue
Des Moines 12, Iowa

WORKSHOP IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

For High School Students

DES MOINES, IOWA

June 14 - August 2, 1958

THE PROBLEM

Des Moines is faced with its greatest relocation program in its history. Approximately 1350 families will have to be relocated to make room for a new highway across the city.

Of these families, a large number are Negro since the route passes through the area where many Negroes live. Des Moines has a segregated housing pattern, due to a number of reasons.

The primary concern of the American Friends Service Committee is to help create a truly integrated housing pattern in Des Moines, making it possible for Negro families to buy, rent, or build homes wherever they feel their economic and cultural interests lead them to live.

Besides being an educational opportunity for the participants, the purpose of the workshop is to prepare for this move toward integrated housing.

THE WORKSHOP

In cooperation and consultation with concerned individuals and organizations in Des Moines, the workshop will include the following:

1. Each participant will take part in the High School Conference on World Affairs at Boone, Iowa June 14-21, which is in the nature of a workshop on human relations.

2. The second week, June 21-28, will be a period of orientation and specific training for the project, with professional assistance available in planning and conducting the training.

3. Conduct a survey of the families to be relocated. Extensive interviews will be necessary to gain the information needed for a wise and sucessful transition for the Negro families that we hope will be able to move into areas in Des Moines not now open to Negroes.

4. Follow-up interviews and further contacts with Negro families to help them prepare for successful integration into other sections of Des Moines.

5. Enlist the cooperation and assistance of youth groups throughout the city in preparation for more integrated church life and integrated housing patterns.

(OVER)

QUALIFICATIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS

1. Participants should be high school students at least 16 years of age.

2. Participants should be responsible individuals who can work in group situations.

3. Participants should have a real interest in the problems of inter-group relations.

LEADERSHIP

The workshop will be under the competent leadership of a qualified married couple who will be assisted by a boys' counselor and a girls' counselor.

HOUSING

The project will be housed in the American Friends Service Committee building at 4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines 12, Iowa.

Participants will share in the household tasks of the project.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Excellent resource leaders are available to assist the group in discussions on the problems of discrimination; the use of non-violence in tension areas; churches and racial discriminations; American racial problems in the light of international relations; and other topics selected by the students.

RECREATION

Swimming; picnics; group sports; square dancing; camping.

COST

$135.00 (plus travel to and from Des Moines) for the full seven week period. Some financial assistance is available for qualified students who could not otherwise participate.

APPLICATION

Write this office for application forms or for further information.

American Friends Service Committee
North Central Regional Office
4211 Grand Avenue
Des Moines 12, Iowa

April 3, 1958

Mr. Max Heirich
College Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Heirich:

On April 16th we are having the conference on a proposed SRC college program about which we spoke on your recent visit. Participating will be representatives of the various Atlanta based agencies, plus appropriate staff persons. The meeting will be held in our conference room, commencing at 2:30 P. M.

If, by any chance, you happen to be in or near Atlanta on that date we would like to have you join us. Unfortunately, we don't have funds available to cover expenses and this inadequacy plus your commitments will probably rule out any possibility of your being with us. However, we would like to have the benefit of your thinking and experience if you find it possible.

Your ideas, as given to Emory and me, will be passed on to the group. At best, though, that will be second best.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

April 9, 1958

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Emory Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul and Emory:

Thanks for your letter of April 3 informing me of the meeting on April 16 to discuss your proposed college program.

As you no doubt assumed, the April 16 date is an impossible one for me. I'm not sure that I have a great deal to add, but I will be in Atlanta Saturday, April 12 for a work project. Timothy Miller, of Agnes Scott College, can act as contact person. From about 1:00 p.m. on I'll be at Bethlehem Center.

Regards and good luck,

Max

Max Heirich
College Secretary

MH/as

NEWSLETTER

57th Street Meeting of Friends
BUtterfield 8-3066

Quaker House
5615 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

MARCH & APRIL 1958

STATE OF THE MEETING REPORT

January, February, March, 1958

Members of 57th Street Meeting make up a very diverse group in their talents and needs. This is probably one of the strengths of the Meeting in that it can attract people who appreciate a diversity of seeking in their spiritual life, but it is a weakness if members do not make the necessary effort to understand people with different points of view. Yet sometimes one may wonder whether we are clear in what we expect of our relationships with each other. We strive by arrangements to see more of each other, in small groups, or in large groups, always running the risk that our emphasis may land on the arrangements rather than on each other.

Perhaps we need some of the spirit of Nicholas Waln, a spirited Friend from early Philadelphia whose sharp tongue sometimes got him into trouble with the elders. After one such occasion the elders saw fit to visit with him. They rang his doorbell loudly and long, but got no answer. Finally Nicholas put his head out the second story window and called, "Friends, you need not come in, the Master has been here before you."

We have real fellowship together around the tables of Pot-luck lunch on Sunday, but we each have to ask ourselves if our fellowship with God and with each other is equally vital during Meeting for Worship.

The Meeting this past quarter seems to have had social responsibilities very much on its mind, perhaps because discussions of the Urban Renewal Plan have occupied much time and attention of people in the neighborhood. Members seem concerned over the fate of people who have to live in crowded quarters, and those whose lives are warped by squalor and racial tension. They question the distrust of mankind that arises when children have to be taught to distrust a stranger, or the feelings of anger that arise when one's property is stolen. In this they seem to be seeking for guidance in their daily lives, for answers to the question of "What does the Lord require of thee?", in the complex problems of urban life today.

The thread of social concern in this Meeting is most apparent to a newcomer, and born out by the recent History of the Meeting, which quotes Thomas Kelly that "The Light for which the world longs will always shine and lead many into the world of need." We constantly remind each other that we have to find the Light before it can lead us anywhere, and seem to seek it earnestly.

Activities During The Quarter

During this Quarter three new members were added to the Meeting; Kathleen Johnson by transfer from Plainfield, Ind., Monthly Meeting, Jean Elizabeth Hart as a member of Oak Park Preparative Meeting, and Robin Dietrich was accepted into full membership in the Meeting, from associate membership. One member, Ruth Dross, transferred her membership to Chestnut Hill Monthly Meeting. One associate member was added by birth, Sarah Charlotte Mangelsdorf, daughter of Paul and Mary Mangelsdorf, born February 19th, 1958.

Erna Lowenberg, who recently returned from an extended trip through Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean area, reported on her experiences at two forums, one in February and one in March.

The World Day of Prayer service for the Hyde-Park - Kenwood area was held at Quaker House on Feb. 21st.

Quarterly Meeting was held at Quaker House on Jan. 25 and was a most meaningful experience in its program and in the cooperation of the many people in the Meeting who took part in the preparation for it.

The Family Sunday School has continued to be a rich experience for the families taking part, although the numbers have been small at times.

---Prepared by Anne White

MONTHLY MEETING NOTES - MARCH AND APRIL 1958

Membership

Ed and Esther Meyerding requested that their membership be transferred to the Lake Forest, Ill., Meeting. This was approved.

Paxton Hart requested transfer of his membership from the Pittsburg Monthly Meeting to Oak Park Preparative Meeting. An accompanying recommendation from the clerk of the Oak Park Meeting was read, and the transfer was approved.

Social Chairman

A concern was expressed by several individuals that a more effective means of planning for social events in recognition of special events in the lives of our members was needed. Dorothy Troutman agreed to assume responsibility for this job, to be designated as Social Chairman. (Such events which have since taken place, or are planned include: a baby shower for Carol and Jack Urner; a farewell potluck for Don and Margot Klaber and their children; and a joint wedding shower for Phyllis Walker - Marshall Hodgson, and Margallen Hanna - Donn Fichter).

Committee Reports

Religious Education - Attendance in the Family Sunday School since last report has included from 6 to 10 adults and 10 to 13 children. Recent programs have included series on "The Nature of God" and on the life of Rufus Jones. There have been family potluck suppers approximately once a month.

The experiment with the children attending the first 15 minutes of Meeting for Worship now seems well established, and is generally felt to be quite valuable. Child care during the rest of Meeting is divided into two groups, there usually being from 6 to 12 younger children who play in the basement, and from 4 to 6 older children, who work on various projects.

The Adult Discussion Group has been studying Katherine Paton's pamphlet "The Message of Jesus in the Parables." The attendance has been small, with an average of about 7, but much more regular than earlier this year.

A series of reviews of recent Pendle Hill pamphlets is planned, to take place after Meeting for Worship.

Campus Outreach - The Quaker Student Fellowship has continued to meet regularly on Sunday evenings. Attendance has averaged 12 to 15, with much more regular participation than has been the pattern in the past. Programs have included discussions, visits to the homes of Meeting members, recreational activities, and special events, especially a lecture by Milton Mayer on the U. of C. campus, which was attended by about 120 persons.

The High School group, sponsored jointly by AFSC and 57th St. Meeting, has had some meetings, and several more are planned. A number of the high school young people have done volunteer work for the AFSC.

House - Work is well under way on the renovation of the Quaker House basement. Projects already completed or scheduled for completion before June 30 include: installation of an underground oil tank, to replace the old oil tank in the basement, yielding a substantial increase in usable space, and eliminating a serious fire

hazard; replacing the old and badly dilapidated ceiling with acoustical plaster; construction of a large closet along the west wall; construction of a fire proof wall, separating the furnace room from the principal part of the basement; boxing in a number of unsightly pipes; installation of new lighting fixtures; repainting the walls. When these items are completed, the main room will be an attractive place for recreation and informal meetings. Further improvements are tentatively planned for the next fiscal year.

In addition, a folding stairway has been installed in the attic, giving much easier access to the attic for storage space.

This work is being done in part by volunteers, and on jobs requiring special skills, a major portion is being done by Meeting members or attenders at substantially reduced rates.

Marriage - The Marriage Committee recommended that the request of Margallen Hanna and Donn Fichter to be married under the care of the Meeting be approved, in which the Meeting gladly concurred. The marriage will be held Friday, June 13, at 8 p.m. All are cordially invited to attend.

MONTHLY MEETING NOTES - MAY 1958

Membership

Vail and Candida Palmer became members by transfer from the Gonic, N.H. Meeting. Their daughter Crystal is an associate member by transfer.

Phyllis Walker became a member by transfer from the Evanston Meeting.

Delbert Wilson requested that his membership be transferred to Chicago Monthly Meeting. This was approved.

Marriage Committee

The Marriage Committee recommended that the request of Phyllis Walker and Marshall Hodgson to be married under the care of the Meeting be approved, in which the Meeting gladly concurred. The marriage will be held Sunday, May 25, at 4 p.m. All are cordially invited to attend.

Secretary's Advisory Committee

The Committee to Advise the Meeting Secretary reported that Neil Haworth's resignation as Meeting Secretary had been accepted. Neil's principal reason for offering his resignation was that he found that the job interferred too much with his studies at the U. of C. Divinity School.

The committee reported that it had considered a number of persons to fill the vacancy, and recommended that David Mark be appointed as Meeting Secretary. The Meeting approved, and he will assume his duties immediately, with a two week overlap with Neil Haworth.

David is a student at Chicago Theological Seminary, and is a graduate of Wooster College, in Ohio. He and his wife Lenore have been frequent attenders at 57th St. Meeting since their arrival in Chicago last October, and previously attended the Friends Meeting in Wooster, Ohio.

NEW ADDRESSES

Lowenberg, Erna	5524 Kenwood (37) BUtterfield 8-8128	Baldwin, Sally	146 Araca Road Babylon, N.Y.
Flitcraft, Allen Jane Gregg	526 Edgewood Lane Elk Grove Village, Ill.	Flitcraft, Jack	1050 Parker Ave. Detroit 14, Mich.
Grassman, Ruth Herbert	173 N. Grove Ave. Oak Park, Ill.		

STANDING COMMITTEES OF 57TH STREET MEETING

If you are a resident member or attender, you will probably soon be hearing from a member of the Nominating Committee, with regard to your preferences for committee appointments for the coming year. If by and chance you have not been contacted by May 20, and would like to serve on a Meeting committee, please communicate with Polly Boyajian, Chairman of the Nominating Committee.

57th Street Meeting implements its beliefs and its collective concerns through the work of individuals who group themselves into committees.

One way of deepening one's spiritual life and also gaining in understanding of Quaker beliefs and practices is participation in the work of these committees.

The following descriptions of the work of the standing committees is intended to help members and attenders indicate to the Nominating Committee on which committee or committees they want to serve. This response, in a sense, is your testimony of acceptance of responsibility in the Meeting.

CAMPUS OUTREACH: To work with the Meeting Secretary in reaching out to young people in the community and particularly at the University of Chicago.

FINANCE: To advise the Meeting on financial matters. To prepare yearly budget on basis of needs of the Meeting and the possibilities of raising money. To write letters to members asking for contributions. To decide on specific financial matters referred to it.

HOUSE: To take care of all aspects of the physical property, inside and out, including improvements, maintenance, decorating, furnishings, supplies, cleaning, and caretaking. To take responsibility for residents and for outside use of the House. To facilitate the Meeting's use of the House.

LIBRARY: To purchase, display, and distribute books, pamphlets, and Friends's papers. To consider recommendations for purchase of books and other reading materials. To acquaint the Meeting with material of especial interest.

NEWSLETTER EDITORIAL: To take full responsibility for the collection of news, writing and editing of the Newsletter.

PEACE AND SOCIAL CONCERNS: To advise and represent the Meeting in its concern for peace and national and community social problems, so that the Meeting or individuals can decide and take action, or take a stand and try to influence the Meeting or others. Particular interests have been: cooperating with the Chicago AFSC in peace education, raising funds for Friends' projects in India and Africa, providing information about candidates for election, working toward integration and equality of opportunity for all individuals, supporting Koinonia Farm in its struggle against violent racial prejudice.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: To plan a religious education program for children and adults. To have direct charge of the Sunday religious school: teaching, caring for equipment, planning parent-teacher meetings, and curriculum.

MEALS: To arrange for preparation and smooth running of Monthly Meeting suppers, Quarterly Meeting meals, and weekly potluck luncheons.

WORKROOM: To sort and pack contributions of clothing, shoes, and other articles that are received; see that the clothing is mended, washed, or cleaned if necessary; arrange for shipment of the packed output to the AFSC Warehouse in Philadelphia; keep check on supplies in our workroom and keep the room in order.

WELCOMERS: To plan for and carry out ushering during worship; to welcome and direct newcomers and visitors at the time of the meetings for worship. To encourage and help members and attenders fulfill their needs for recreation and fellowship within the Meeting group.

VISITING AND CORRESPONDENCE: To maintain contact with non-resident members through correspondence (and personal visits where possible). To plan special visiting among resident members especially when a traveling Friend is in town.

All the committees listed above are to be appointed in June 1958 from the recommendations of the Nominating Committee.

-- Prepared by the Nominating Committee

PERSONAL NEWS

Charla Jo Abu-Rish was born March 18, in Humboldt, Nebraska. She is the first child of Said and Prudence Abu-Rish.

Joachim and Marianne Leppmann report that their daughter Dorothee, who lost her husband Freeland Barbour 5 years ago, married Dr. Phillip Perloff of the staff of the Kaiser Foundation Hospital in San Francisco. Also that their daughter Susanne Bessac has had her third child, a boy, who is the Leppmann's first grandson.

May Jones is again visiting her son Robert in Mexico City. Her address until June 1 will be: Villa Jones Hostel, Chilpancingo 23, Mexico 11, D. F., Mexico.

Garfield and Jeannette Cox have returned from their winter in California. They spent most of it with their daughter Marilyn and her family in San Mateo, but took occasion to look up and visit with the following other members, former members or attender of our Meeting:

Clarence & Elizabeth Cunningham - Berkely.
Achim & Marianne Leppmann - Berkely.
Charles Hait - San Francisco.
Edna Acheson - Palo Alto.
Herbert & Ellie Foster - San Jose.
Elizabeth Thierman - Palo Alto (from Milwaukee).
Elizabeth Hoyt - Palo Alto.
Mary and Alberta Chawner - Whittier.
Margaret Gray - Claremont.
Fred Eastman - Claremont.
Lawrence & Margaret Haines - Sedona, Ariz.
Lowell & Cristine Cox - Lincoln, Neb.

In Carmel they also visited with Herbert and Cassandra White, who were active during the 1920's in both the Chicago Monthly Meeting and Chicago Executive Meeting "strands" of our "antecedent" history.

Don and Margot Klaber and their children will be moving soon to Duluth, Minn., where Don has been appointed manager of a new Coop supermarket.

Nick Paster has been appointed Director of European Workcamps for the AFSC for the next 2 years. He and his family will leave for their Paris headquarters on July 26.

Irene and Lucien Koch will sail for Germany on July 25 to attend the wedding of their daughter, Ann, and James C. Munch of Lansdowne, Pa., at Bad Aibling on August 8. Irene and Lucien plan to spend a couple of months on a walking tour, aided at times by bus and train, of Bavaria, Schwabia, Switzerland, northern Italy, and Austria. In Germany they hope to visit Freundschaftsheim, the Bruderhof, the Quaker printing center at Heidelberg, the meeting of the Friends World Committee at Bad Pyrmont, and as many Quaker Meetings as possible.

(The following is quoted from the Bulletin of the American Institute of Biological Sciences).

Colleagues and friends of the late Karl P. Schmidt have set up an endowment fund, to be known as the Karl P. Schmidt Fund, to assist naturalists in pursuing their studies. Grants will be limited to visiting naturalists desiring to use the research facilities of the Chicago Natural History Museum. Applications may be for work in any area of natural history but not for assistance in financing field work. A self-perpetuating 7 man committee drawn from the staff of the Museum and the several universities in the Chicago area will administer the grants. The Museum will handle investment of the capital but will not be concerned with the administration of the Fund. The number and size of the grants will depend on the amount of capital endowment. A fund of $20,000 would provide between $800 and $1000 a year. All interested donors should address their contributions to Karl P. Schmidt Fund, care of Chicago Natural History Museum, Roosevelt Rd. and Lake Shore Dr., Chicago 5, Ill. Checks should be made payable to the Karl P. Schmidt Fund.

COMING EVENTS

May 11, Sunday

Short Forum - after Meeting for Worship, from about 12:00 to 12:30. Neil Haworth will review the recent Pendle Hill pamphlet, Quakerism and Other Religions, by Howard Brinton.

1:30 p.m. Peace and Social Concerns Committee will meet.

5:00 p.m. Picnic at the home of Fred and Marcella Lehmann, 227 E. Carpenter, Mokena, Ill.

May 18, Sunday

1:30 p.m. - House Committee will meet.

May 19, Monday

Friends Committee on Legislation Spring Dinner, at Hyde Park Baptist Church, 56th and Woodlawn. Irving Morrissett, Professor of Economics at Purdue University, will speak on the subject Can We Have Disarmament and Prosperity? Tickets ($5.00 each) may be purchased from Dick Boyajian (BU. 8-1609).

May 25, Sunday

4:00 p.m. - Phyllis Walker and Marshall Hodgson will be married at Quaker House, under the care of the Meeting. A reception will follow. All are cordially invited to attend.

June 6, Friday

6:00 p.m. - Monthly Meeting supper.

7:00 p.m. - Monthly Meeting for Business, with reports scheduled from the following committees: Religious Education, Campus Outreach, Clothing Workroom, and Nominating.

June 13, Friday

8:00 p.m. - Margallen Hanna and Donn Fichter will be married at Quaker House, under the care of the Meeting. A reception will follow. All are cordially invited to attend.

June 23 - June 30

Friends General Conference at Cape May, N. J. A detailed program will be mailed on request.

August 19 - August 24

Western Yearly Meeting - at Plainfield, Indiana.

August 28 - August 31

Illinois Yearly Meeting - at Camp Wakanda, on Lake Mendota, Madison, Wisconsin.

August 29 - September 1

Friends Conference on Race Relations at Westtown, Penna. If you are interested in attending, you should register now. Further information is available from Sylvia Way, 5742 Maryland Ave., Chicago 37, (MU. 4-2793).

57th Street Meeting of Friends
5615 Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Non-Profit Organization

Form 3547 Requested:

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

1 CENT 1

UNITED STATES POSTAGE

June 18, 1958

Mr. Wade M. Mackie
American Friends Service Committee
Merit Employment Program
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Wade:

Thanks for your letter regarding the availability of John Hurt for work in this field. From what you write of him, he sounds like the kind of person who has a significant contribution to make.

SRC is unlikely to have a suitable opening anytime soon, but four of the state councils are looking for directors. These are Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Georgia. If none of these works out, we might be helpful in putting John Hurt onto other possible opportunities. In any case, I will look forward to hearing from him.

Thanks for thinking of us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

MERIT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

1608 GOVERNMENT ST.

NATIONAL OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

TELEPHONE DI 2-2157

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Otto Hofmann, *Chairman*
F. F. Hutchens, *Executive Secretary*
James L. Anderson, *Treasurer*
Wade Mackie, *Director*
Merit Employment Program

June 13, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I have a good friend, John Hurt, who will soon be writing or contacting you about possibilities of working for the Southern Regional Council.

John has served as a Baptist pastor for a number of years and is now the Chaplain at Baton Rouge General Hospital. Along with this, he has filled in as supply pastor at a number of places. He has been a loyal supporter of AFSC and is co-chairman of my advisory committee. He has always been liberal in his views and this along with conditions which are well known to you, has made life sometimes rough. He feels he has about reached the parting of ways with Southern Baptists and must make a change.

Since I do not know what SRC has to offer, I would recommend that you keep John in mind for any place you might have open in SRC and have a conference with him. John is a graduate of Yale Divinity School.

As a further point, his wife, Jane, is my good secretary in whom I am well pleased.

If I can be of any further service, please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely,

Wade M. Mackie

Wade M. Mackie

WM:jh

FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE

JUNE 23 to 30, 1958

CAPE MAY, New Jersey

From Fear to Faith

You are cordially invited to make your plans now for attending the biennial Cape May Conference in order to participate in and take advantage of —

- Evening addresses by major speakers, such as Charles Wells, Charles C. Price, 3rd, and Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Junior and High School Conferences
- Daily Worship-Fellowship Groups
- Lectures on the Bible and Quakerism by leading Friends, such as Henry Cadbury and Howard Brinton
- Creative Round Tables on subjects of vital current interest
- Recreation and leisure for the whole family

All Friends are welcome. Advance programs will be mailed in April to all heads of families in Conference Meetings. Others should write to

FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Penna.

August 15, 1958

Mr. J. Clyde Barrington
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Barrington:

I am sending you under separate cover ten (10) copies of INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH free of charge.

I will be able to make available additional copies for any strategic use you have in mind.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 14, 1958

Mr. Emory Via

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Street

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

We need 10 copies of Benjamin Segal's, "Industrialization - Accent on the South". If you cannot spare 10 copies please let us have as many as you can spare. Bill us for the cost.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Clyde

J. Clyde Barrington, Director
EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM

JCB/as

Send full — after more for any strategic use he has in mind

November 14, 1958

Mr. Howard Reed
A. F. S. C.
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Reed:

We were unable to fill your order for 30 copies of "The Negro Voter in the South" in time for your seminar. However, a bill was sent to you before it was determined that the pamphlet would not have reached you in time.

If you still desire the 30 pamphlets, let us know. If not, please tear up the invoice we mailed you.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bee

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December 4, 1958

Mr. Max Heirich
College Secretary
Southeastern Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Max:

Your "Dear Friend" letter to Harold Fleming has been steered my way for an answer. Tough luck. This is the letter in which you ask about possible voter registration campaigns in which Service Committee project persons might work. The short form answer is: yes, you are striking a blind alley in writing us. We will not be conducting or participating in any registration drives. Of course we are very much interested in the overall process of registration and particularly how it affects Negro voters. I am enclosing with this letter our pamphlet from last year, "The Negro Voter in the South," and a recent mimeographed addition to that information. In case you have not seen these, I think you will find them of interest for your own information and perhaps useful as background documents in any registration project which you may get off the ground.

I would guess that you have been in touch with such groups as the MIA, Southern Christian Leaders Conference, and the NAACP. Have you also tried any of the local city civic groups which participate in registration campaigns either as a community service or because of specific political interest? Of course some of the service clubs engage in this kind of activity, but I would have doubts as to whether or not they would provide the channel which you seek. On the other hand, groups such as the one to be found in Durham where there is an active Negro political organization which cooperates with a liberal and labor group, might be worth exploring. A good contact in Durham would be Mr. John Wheeler, whom I feel sure is known by your office in High Point, if not by you personally. Other cities have somewhat similar groups but they are sometimes uncovered only by a city-by-city look-see. The state NAACP might be a good lead to these groups. Also, an approach by an AFSC type in Washington, D. C., to the national COPE might produce a source of information. COPE has participated both quietly and openly in some registration campaigns in the South. For instance, they were quite active prior to the Tennessee elections in a campaign in Memphis. Perhaps

someone from the FCNL might make the approach for you in Washington.

For what they are worth, I will buck on to you a couple of other suggestions. It would be worth your while to become familiar with state registration laws if for no other reason than to have some idea of what the factors of timing are. In some states the books are closed for substantial periods of time. In others, you must register so many months prior to the election; although this does not knock out a registration campaign, it might seriously interfere with any motivation to register. Of course, any group with which you were to work would probably be taking these factors into consideration. Is it your intention to work solely or primarily with minority groups? And in what way will you make use of minority personnel in the attempt to get registrations? I am sure you ahve been thinking about both of these questions and I do not need the answers. However, I expect any group with which you work would need to be told quite candidly what your interests and standards are. This is again a project which would require mature people if they are actually going to do face-to-face contacts with prospective registrants; of course, community entree is also of real importance and any group with which you work should be able to provide it sufficiently to guarantee a successful project.

Good luck to you. I'll be interested in learning how this one comes out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

November 20, 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

For some time now, the College Program of the American Friends Service Committee has been interested in exploring the possibility of a special project in voter registration. After several weeks of pondering a variety of suggestions, we decided it might be wisest to write you directly and see whether there are any activities envisioned for the summer of 1959 into which we might fit.

Each summer several hundred college students of various races and from various parts of the country apply for service work with our organization. Many work in direct service activities with juvenile delinquents, the mentally ill, in factories, in reconstruction projects and work camps and the like. Last summer, two groups of students worked specifically on race relations problems in the South. One group joined with Koinonia farm for harvesting operations. Another group conducted a survey of the employment opportunities available for both Negroes and whites in the North Carolina area. Perhaps this is enough by way of background about the kind of personnel we might have available as volunteers and the kinds of jobs they have been able to tackle in the past.

Rather than trying to launch a major program of our own in the area of voter registration, it has seemed wisest to see if we could fit into on-going efforts of other organizations. Do you have any plans for activities during the summer of 1959? And are any of these situations in which a group of college-age young people (or slightly older) might be helpful? If you have any possibilities in mind, could you call us collect, describing the situation. Our phone number is High Point, North Carolina 24025.

We are not in a position to commit ourselves immediately but do need details within the next few weeks if we could be able to cooperate.

If we are striking a blind alley in writing you, I'd appreciate a note letting us know your reaction. If there is something more specific possible, we'll look forward to a phone call. Thanks.

With best wishes,

Max Heirich

Max Heirich, College Secretary

MH:mdh

December 12, 1958

Mr. Hermann Roether
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Hermann:

The enclosed materials are some which you loaned me, perhaps through Thelma How, last year. These have been used for informal and confidential backgrounding on certain aspects of the total Atlanta situation. I know that you will probably want them back in your files.

The Council and I greatly appreciate your making these materials available to us.

You perhaps have not heard that I will be leaving SRC at the end of this year to take a position with the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin. I greatly regret leaving the South and the Council - especially at this time - but it seemed advisable for a number of practical family reasons to accept the good offer from the University. It should give me abundant opportunity to do some of the other things I have been interested in doing in workers education.

Best personal wishes to you and to Kathy. Come see us in Madison when you can.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

January 19, 1959

Miss Catherine Naysmith
Personnel Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Naysmith:

Many thanks for sharing with us the salary data which you have collected. I'm sure this will be helpful to our Personnel Committee.

We shall be equally grateful for a copy of your revised study when it is finished.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Miss Barbara Moffett

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

Info not passed on for filing with this ltr. Rec. only filed in staff salaries, etc.

CONFIDENTIAL

January 8, 1959

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Barbara Moffett has referred to the Personnel Department your letter of January 2.

The beginning of last year the Committee did collect some salary information from several organizations. With the data collected at that time we included data which had been collected in February, 1957 (when we made a major study of salaries). We also collected information just recently from a few other organizations. Enclosed is a comparative study of this information. Data from fourteen organizations is included. The date of the information is noted. The Roman Numerals across the top indicate job classifications ranging from executive secretaries and associate secretaries, down through Program Coordinators, Major and Minor Program Directors, Assistant Program Staff and Administrative Assistants. The organizations are listed alphabetically but this does not identify them in the salary data chart.

We hope this will be helpful as you consider the salary policy of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Catherine Naysmith

Catherine Naysmith
Personnel Secretary

Encl.

cc: Barbara Moffett

P.S. We are using the data collected the beginning of last year, plus new data which we are in the process of collecting for a revision of the major salary study we made in 1957. This study will not be completed until February. We will be glad to send you a copy at that time if you so direct.

July 6, 1959

Mr. Alex Morisey
Information Service
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Alex:

This is an unpardonably late date to be answering your letter of last month forwarding galleys of "Race and Conscience in America." I had hoped to see you at the last Mass Media Committee meeting. Failing that, I told Barbara Moffett in a recent telephone conversation that I thought very highly of the statement and that we would certainly want to order at least 100 copies.

In a way, these copies will serve a promotion purpose, since we will send them to our state affiliates, board members, and other key people who might provide a market for more. As I told Barbara, the best outlets would be the church groups and other religiously motivated organizations that carry on study groups, workshops, and so on. I can't imagine better material for such purposes.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
COLIN W. BELL

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 12, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 15 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Before I get into the major purpose of this letter I want to tell you how much I enjoyed the "occasional reports" which I received recently. I presume that this is the beginning of the new project we discussed in the last Mass Media Committee meeting which I attended. I suppose this means you followed up the lead given you by the gentleman from Baltimore and I am happy that you have been successful.

I was also pleased to receive a copy of the study, "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence" and the accompanying news release. I have not yet taken the time to read the study but it looks very interesting and I hope it will get a big play in the press.

I am enclosing the set of galleys of our new pamphlet, Race and Conscience in America, which is being published by the University of Oklahoma Press in early July. You may be able to help us in several ways.

Send to Moffett

We would like very much to know what use you would see for the pamphlet in your own organization. We hope you will be able to get information about the pamphlet to all your Southern affiliates.

We'd be glad also to have your guidance about other promotion of the pamphlet so that we can get the maximum amount of distribution and reach the people of good will who might be encouraged by a statement of belief and by some practical suggestions.

The pamphlet grew out of the deliberations of a group of 14 people who conducted the study and is alone responsible for the pamphlet. However, it has been approved for publication by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee. The working party for the pamphlet includes people who in one way or another have been close to the Service Committee's operation in the race relations field. They are Friends and non-Friends, Negro and white, from a variety of

geographic areas and personal backgrounds. Their communities illustrate different aspects of the problem we are discussing. The group shared a deep belief in the relevance of religious conviction to the issues of the day and a faith in the vitality of American democracy and tried to speak from experience to the special needs of persons of good will.

We want to get the pamphlet into the hands of as many people as possible who can benefit from a brief account of how we got where we are in race relations, what the current situation is, and what the responsibility of the individual is today. The pamphlet suggests action steps for individuals in a variety of situations.

The retail price of the pamphlet will be 50 cents per copy but we will offer a bulk price to agencies which want to buy it in quantity.

We will be glad to hear from you with whatever suggestions and advice you may give.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alex

Alex Morisey
Information Service

AM:dg
Encs: galleys

cc: Barbara Moffett

10
.50
5.00

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 14, 1959

RECEIVED JUL 16 1959

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to have your recent letter and the confirmation on an order of 100 copies of the pamphlet, Race and Conscience in America. Barbara Moffett had told me about your conversation. We are having the copies shipped to you directly from Oklahoma and we hope you will receive them very shortly.

Thanks for your suggestions. We are getting a rather favorable response to the pamphlet already but we know we must keep at it in order to get the large distribution we anticipate.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Alex

Alex Morisey
Information Service

AM:dg

cc: Barbara Moffett

HAROLD FLEMING

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 S. 12th Street Phila. 7, Pa.

MEMORANDUM RECEIVED JUL 27 1959 URGENT

TO: AFSC REGIONAL OFFICES AND SPECIAL CONTACTS

FROM: PERSONNEL OFFICE

SUBJECT: PERSONNEL FOR AN AFSC COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM IN LITTLE ROCK

Can you help us find staff for a special one-year project in Little Rock, Arkansas?

In spite of continuing uncertainties in the situation in Little Rock recent events indicate a readiness in important segments in the community to abandon the disastrous road of massive resistance to desegregation. In May a successful campaign removed extreme segregationists from the School Board. In June a Federal Court ruled unconstitutional the laws on the basis of which Governor Faubus closed schools and ordered the Board to proceed with desegregation. The School Board has indicated its intention to comply and has now started registration for the fall term. The picture is by no means rosy, however. Regardless of whether public high schools open, private segregated schools will continue to operate, to attract a sizeable number of students and to be a symbol of resistance to integration. How extensive desegregation will be and how willing the Board will be to make it increasingly more inclusive is unknown. Furthermore, it is not clear whether positive efforts will be made to create an atmosphere in integrated schools which will discourage incidents and the harassment of Negro pupils. However, although Governor Faubus can still delay the process of desegregation by appealing the Court's order and by pushing through the legislature more anti-integration laws, the responsible leadership of Little Rock, including the Chamber of Commerce, is committed to opening the high schools with whatever desegregation is necessary to satisfy the Courts.

Throughout the crisis the Little Rock Friends Meeting, the Southwest Regional AFSC Office and the National Community Relations Program have been consulting together about a possible AFSC Community Relations Program in Little Rock. Following recent visits by AFSC representatives it is our united judgment that the present situation offers a challenging opportunity to us. A one-year program under the auspices of our Southwest Regional Office (Austin, Texas) has been approved, to begin as soon as possible. Special funds are now being sought.

For a community in the process of recovery and adjustment from a major crisis which has been political, legal and moral we cannot outline specifically what the nature of an AFSC program will be. It is our judgment that the needs of the youth are so great that a program might well begin with a focus on young people. Students have been the injured group and we are concerned to help counteract the effects on youth of a disrupted education and of intensive segregationist propaganda and activity. AFSC staff may undertake to sponsor interracial activities for teen-agers: discussion groups, seminars, work camps, etc. Whether strictly academic projects would be sponsored would depend on what the schools provide to help the Negro students especially to overcome the loss of a year of education. Our staff may wish to organize intensive tutoring or study groups and may discover the need for vocational and academic counseling.

The planning and sponsoring of activities for young people and a concern about the total situation in the community would open up, we hope, opportunities for consultation with school administrators, teachers, community leaders and parents and could lead in turn to occasions when discussion with adults of the basic issues involved would be appropriate. We anticipate, therefore, not only a program of youth activities but work with adults in which we would draw upon AFSC's experience in school desegregation programs in Washington and North Carolina, as well as our national High School Program and the Community Peace Education Program. Seminars for teachers, informal meetings with parents, institutes, the providing of special consultants and other program ideas might be fruitfully used in Little Rock. We do not underestimate the difficulties in this situation but if there exists now a new openness to consider the basis on which good human relations can be established, we feel challenged to respond with a constructive program.

PERSONNEL NEEDS We are looking for a man, woman or couple who could be available for one year, to begin as soon as possible. Background and experience in education (teaching, administration or guidance), in intergroup relations or in community organization would be extremely valuable, but the personal qualifications are more important than the professional ones. We need someone qualified by commitment, temperament and experience to do a skillful community relations job. It should be someone who understands young people and relates easily to them but who knows how to work with adults, how to inspire their confidence, how to help them discover and overcome their barriers to communication and relationships across racial lines. He should know how to work with others to develop effective techniques for social action. He should be knowledgeable in race relations and have enough background on national developments to be a good channel, not only for the communication of AFSC experience elsewhere in the country but for the interpretation to AFSC of the significance of events in Little Rock. We need a good, perceptive reporter. He should be imaginative, resourceful, energetic and not easily discouraged and one who sees possibilities in difficult situations.

We can proceed with a program in Little Rock only if we have top personnel. If you can suggest someone to us, will you contact immediately:

Personnel Office
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

JF:mt

July 22, 1959

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE • 1705 NORTH CONGRESS AVENUE • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

1618 Maryland Ave.
Little Rock, Ark.
Oct. 10, 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

On Monday, Oct. 12, I will be in Atlanta from about 12:30 p.m. to 3:55 p.m. between planes on my way from Little Rock to North Carolina. I will call you when I get there and if convenient I would like to have lunch with you or at least see you for awhile. I will be arriving in Atlanta from Little Rock and Memphis on Delta Flight 446.

These past three weeks in Little Rock have been exciting and most enlightening. I have learned enough to write a book, but don't plan to do that for awhile yet! There are several other chapters of events which need to take place here before that time. Incidentally, Nat Griswold has been invaluable in his professional and personal assistance in helping me to get oriented and introduced and settled.

Hope to see you Monday.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated
SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE • 1705 NORTH CONGRESS AVENUE • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

PR- F.Y.I
MF- P/S handle mailing list request.
HG

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

1618 Maryland Ave.
Little Rock, Ark.
October 30, 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to talk and to break bread with you and Paul Rilling during my recent stopover in Atlanta. I appreciated the suggestions you made about things which might be done in Burnsville, N. C. Incidentally, Ben Sissel of the United Presbyterian, U.S.A., Church's Social Education and Action department has expressed interest in the Burnsville situation and his program is in process of making a gift to the tutoring project. This is probably the result of the notices your office circulated.

Please put us on your mailing list for any materials which might be pertinent or useful in our program here. When I say us, I really mean Thelma Babbitt, because I will be returning to North Carolina within a few days. She will arrive here within a couple of days and will be here until next June or July. Any mail addressed to her should be sent to:

T. W. Babbitt
1618 Maryland Ave.
Little Rock, Ark.

Already on SRC List
wf

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

P.S.: Thelma's phone here will be FRanklin 4-7342.

Suggestions for

INTER-RACIAL ETHICS

The following ten suggestions are offered as an aid in developing the proper Christian spirit and mental attitude in the realm of inter-racial ethics.

1. Strive at all times and under all conditions to have the spirit of Christ (Romans 8 and 9).

2. Practice the Golden Rule. Inter-racial co-operation is a two-way street (Matt. 7:12).

3. Evaluate the other person as an individual and not as a member of another race (Luke 10: 25-37).

4. Cultivate the friendship of Christian leaders of other races. Especially should ministers and Christian leaders do this (Psalms 133:1).

5. Do not encourage or be identified with radicals, demagogues, or organizations which agitate racial strife (Romans 10:15).

6. Avoid the use of slang expressions offensive to members of other races, such as "Dago," "Chink," "Nigger," and "Jap" (Acts 10: 28).

7. Remember the Great Commission includes all the world, all races, all nations (Matt. 28: 18-20).

8. Remember that Christ's death on the cross was as much for those of other races as it was for you (2 Cor. 5:14-15; Col. 3:11; Rev. 7:9-17).

9. Remember God has made of one blood all nations of men (Acts 17:26).

10. Realize that God created the first man, Adam, in his own image; that all humanity has descended from Adam, and the sobering fact that we do not know the color of Adam's skin Genesis 1:26-27; 2:7).

—Clyde Hart, Director of Race Relations
Ark. Baptist State Convention

November 30, 1959

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your letter of November 24. I'm sure Little Rock is the better -- if you're not -- for your sojourn there. We will look forward to news of further progress by Thelma Babbitt.

We have heard from Tindall, among others, regarding association meeting places. I have written him as enclosed. We will be sending him and you such further information as we can develop in this field.

In case you haven't heard already, we were able to secure a contribution of $2,500 towards the needs of the Burnsville displaced pupils. Also, Paul Rilling, Jean Fairfax, and Ruby Hurley made some headway last week in broader planning for such situations.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enc. - 2
Letter to Tindall
NY Times story

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

November 24, 1959

Harold Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is good to be back in North Carolina, even though it will be some time before I get all of the Arkansas dust off my feet. At any rate, I left Thelma Babbitt in charge of the situation, and I feel sure that she will be able to write some real progress reports within the coming months.

I have a problem which I would like to share with you. A number of professional and scholarly organizations are being faced with the problem of where to hold meetings in the South, particularly if the organizations are interracial. This includes such groups as the Southern Historical Association, the Southern Sociological Association and others. The pattern up to this time has been something like this: the associations would hold their annual meetings in a city such as Atlanta at one of the leading hotels and the business and other non-eating sessions of the programs would be held in the hotel. However, when it came to official luncheons and dinners, either these were omitted, or the white members were able to attend the formal meals while the Negroes found it necessary, or at least convenient, not to be present at the meals. Usually the convention hotel stated or implied that they would not serve interracial meals. The thing which is happening now is that there is a growing resistance among Negro members to continued participation in such "Jim Crow" activities. An Associated Press story of a few days ago emphasized this matter. It was a story about Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Director of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute, who stated that he plans to ask other Negro sociologists to boycott the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta next April because the meeting is to be segregated, at least in so far as meals are concerned.

A friend of mine, George Tindall, of the History Department at the University of North Carolina, called this problem to my attention even before the story about Dr. Jones. George tells me that there is a growing feeling among some of the members of the Southern Historical Association that they should not continue to meet at convention spots which require segregation.

In fact, he suggested the idea that it would be most helpful to organizations such as his if there were available a list of convention facilities throughout the South, listing degrees of segregation (overnight accommodations, meals, or other meetings at which no meals are served) required at the various places. The number of persons which such a hotel or other convention place could take care of would also be helpful. The Historical Association, for instance, has about 700 members although only about 300 of them ever attend any one convention.

I realize that it will not be an easy thing to compile such a list, and that possibly such a list could not be compiled. However, I am wondering if this kind of problem could be given consideration by your research department. Perhaps it might be considered at the next Interagency meeting. I feel sure that there would be many persons grateful for such a listing.

With kind personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell, Director
School Desegregation Program

WB/as

January 19, 1960

Miss Betty Parker
Office Secretary
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Southwest Regional Office
1705 North Congress Avenue
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Miss Parker:

The pamphlet INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS is out of print, and so we are sorry that we cannot fill the order you mailed us. We are enclosing a recent publications listing with the hope that you will be interested in ordering other materials.

Sincerely,

(Miss) L. E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director of
Information

/lec
Enclosures
cc: J. G. Towles

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Southwest Regional Office • 1705 North Congress Avenue • Austin 1, Texas • GR 2-5522

15 January 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

We have received a request for copies of "Intimidation, Reprisal And Violence in the South's Racial Crisis," which I believe you are distributing.

Will you please send two copies of this booklet to J. G. Towles, P. O. Box 7343, Dallas 9, Texas, and bill him for any charges.

Sincerely,

Betty Parker

Betty Parker
Office Secretary

cc: J. G. Towles

[illegible]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE • 1705 NORTH CONGRESS AVENUE • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

1 March 1960

Memorandum:

To: John Constable
From: (Mrs.) Frances Boyd (Garnet Guild's secretary)
Frances Boyd

Mail from the Southern Regional Council has been coming to us addressed to F.E. Hutchens. Garnet Guild took his place here as executive secretary over a year ago. Another change that you will want to make is in our address. We are now located at:

1705 North Congress Avenue
Austin 1, Texas

Thank you for taking care of these changes for us.

March 7, 1960

Miss Garnet Guild
Executive Secretary
Southwest Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
1705 North Congress Avenue
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Miss Guild:

Thank you for your letter concerning materials for your field program offices. We are putting them on our mailing list and they will receive materials directly from us in the future. We are also substituting your name for Mr. Hutchens on our mailing list.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Southwest Regional Office • 1705 North Congress Avenue • Austin 1, Texas • GR 2-5522

1 March 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

It is certainly a great help to us to get notices, copies of publications, and the reports that are put out by the Southern Regional Council. Thank you for so much helpful material.

We now have four field program offices. If our staff are not on your mailing list, I am sure that they would appreciate getting things from you directly instead of waiting until I could forward materials to them. Are these names on your list?

Wade Mackie, Director
Employment on Merit Program
American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

John R. Yungblut, Director
Community Relations Field Work
American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Thelma W. Babbitt, Director
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
1618 Maryland Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Orris E. Carter, Jr., Director
Employment on Merit Program
American Friends Service Committee
Suite 118 -- 2310 South Main Street
Houston, Texas

Thank you again for all your helpful materials.

Sincerely,

Garnet Guild (fb)

(Miss) Garnet Guild
Executive Secretary

GG:fb

March 22, 1960

Mr. Wilton Hartzler
Southeastern Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hartzler:

There has been some interest shown in reprinting of the appeal by Negro college students, a copy of which is enclosed.

We find that if a minimum of 5,000 is printed we can get them for two cents a copy. The Council is endeavoring to find out how many persons or organizations are interested in subscribing to some reprints at this price.

Would the American Friends Service Committee be interested? If so, please let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

April 1, 1960

Mr. Alex Morisey
Information Service
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12 Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Alex:

It is kind and thoughtful of you to write us those good words about our reporting on the student protests. We have been pleased, if slightly stunned, by the extent to which our material on this subject has been sought and used.

Our research people -- Les Dunbar and his staff, who have done the heavy slogging -- will want me to express their thanks, too, for your letter.

I was sorry not to see you at the last mass media committee meeting, for I should have liked to compare notes with you on the significance of the "sit-ins." Ben Muse has been consulting for us in several of the North Carolina cities and feels rather hopeful about the prospects of an early break-through there.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Rec'd 3/25/60

March 23, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

For some weeks now I have been wanting to write you a note to say how useful is the reporting you are doing on the present lunch counter protest. I know you don't need to be told what a wonderful job you are doing and how important your reports are for the interpretation of the entire situation. I have noticed how faithfully the NEW YORK TIMES has relied on your material even when it was somewhat disguised as the findings of Claude Sitton.

I wish I could show my appreciation in a more tangible way but this is the best I can do at the present time.

Sincerely,

Alex

Alex Morisey
Information Service

AM:dg

April 12, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

We need your help. We are preparing a report which will be a kind of analysis and interpretation of emerging community efforts to solve local sit-in crises. Our hope is to indicate some of the patterns being tried with emphasis on such successful break-throughs as exist and hopefully to have some influence on communities which have yet to move.

The enclosed list of questions will indicate the kind of thing we need to know. If possible, will you prepare for us an analysis of efforts at solution in High Point. We would like very informal written reports, covering the points indicated and any other facts you consider pertinent.

We will be grateful if you can find the time to do this.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

April 18, 1960

Mr. Alex Morisey
Information Service
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 27, Pennsylvania

Dear Alex:

Many thanks for the copies of FOCUS. It's a most readable newsletter; I ended up reading not only the sit-in items, but everything else as well.

Can I get on the mailing list?

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- Unfortunately, I can't make the MM Committee meeting April 29, but hope to see you soon.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 13, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you and your research staff might be interested to see how I've tried to keep our folks partially informed on the sit-ins. I'm sure I have nothing that's new to you folks.

Hope to see you at the Mass Media Meeting April 29.

Sincerely,

Alex Morisey
Information Service

AM:dg
Encs: copies of FOCUS

April 19, 1960

Mrs. Frances Boyd
Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
Southwest Regional Office
1705 North Congress Avenue
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mrs. Boyd:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 13, to Mr. John Constable. We did receive your memo of March 1, along with the letter from Miss Guild giving the change of address for your office and the change in your staff. But due to an oversight, I filed the letter before substituting Miss Guild's name for Mr. Hutchens.

We thank you very much for calling this to our attention, and I have made the substitution in our records.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Lucl E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

/lec

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE • 1705 NORTH CONGRESS AVENUE • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

13 April 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

On March 1, I enclosed a memo with a letter from Garnet Guild giving you the change of address for our office and also the change in our staff. (F. E. Hutchens is no longer on our staff. Garnet Guild has taken his place.)

Since my memo might have been misplaced, I felt that I should write so that your records may be accurate.

We appreciate very much receiving the information from your office.

Sincerely,

Frances Boyd
(Mrs.) Frances Boyd
Secretary

Our address:
1705 North Congress
Austin 1, Texas

4-18-60

April 22, 1960

Miss Virginia Hill, Secretary
Audio-Visual Materials
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Hill:

We do not distribute the film "The Face of the South." It is distributed for us by the Anti-Defamation League. The Southeastern regional office here in Atlanta informed us that you can obtain a copy through the ADL office at 225 South 15th Street, Philadelphia. If that office does not have a copy, they can secure one for you from the New York office.

If you have any trouble in securing a copy, please let me know; and I will ask the Atlanta office to send you one of their prints.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

5c

April 20, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

We would like very much to preview the film you have called THE FACE OF THE SOUTH. Could you send us a 16mm print for this purpose as soon as possible?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Virginia Hill

Virginia Hill, Sec.
Audio-Visual Materials

April 28, 1960

Miss Thelma Babbitt
American Friends Service Committee
1618 Maryland
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Babbitt:

At the request of Miss Fairfax, I am sending you the address of the Stokelys. You may write them as follows:

Mr. and Mrs. James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

MF - Please do.
HCS

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

April 26, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Would you please send the address of Wilma Dykeman and James Stokeley to Thelma Babbitt? She wants to suggest to them that they do a study on Little Rock.

Thelma Babbitt
American Friends Service Committee
1618 Maryland
Little Rock, Arkansas

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Thelma Babbitt

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Baton Rouge Office • 1608 Government Street • Baton Rouge 2, La. • DI 2-2157

April 30, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In answer to your inquiry of April 27, I would suggest the following possibilities: Mrs. Gregor Thompson Goethels, 505 Roselawn Street, Monroe, La. Mrs. Goethels is a graduate of Yale Divinity School. She is now teaching in the Northeastern Louisiana State University in Monroe. Mrs. E. N. Jackson, 209 Roselawn Stree, Monroe, La. Mrs. Jackson is very active in the Methodist Women's Group on Christian Social Relations. She is a widow and may have time to give to this. Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 26, La. Mrs. Eckart is a deeply committed woman in the United Church Womens organization in the Christian Social Relations department of the Methodist Womens. The Rev. Benjamin R. Oliphant, St. Pauls Methodist Church, Lexington Boulevard, Monroe, La. Dr. Oliphant is an exceptionally well trained minister with background of advance work at Union Theological Seminary and the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. He is a native of Louisiana.

Dean Vogel of Centenary College in Shreveport would be another good possibility if a man in university position can afford to take such a position at the present time.

I hope this may prove helpful to you. It was very good to see you again at Frogmore. I hope that we may keep in touch with each other and work still more closely together in the future.

Faithfully yours,

John

May 4, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

Paul Rilling is out of the office for most of the next two weeks, but I have passed the Pollitt manuscript on to Les Dunbar of our Research Department. One of them will contact you when they have had the opportunity of going over it.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller for
Paul Rilling

May 5, 1960

Mr. Max Heirich
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Max:

I talked to Mrs. Tilly yesterday afternoon and then waited until today hoping that Paul would call.

Mrs. Tilly was not at all encouraging about your plans, in fact she thinks it next to impossible, and would like to talk to you Wednesday morning before you go (at least by phone.) She gives the following names and wrote the ladies notes asking that they talk to you, but letting them know she in no wise endorses what you plan. Things must be unbelievably bad if only half the reports are true. Nevertheless, I think it good you are going to see for yourself.

Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue

Mrs. J. F. McLeod
1540 College Court

Meanwhile, we will be expecting you all Tuesday night. I forgot Tim has a banquet at school that night, but he will be in later.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 6, 1960

Mrs. J. F. McLeod
1540 College Court
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mrs. McLeod:

Mrs. Tilly of the Southern Regional Council has suggested that I talk with you on my visit to Montgomery this coming week. Through your friendship with Mrs. Moreland Smith or with other persons in the community you may already be familiar with the proposal for assistance to the Montgomery Improvement Association which prompts my trip. The proposal, as you may be aware, deals with help which our Quaker service organization might render in voter registration efforts.

I will be anxious to talk with you as we try to discover how current developments in Montgomery may affect the earlier proposal. I am sure you can give us helpful advice, also, on specific ways in which we would be either helpful or a problem in the community's effort to move forward.

When I arrive in Montgomery I will contact you to see when it would be convenient for you to see me. Thank you in advance for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

MHH

Max Heirich
College Program

cc Mrs. Tilly

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 6, 1960

Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Mrs. Tilly of the Southern Regional Council has suggested thatI talk with you on my visit to Montgomery this coming week. Since Mr. Rufus Lewis has also mentioned your name to me I assume you are familiar with the proposal for assistance to the Montgomery Improvement Association which prompts my trip.

I will be anxious to talk with you as we try to discover how current developments in Montgomery may affect the earlier proposal. I am sure you can give us helpful advice, also, on specific ways in which we would be either helpful or a problem in the community's effort to move forward.

When I arrive in Montgomery I will contact you to see when it would be convenient for you to see me. Thank you in advance for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

MeH

Max Heirich
College Program

cc: Mrs. Tilly

May 20, 1960

Miss Thelma W. Babbitt
Community Relations Program
1618 Maryland Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Babbitt:

I'm answering, for Mr. Fleming, your letter of May 12 in which you ask about Dr. Mitchell. It is definite now that Dr. Mitchell will be doing a teaching stint at Spelman College, here in Atlanta, for the next nine months - beginning in September. The latest news is that he has already sailed from Scotland.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Southwest Regional Office • 1705 North Congress Avenue • Austin 1, Texas • GR 2-5522

1618 Maryland Avenue
Little Rock, Ark.
May 12, 1960

Harold Flemming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

DearFriend:

Do you have George Mitchell's address in Scotland? I'm going abroad this summer and expect to be in Edinburgh and thought I might just phone George to say hello if he is there.

Thanks very much.

Cordially,

Thelma

Thelma W. Babbitt
Community Relations Program

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 23, 1960.

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Thank you very much for sending to us so promptly the copies of your special report on the student protest movement. These have been received and we are sending them out today to our people. We note that there is a charge of 85¢ for postage which we will be sending along to you. (enclosed)

I also appreciate receiving the copy of School Desegregation: The First Six Years. We will make this available to one of our group as supplementary information and this will serve our purposes well.

The reprint of your article, "A Southern View of the South", will also be very useful and, since it is brief, we can let our people read it when they convene at Pendle Hill for orientation.

We are very grateful to you for this prompt attention to our request.

Very sincerely,

Nora R. Booth

Nora R. Booth, Director
International Conferences and Seminars

NRB:ms

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

July 20, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I am in the process of compiling a series of resource materials which the various AFSC regional offices can use in interpreting southern sit-in developments. Three SRC reports would be of major help, if you have extra copies.

The "Chronological Listing of the Cities in which Demonstrations Have Occurred" from the report entitled "A Follow-up Report on the Student Protest Movement after Two Months" would be very helpful. Also useful would be the supplement entitled "Student Protest Movement (Continued) Events of April 1-April 21". Finally, I would like to use the May 31 report, "Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy" by Margaret Price.

If you could spare eighteen (18) copies of each of these reports, I would appreciate it. Please send them to Thelma How
A.F.S.C.
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Penn.

If copies are not available, or if there is a charge for quantity mailings, I would appreciate hearing from you.

Many thanks.

By the way, have you seen the statements which the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee made to the Democratic and Republican Platform Committees? Both are excellent, though the Democratic one is perhaps better than the Republican. If you haven't seen them, Jane Stembridge at their office, 208 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlanta, has copies. She probably sent you one, however.

Again thanks for your help re: the SRC reports.

With best wishes,

Max Heirich

Max Heirich
College Program

submitted 8/8/60

August 31, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, 1000 copies of Eliza Paschall's article you ordered. We are billing you 2½ ¢ per copy, which is our cost, plus postage.

If we can be of any additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

bill for 25.00 plus postage

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

JC

August 24, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I just received the reprint "A Southern Point of View" by Eliza Paschall from THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY which was mailed from your office. It is a very pertinent and meaningful piece.

Are reprints in quantity available from you? I could use 1000 copies. Or, should I order from THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY office directly? If you can supply such an order, please do so and bill our office.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh

MEMORANDUM September 22, 1960

TO: STAFF

FROM: MF

Information received from Jean Fairfax's office:

On or about October 1, 1960 the new address of the Philadelphia AFSC will be as follows:

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Telephone number remains the same: LOcust 3-9372

Thelma Babbitt will leave the Little Rock AFSC operation around December 1, 1960.

John Yungblut is no longer in the AFSC office in Baton Rouge (you will remember that he was to begin work with the Atlanta Friends on Sept. 1.)

HCF	PR	MET
PA	SM	PP
LWD	JC	WF
MM	LEC	
MA	BC	
EW	RHA	

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

September 16, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a card which will give you our new address. We shall be moving around the end of September - probably September 24.

Thelma W. Babbitt will be in Little Rock until about December first. We do not have a staff member to take her place as yet.

John Yungblut's program has terminated.

We hope to have staff in Prince Edward County but thus far have not been able to line up the personnel.

Please make note of the above.

L.E.C. + M.F.

Sincerely,

Marie Turner

Marie Turner
Secretary to Jean Fairfax

mt

On or about October 1, 1960, our new address will be

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Our telephone number will remain LOcust 3-9372

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Notified Jane Stembridge 9/26/60 file

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Chicago Regional Office for Illinois and Wisconsin

300 West Congress Parkway, Chicago 7, Illinois

HArrison 7-2533

GILBERT F. WHITE
Regional Chairman

GEORGE R. BENT
Finance Secretary

KALE WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary

September, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Many Chicagoans have been concerned to show their support of the courageous students who are challenging segregation by peaceful demonstrations. A benefit was held in July at the Gate of Horn, a Chicago night club specializing in folk music. Two hundred ten people bought benefit tickets to two special shows and a fund of $1,000 was raised.

The committee of prominent citizens who sponsored the benefit had as their purpose to help students who were expelled from Southern schools because of their participation in the sit-in movement to continue their educations. Those attending universities in Chicago will be given preference. Any student expelled for his participation in the sit-in movement, now enrolled in an accredited college, is eligible. Assistance with travel and living expenses, as well as tuition, will be considered.

The sponsoring committee has asked the American Friends Service Committee to administer the fund. Three experienced college administrators -

Thomas W. Lyman, Jr. - Director of Admissions, Art Institute of Chicago
John O'Dowd - Dean of Students, University of Chicago, Downtown Campus
George Watson - Dean of Students, Roosevelt University - will review applications and decide on grants.

The sponsoring committee recognized that there are many worthy organizations assisting the sit-in movement, but they wished to make a direct grant to one or more of the student demonstrators.

I hope you will help by bringing this fund to the attention of students who may be qualified to apply. They should write to me at the address above with details of their experience in the sit-ins, their present educational situation and their needs.

The sponsors wanted me to express their warm and whole-hearted support for the efforts of the sit-in leaders.

Sincerely yours,

Kale Williams

Kale Williams
Executive Secretary

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

November 11, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

Deslie Dunbar has turned over the list of names you sent for the mailing list to me since distribution comes under my direction. These seem to be good contacts and so we are placing them on our mailing list for all of our materials excluding NEW SOUTH.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Suggestions?

LWD ✓

PR ✓

Rel Hist ✓

They seem to have situation in hand

HAROLD C. FLEMING

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

JACKSON 2-8764
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 13, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your letter and highly informative memorandum on the Indian School problem at Dunn.

I am circulating this to Les Dunbar and Paul Rilling (who has been traveling steadily for the past few weeks). We will pass on any suggestions we can come up with, and will be grateful to you for continuing to keep us posted on this situation.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Harold Evans, *Chairman*
Colin W. Bell, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 88 2-0109

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

December 8, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In connection with the Indian school problem in Dunn, North Carolina, I am enclosing a set of confidential memos from our files which you might want to share with Paul Rilling and Leslie Dunbar or others and then return it to me.

The matter of the students entering school in Dunn seems to be in the hands of the courts now and it appears that the case will not be tried until sometime after the New Year. Even then there is considerable reason to think that a ruling favorable to the Indians may not be obtained because of technical flaws in their case.

We have found homes for eight of the students in other communities where they are attending schools. For the few remaining in Dunn we have not worked out a satisfactory interim solution. Also, we have not worked out any satisfactory way of financing the costs of the children away from home except that the families with whom they are living have informally assumed such responsibilities until other plans can be worked out.

Out latest activity is trying to encourage formation of a citizens committee in Dunn, similar to the Burnsville Education Committee, to handle the interim education activities and raise such funds as necessary. At the moment it is difficult to find leadership in developing such a committee, but I am hopeful.

I will keep you posted regarding further developments. In the meantime, any suggestions as to solutions, educational activities, persons who might be helpful and sources of funds will be appreciated.

Cordially,

William Bagwell

William Bagwell

WB:mh
Enc.
cc: Jean Fairfax
Wil Hartzler
Charles Davis

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

cc: Charles Davis
Jean Fairfax
Barbara Moffett
Steve Carey
~~Wade Hinkley~~

Date September 9, 1960

To: Wil Hartzler

From: Bill Bagwell

Subject: Indian School Problem in Dunn, N.C.

The following information probably should be appended to your report on the Dunn situation.

Item I. This morning I had a long-distance call from Washington, D.C. from Helen Maynor (Apartment 4, 1277 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. - home phone FE-34781, office phone - CA 43121, extension 5527). She is an Indian, or part-Indian from eastern North Carolina. She and her father, who lives in North Carolina, have been approached by some of the Indians from Dunn seeking aid ~~and~~ finding legal counsel. Her father is Judge Lacy W. Maynor of Pembroke, N.C. (phone - JA 14326) who is judge of the Recorder's Court in Maxton, a small town near Pembroke. It seems that the Dunn Indians are members of the Lumbee tribe of Cherokees from Robeson County in which Pembroke and Maxton are located. The Maynors are related to the Lumbee tribe. Helen Maynor who knows something of the work of AFSC and FCNL, had obtained my name and brief information about our school desegregation program from the FCNL office in Washington.

Her reason for calling me was to ask if our office could recommend any attorneys who might consider taking the case for the Indians. In discussing the matter, I asked if they had considered the NAACP as a source of help. She replied that such had been considered but that the Indians, up to this time, had been reluctant to approach this organization because they felt that its name would hurt rather than help their cause. Also, as she pointed out, many of the Indians in Dunn have not yet come to a realization that they have a problem which is the same as that of the Negroes who are seeking acceptance. The Indians still seem to feel that their problem is a unique one of the Indians versus the white man, and is not related to the whole matter of integration - desegregation. However, she said that she had talked with the NAACP office in Washington, D.C. and that she hoped that unofficial counsel could be obtained from that organization, even if it did not participate in the case. She also said that it is possible that eventually the Indians in Dunn may be quite willing to accept official help from the NAACP. I told her that I had already talked with NAACP legal officials in North Carolina and had been given rather definite assurance from them that the NAACP would be quite willing to take this case if the Indians were agreeable to such. However, these officials had told me that the Indians must make the initial approach.

Helen Maynor then told me that she had talked with ACLU officials at Washington and in New York, had obtained names of several attorneys in North Carolina who cooperate with that organization, and had personally called each of them. All but one had declined to have anything to do with the case. This one, Joseph Talley of Fayetteville, had indicated that he would be willing to accept the case. However, his fee of $3,000 discouraged the Indians to such a point that they have not retained him.

I told her that I would check our files and would confer with friends and would notify her or her father today or tomorrow of the names of other possible attorneys. Regarding the matter of lawyers fees, she did not indicate how much the Indians would be willing and able to pay, but she did say that thus far they do not know of any national financial support and that locally in Dunn they do not feel that they could afford the kind of fee mentioned above. The things which an attorney would be asked to do in this case would include: a) to defend the several Indian parents in Dunn who have been cited for contempt of court by the local Solicitor's Court for allowing their children to enter the white high school after the Solicitor's Court had ruled that the parents must keep the children away from the school; b) file

a law suit on behalf of the Indians against the Superintendent of Education, the County Commissioners, and the County Board of Education for admission of the Indian children to the white school in Dunn (I am not certain as to where the law suit would be filed, but presumably it would be in a Federal Court, since the parents have already gone through the procedures of asking for transfer of their children and of requesting a hearing before the School Board). I told Helen Maynor that a member of our staff was in the Dunn area investigating the problem. She said that sometime today she would be talking with her father or others in that area and would pass along her recommendation of AFSC to them. The one other item of interest which she mentioned is that the Dunn School Board attorney, Robert W. Morgan, was the local campaign manager for Beverly Lake in the recent gubernatorial campaign (Lake, who was defeated, campaigned on an extreme segregationist stand). She also said that James Chance is the recognized leader among the Indians in Dunn, although Willie Jones, another Indian, has been acting as spokesman for the Indians. Jones, it seems, has been serving as spokesman with the approval of Chance and other leaders.

Item II. I called James Mattocks, High Point attorney who is a member of our School Committee, for any suggestions which he might have. He spoke highly of Joe Talley, but felt that the fee mentioned by Talley seemed high. He pointed out that Talley has a good reputation, has worked with the ACLU and has been fairly prominent in state affairs. He also suggested that I confer with Dan Pollitt about the possibility of helping with the case. Mattocks himself did not feel that he could consider the case because it involves quite a different type of legal background from that which he has.

Item III. I talked with Dan Pollitt briefly. He said that he would be willing to serve unofficially in some kind of counseling role, but that he is not licensed to practice law in North Carolina even though he teaches at the University of North Carolina Law School. His specialty is constitutional law and he is licensed to practice in Washington, D.C. He said that he would confer with associates at the University, however, and would notify me shortly as to any names of attorneys which might be suggested to him.

Item IV I talked briefly with McNeill Smith of Greensboro and learned that he had already been approached by Helen Maynor. He had declined to take the case because of his position as chairman of the State Civil Rights Commission, a position which he feels restricts him somewhat from becoming involved in civil rights cases. However, he strongly recommended Joe Talley and said that he had already talked with Talley, encouraging him to take the case. Smith said he had told Talley that he would be glad to give unofficial counsel if Talley takes the case. Smith mentioned that Talley is currently president of Kiwanis International, is past mayor of Fayetteville, is a former teacher at Wake Forest College, was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress a few years ago, is a personal friend of the mayor of Dunn, and is located only a few miles from Dunn (Fayetteville is about 25 miles from Dunn). Smith, who is well acquainted with the work of the Service Committee, also commented that Talley's viewpoint and approach would be very much in accord with that of AFSC. When I asked his viewpoint on fees which should or might be charged in such a case, he said that these would vary depending on the attorney, his experience, the law firm with which he is associated, and the amount of time which the case would likely involve. He seemed to think that it could possibly run as much as $5,000. I asked if this were not an extremely high fee. He replied that he was certain that an attorney could be found who would charge much less but that he felt personally and professionally that Talley would be one of the best attorneys in the state for such a case. Also, he mentioned that Talley is a man of a number of years of experience and that he is connected with a rather prominent law firm in Fayetteville. He added that he felt the case would require considerable time on the part of any attorney who takes it. He also commented that the attorney who takes this case will not only be up against the local school board attorney in Dunn, but that actually he will be opposed to North Carolina officialdom's best legal minds, including all the resources of the state attorney general's office as well as all the attorneys who have official positions with the Harnett County officials. (In other

words, the situation in Dunn would be somewhat similar to that in Yancey County where it is beginning to appear in rather definite terms that the State's official powers are giving wholehearted support to the school board in its opposition to any desegregation).

Item V. In view of the above information, I feel obligated to make some kind of suggestions or recommendations to Helen Maynor or to her father, as to legal counsel. In view of our experiences with attorneys throughout the state and in view of the above information, I am willing to recommend Joe Talley, even though his fee may be higher than the Indians feel they can pay. The only other attorneys whom I can recommend are Mayne Albright of Raleigh (a white attorney who is rather liberal, who was a North Carolina gubernatorial candidate a few years ago, and who has been friendly to our school program), and Conrad Pearson of Durham (state legal counsel for the NAACP). I mentioned both of these to Helen Maynor and she said that she had already tried to contact Albright but had been unable to get in touch with him. However, she added that she would continue to try to call him. If we do encourage the Indians to obtain first class legal counsel such as Talley, I feel that in some way we ought to assure them that financial aid for such counsel is available. This does not mean that I would ask the Service Committee to employ the attorney or to bear the expenses of his fees unless possibly a grant of perhaps $500 - $1,000 might be obtained from the Rights of Conscience program. However, it does seem to me that we could assist in raising funds for the project in a similar way to that in which we have worked in Yancey County. There we helped organize the Burnsville Educational Committee, an interracial group of citizens from Yancey County and Asheville, which developed a tutoring program, employed a teacher, handled the matter of sending several high school students to boarding schools, and carried on a fund raising campaign for the whole project. Our office assisted by publicizing the project in a newsletter and by notifying a selected list of agencies, organizations and individuals of details of the project and its financial needs. About $6,000 was raised for the Burnsville Project during the past school year. We plan to cooperate in a similar way for the current school year in raising funds for the Burnsville project.

September 10, 1960

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Today I spent considerable time on the telephone with the following people: 1) Lacy W. Maynor of Pembroke, judge of the Recorder's Court in Maxton, a community near Pembroke. Judge Maynor, who is an Indian, had been called upon for aid in finding legal counsel by the Indians of Dunn, who are part of the same tribe as those in the Pembroke area, even though they are separated by about 50 miles. I discussed with Judge Maynor, who is himself not an attorney, my findings about Joe Talley and I encouraged him to recommend Talley as an attorney for the Dunn Indians. He pointed out that the Indians in Dunn would not be able to pay the fees which Talley wanted, even though he guessed that they could pay $1,000 or more. Also, he mentioned that some gifts had already come in from various parts of the country. I assured him that there were other people and probably agencies which would also contribute to the cause and I told him that I would do what I could to notify such people and agencies about the financial needs. I learned that he already knew something of the AFSC, because one of his daughters had attended an AFSC summer project while in college.

2) Dan Pollitt of Chapel Hill, who is a professor at the University of North Carolina Law School, called to tell me that the National Congress of American Indians had contacted him and had pledged to support legal cost for the case. It seems that Pollitt through his legal connections in Washington, D.C. earlier aided the Congress in some kind of legal action. The legal counsel of the Congress had authorized Pollitt to do what he could to see that Joe Talley was employed and Pollitt had been asked if he would give unofficial counsel on behalf of the Congress. Pollitt had talked with Talley and learned that Talley seems willing to take the case to defend the Indians on their contempt charge and to push for their acceptance in the schools in Dunn. Pollitt invited me to go with him sometime during the coming week to visit with Talley. He pointed out a couple of items about Talley which I had not known: that Talley is president of the Harvard club of North Carolina and is a personal friend of Terry Sanford, the democratic nominee for governor in North Carolina. He mentioned that he had talked also with Helen Maynor of Washington, whom he says works as secretary for the Congressional Sub-Committee for Constitutional Rights.

3) Clyde Barrington, former AFSC staff member, who is now working in South Carolina, but who is a native of Dunn and who has been visiting for the past few days in the Dunn area, called to tell me that he had talked with several of the Indians and other people in that area about the school problem. He seemed quite impressed with the Indian leaders and their children and he said he was convinced that they were willing to pursue this case as far as necessary in seeking full acceptance in the local schools. He knows Helen Maynor and also talked with her father at some length. He gave Joe Talley a good recommendation. He pointed out that he would personally make a donation to the Indians and would encourage a number of his business friends to do the same. It was late afternoon when he talked with me, and at that time he said he had just learned that the Indian leaders in Dunn had officially retained Talley as their attorney and were conferring with him. Three of the Indian leaders and their families ought to appear in court on Monday, September 12 on contempt charges, the charges growing out of their refusal to keep their children away from the Dunn High School even though a local court had ordered them to do so.

File

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date September 12, 1960

To: Barbara Moffett

From: Wil Hartzler

Subject: Dunn Indian Situation

Last Thursday and Friday, September 8 and 9, I visited Dunn, North Carolina and vicinity to see what I could learn about the recent controversy there regarding the admission of some Indian students to the local high school. This was in the nature of an exploratory visit for gathering information and to determine whether there were ways in which the AFSC might be of use. What follows is a brief account of what I learned, what the problem seems to be and the conclusions tentatively arrived at. I am doing this hastily and thus, it may not be very well organized of well stated.

THE SITUATION IN BRIEF

The crisis which developed two weeks ago, seems to be the accumulation of many months and years of disappointment on the part of those Indians who were seeking a better educational opportunity for their high school youth. The Indians I spoke to referred to a series of promises from the County School Board running back to 1956. Until that time apparently no provision was made for education for the Indians beyond the Eighth grade. In 1956 the County School Board provided a small bus to transport Indians living in the Dunn area (Harnett County) to the Eastern Carolina Indian School at Clinton (Sampson County) some 30 miles distant. A year or two later, the Indians asked the School Board to build them a high school in conjunction with the elementary school for Indians located three miles south of Dunn. The School Board's answer was to provide them with a larger bus making the daily trip to Clinton and said that they would build a school as soon as they could fill the bus with youngsters going to Clinton. In the fall of 1959, the parents of some 12 or 13 Indian high school young people appeared in the County Superintendent's office on the opening day of school and asked that their children be reassigned from the Eastern Carolina Indian School to Dunn High School. They were informed that the period of time allotted for consideration of reassignment applications had expired and that they should come back next year. This year the Indian parents securred re-assignment applications and filed them during the period specified by the School Board. However, they were informed by the superintendent that the applications were not properly completed and were urged to put them in proper form. However, for some reason not known to me, the Indians chose to leave the applications as they had submitted them with the result that the School Board refused to give them further consideration. Although the Board did not act on the applications, I understand that they gave the Indians the right of a personal appearance in which they were permitted to state their case. However the Board did not act on their request for reassignment to Dunn High School.

Having ~~being~~ been refused assignment to Dunn High School, two Indian girls later joined by one boy began the sit-ins at Dunn High School which have been well reported in the news media. They appeared at the school daily and remained throughout the day. Many students seemed to accept them and few went out of their way to be friendly to them. However, the

School officially did not recognize their attendance and refused to assign them to classes or to issue textbooks. Friday, September 9, the students left in the early fore noon at the request of the Principal, who felt that their presence was leading up to a possible unpleasant incident. The students did leave with the assurance that they would be back Monday morning. Two court cases are ponding against several Indian parents for the support and encouragement they gave the students during their sit-in. Several are charged with trespass when they defide a court order to stay off the premises of Dunn High School. Three couples were scheduled to appear in court today to show cause why they should not be held in contempt of court for their refusal to keep the Indian students at home during the period of the sit-ins. Over the weekend, spokesman for the Indians have stated that they are planning to take court action against the School Board to require the admission of their students to Dunn High School.

COMMUNITY REACTION

There seems to be a substantial block of opinion in the Dunn community supporting the rights of the Indian children. A number of people with whom I talked expressed surprise and pleasure that the white children at Dunn High School had accepted the Indian children without making a big fuss. The Mayor of Dunn came out strongly on the side of the Indians expressing deep regret that Dunn was being represented nationally and throughout the world as antagonistic toward its Indian citizens. Other prominept people in the community apparently are deeply concerned through few have spoken out publically. One member of the County School Board is on record as having said that should the applications for reassignment come before the Board next year, he would vote to have them all admitted to Dunn High School. I have some reason to believe that other members of the Board may also be moving in a similar direction. Many citizens seem to be hoping that the School Board and Indians will find some basis on which the matter can be settled for this year.

THE PROBLEM

The ~~roughly~~ problem seems to be that the School Board backed up or guided by its attorney is maintaining that it cannot reconsider the applications from the Indians this year because they did not conform to the procedures and time schedule established by the Board for the consideration of reassignment applications. Thus, they say the Indians have forfeitted their chance for reassignment this year. So the Board is saying come back next year. The Indians maintain that they have been put off, and put off for a number of year and they have come to the end of the rope. They will not be satisfied with any more promises but want some decision and solution to their problem made at once. They feel that the Board's insistance upon complying with procedures is simply a way out of really facing the issue. Thus, they feel that court action may force the Board to grant the assignments to Dunn High School. Based upon our experience with other desegregation cases where courts have refused jurisdiction because administrative procedures were not exhausted, I am not very hopeful that the Indians can present a case which they can make stand up in court. They may be able to prove a point of bad faith on the part of the School Board over a period of years. They may also be able to prove that the original assignments to ECI were made solely on the basis of race. However, in spite of this I feel the court would be reluctant to rule in their favor because of failure to follow

procedures established by the Board for reassignment. According to our information, the Indians have employed Joseph Talley, a Fayetteville attorney to represent them in the Trespass and contempt charges as well as the suit against the School Board. He comes highly recommended by a number of people with whom we consulted in the last few days. We also understand that the National Congress Of American Indians have assurred financial support for their case.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING AFSC ROLE

Bill Bagwell and I conferred this afternoon and reached the following tentative conclusions regarding AFSC activity in this situation.

1. We should continue to keep in touch with the situation by conferring with the Indian leaders, with Attorney Talley and with selected persons in the white community. It is now planned that Bill Bagwell will visit in Dunn and Fayetteville the latter part of this week.

2. We will encourage interested individuals to make financial contributions to the Indian committee which has been set up to handle matters related to this case. We feel reasonably confident that a responsible group has been elected to represent the Indian's cause.

3. Should the court rule in favor of the Indians requiring the School Board to admit Indian students to Dunn High School we will stand ready to be of whatever assistance we can to bring about an orderly accommodation of the Indian students at the all white school. We have already established a relationship with a number of school officials which we will want to follow through in the event an opportunity presents itself to work more intimately in the solution to this problem.

4. Should the Indians have to resign themselves to seeking reassignment through the usual procedure next year, we will want to offer our assistance and experience in working with the families to assure that all of the procedures are fully complied with. We also propose to work with School Board and school officials in the hope that favorable consideration will be given to the applications if they should be submitted to the Board a year hence.

As you can see, we are concluding that our role and contribution are in a large measure dependent upon the out come of the legal action which the Indians now contemplate. It is reported that Attorney Talley hopes that some settlement might be reached out of court. We are hopeful that we might hear from him this week of the lines along which he feels a settlement might be reached. We will keep you informed of developments. Any suggestions you have for further activity will be welcomed.

cc: Jean Fairfax
Tillie Walker
Steve Cary
Bill Bagwell

file

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date September 28, 1960

To: Jean Fairfax

From: Bill Bagwell

Subject: Indian School Situation at Dunn, N. C.

During the past three weeks Wil Hartzler and I have spent a total of nearly a week's time in Harnett County and vicinity investigating the school controversy involving the Indians of the Dunn Community.

In an earlier memo Wil stated the situation in brief, the community reaction, the problem and some conclusions regarding AFSC's role in the area. Since his visit I have spent several days conferring with additional persons and investigating further the needs which AFSC might meet. The attached commentary on persons interviewed gives some insight into the matter, but for simplification a few pertinent thoughts follow:

RECENT EVENTS

The Indians obtained services of the law firm of Tally, Tally and Taylor of Fayetteville, N.C., on Sept. 10, after several of the Indian parents had been arrested for trespassing and had also been charged with contempt of court for encouraging their children to return to the Dunn High School after a local judge had ordered such to stop. The law firm, which we investigated and then recommended to the Indians, is a well established firm and one of the leading ones in that part of the state. Joe Tally and Nelson Taylor are both well trained, experienced attorneys and have rather strong social concerns (they are among ACLU cooperating attorneys in this area).

At the advice of the attorneys, the Indians discontinued the "sit-in" project and have created no further public disturbance about the matter. On the contempt case, the county superior court has ruled against the Indians and they plan to appeal to the State Supreme Court. The trespass case was heard on Sept. 22 in the Dunn Recorder's Court and decision delayed for two weeks.

The attorneys have obtained photostatic copies of the applications for transfer filed by the Indian parents on behalf of their children and the attorneys have agreed that the forms were not properly filled out. This means that any court case against the School Board must be based on law beyond the N.C. Pearsall Plan and Pupil Assignment Act. The lawyers are at present searching for legal precedents which would provide a sound case based on constitutional rights of the children or on the grounds that the school board has no legal right to send some of the county's children to another county for education (the Burnsville case may provide some assistance). The attorneys seem to feel that there is a possibility that if they can convince the Board that the Indians have a sound legal case the Board may be willing to accept the children into Dunn schools this fall.

AFSC EFFORTS

1. I have tried to find possible ways in which the School Board might be influenced to accept the children. One idea I investigated was that of getting together, off-the-record, a group of leading citizens to discuss the problem and how they could assist. Such an effort has failed thus far though several of those with whom I talked said they would meet with such a group "if someone else would convene it." It did not seem wise or feasible for

AFSC to convene the group because of our position of being almost unknown and representing outsiders.

2. Unless the School Board accepts the Indian children almost immediately it seems likely that they will receive no schooling this year because a court case would involve at least several months and the Indians seem determined not to attend the distant East Carolina Indian High School which they are boycotting. Some of the children did not attend the E.C.I. School last year and some have been out of school two or more years. There are about 30-35 students of high school age in the community.

In view of this situation I have been trying to find ways in which AFSC might assist with an emergency educational program. Such investigation is being continued, but at present there are three possibilities:

a) employing a teacher to do some kind of tutoring of the children in the community this year.
b) sending the children to a private school. There are two nearby possibilities: Campbell College, a small Baptist school which has a high school department; and Salemburg Academy. Either would be rather expensive; full fees for a student for a year at Campbell being about $450. Both schools are being investigated as to acceptability for the Indians, facilities to take them, and whether it is too late in the year for such admission.
c) finding homes for the children with families in other places in North Carolina. After conferring with school officials in High Point, I feel rather assured that no problem of race would be involved in getting Indian children into white or desegregated schools in this area of the state, and that unless a school principal wanted to create trouble, there would be no problem about guardianship or legal residence of the children. The educational problem of late entry into school would be an important problem.

All of these possibilities involve considerable problems. If any one or more is undertaken, we would hope to involve local Dunn citizens in a committee to administer the program. Funds would need to be secured but might come from the fund campaign being set up by the Indian committee with Helen Maynor's aid. Anyway, considerable more staff time would be needed to set up any of these programs.

While in Philadelphia on October 3 and possibly October 4, I hope to confer with you and others who might be helpful in thinking through the problem.

PEOPLE WITH WHOM I CONFERRED REGARDING DUNN INDIAN PROBLEM

1. Hoover Adams, editor Dunn Daily Record. Very sympathetic to Indians; thinks court case probably necessary to get children in school in Dunn; willing to give publicity to any efforts to raise money for Indians for legal matters for stop gap educational program until situation is settled; he is accused by some leaders in the city of sensationalizing news about Indians as well as other matters.

2. Leslie C. Tucker, pastor of Dunn Presbyterian Church and president of Dunn Ministerial Association, native of Eastern North Carolina and graduate of Union Seminary in Richmond; rather young man; concerned about problem though uncertain as to what he can do about it; expressedview that Indian children would be well accepted by people in Dunn and by other students once they get into the local school; has talked with some of school officials and says that they seem to feel that problem is a technical and legal one; he appeared interested in tutoring program for children; invited me to discuss problem and make suggestions to Dunn ministers at their next meeting on Oct. 19.

3. Ernest P. Russell - pastor of First Baptist Church and probably most influential minister in town; graduate of Southern Baptist Seminary in Kentucky; about 50 years old; has very good understanding of racial problems and seems to see issues clearly; has talked with others about Dunn problem and seems willing to help if possible; hopes that problem can be settled peacefully this year or that children will wait and reapply next year; seems interested in

4. Louis Baer (elderly Jewish businessman), active in Chamber of Commerce, probably one of 2 or 3 wealthiest men in town; friend and contributor to AFSC; sympathetic to Indians in paternalistic way; expressed optimistic view that he feels community will work problem out satisfactorily by constructing a building for the Indian children though we must be patient as it takes a little time for such; seemed to feel that school demonstration was unwise and was staged by some of young "hotheads" among Indians and was not approved by longtime Indian leaders such as Claude Groves; encouraged me to see Groves; explained that he had tried to promote meeting of County and City Boards of Education with County Board of Commissioners and Chamber of Commerce to discuss solution to the problem but that such a meeting failed to materialize becuase the Education Board refused to take part; seemed to feel that an off-the-record, unpublicized meeting of some of community's leaders was still in order but declined to take leadership in calling such, suggesting Carson Gregory of State Legislature as person to do this.

5. George Blalock, mayor of Dunn, prominent farmer and tobacco grower, graduate of Duke University about 1939 and former football player; extremely outspoken and somewhat blustering; very sympathetic to Indians, several of whom are tenants on his lands; very critical of press coverage of school problem because of bad publicity it has brought to town of Dunn, which he says would gladly accept the Indians if County officials gave approval (Coundy Board of Education controls assignment of students); well informed as to history of Indians and history of the school problem; critical of Indians for not coming to him or other city leaders for counsel before staging public demonstration because he says he thinks problem could have been resolved without any publicity; antagonistic toward County Board of Education and its attorney as well as toward Board of Commissioners for refusing to mediate the matter; says he thinks integration of high school Indians is only satisfactory solution though possibly a high school addition to their present elementary school might be best current solution; thinks court case may be necessary though hopes issue can be settled without futher publicity; expressed willingness to meet with any concerned citizens or group of leaders if someone else would get group together.

6. Carson Gregory, member of State Legislature from the Harnett County area and official at Planters Warehouse where tobacco is auctioned; quite concerned about Indian problem but quite determined in his view that separate high school for Indian children is solution to problem, says he has even offered to get special bill passed in Legislature in January authorizing county to use tax funds to construct such a building (it seems he did this successfully last year for a county courthouse project); seems to feel that nothing can be gained at present by trying to get school board to accept children in Dunn school this year, but pointed out that if Indians really want education they will continue to go to Sampson County School until other solution can be worked out; very agreeable to any further visits I might wish to make to him.

7. A.B. Johnson, district principal of Dunn Schools and prominent figure in events at Dunn High School during Indian demonstrations; aged about 50 and Dunn school official for 20 years. Not antagonistic to Indians but critical of their demonstrations; expressed view that Board was on sound legal grounds in denying admission of Indian children because of application forms not being properly completed but that he believed Board would accept all who would apply in proper form and time next spring; critical of press for emphasizing negative aspects of situation and sensationalizing entire problem; said that actually Indian children were well received at school by other students and that no one was antagonistic to them even though officials could not legally admit them due to Board's action; suggested that I confer with members of Board; avoided commenting on adequacy of Sampson County Indian School even though I inquired specifically about this matter; said that no Negro-white racial problems had arisen thus far and he defended "good" Negro school facilities in Dunn; he did comment there was some prejudice in Dunn against Indians and that some people considered Indians as mixed with Negroes.

8. Dr. Clarence Corbett, Dunn physician and member of the Harnett County School Board; Baptist and graddate of Wake Forest College and Emory University Medical School; aged about 55; he defends legalistic position of School Board in turning down applications of Indian children on grounds that forms were not completed properly; says he has no objection to Indian children being in Dunn High School, but that they must conform to same procedures as "every other child" in county in seeking school transfer, says that if Indians apply properly during next reassignment

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period (next spring) he will vote in favor of them and thinks rest of board will do same, in fact he says that if Negro children with good reason for transfer seek such in proper form, he will vote in favor of them; he seems convinced that board has no way to accept Indian children at present without breaking law; says he sympathizes with Indians over long distance to E.C.I. School, but that if they want education, they should go there until they can make change "legally"; he questions sincerity of Indians' interest in education and seems to share paternalistic attitude of some of other community leaders toward Indians; at same time he strongly defends white family whose dark skinned child has caused racial furore in Dunn within recent days; generally conservative in social views.

9. Willard Locklear, (Indian). principal of Maple Grove Elementary School, the Dunn School for Indian Children; native of Pembroke, former teacher at East Carolina Indian High School (the one Dunn Indians refuse to attend); graduate of Lenoir-Rhyne College (white) about 1935; rather newcomer to Dunn and although his school is at center of Indian community, he prefers to remain away from present controversy; somewhat critical of Indians who staged "sit-ins" saying they are trouble makers, and do not represent whole community; probably of no help to our activities.

10. Claude Groves, Sr., one of older Indians and looked on by white community leaders as one of top leaders in Indian community; not in full accord with younger Indians who staged "sit-in" and who are at odds with school officials, he seems to feel that Indian children should have local high school but that an addition to the local Maple Grove Elementary School would serve the purpose satisfactorily; however, after more conversation, and after he learned my attitudes, he seemed more favorable to younger Indians action and complained that they could have consulted him beforehand because he thinks he could have helped them without such a furore being stirred up; he seems to be a leader who gained his position over years by agreeableness to white leaders but who has lost his position now that younger Indians are rejecting paternalism and are attempting to stand on their own feet; he takes pride in the nearby elementary school which was built largely due to his efforts in past.

11. James Brewington (Indian); lives in Dunn; teaches at E.C.I. High School and has high school child; extremely critical of E.C.E. and its inferior physical plan as well as standards of education; encourages other Indians in Dunn to continue their struggle for local schooling in Dunn schools; was one of most forceful speakers at community meeting of Dunn Indians which I attended to discuss school problems.

12. James Chance (Indian); one of chief figures in school controversy and father of 13-year old Ima Jean Chance who was one of 3 students staging "sit-in" at Dunn High School; Chance, who is about 35 years old, was arrested for trespass and contempt in connection with "sit-in"; he seems to be one of most determined of Indians to secure local first class education for his child; has reputation among some white leaders of being trouble maker; rather outspoken and possibly one who might resort to extremes if necessary; owns small home; his wife, Myrtle holds beauty operators license and worked until recently at local beauty salon in Dunn.

13. Eugene Chance (Indian); older brother of James Chance and another leader in school controversy; has 15 year old daughter, Juanita, who attended E.C.I. one year (9th grade) but did not attend last year; owns small farm; has reputation among some whites as being trouble maker and arrogant; very outspoken and is accused of having threatened with physical violence the driver of the bus which runs to the E.C.I. school.

14. Indian Education Committee - 5 member committee named by Indian families to handle legal financial and other problems connected with school controversy; they handle conferences with attorney and others to whom they have turned for assistance; members are James Chance, Willie Jones (young man who serves as secretary and often as spokesman for group), Arthur Grove, Frank Brewington, and Frank Maynor.

15. Judge Lacy Maynor (Indian) recorders court judge from Maxton and Pembroke in Roberson

County (about 50 miles from Dunn) to whom Dunn Indians turned for aid in finding legal counsel; elderly man who is quite firm in his approach to this problem; has strong views of the need for full citizenship of Indians; friendly to AFSC because two of his daughters had AFSC experiences during college years.

16. Helen Maynor (Indian); daughter of Judge Maynor and native of Pembroke, N.C.; friend of Tillie Walker; graduate of Berea College; formerly on staff of National Congress on American Indians, and now works as secretary for Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in Washington, D.C.; keenly concerned about Dunn problem; has spent considerable time learning about it and is helping to set up fund raising campaign for the Dunn group; attended AFSC college project some years ago.

17. Nelson Taylor; attorney from firm of Tally, Tally and Taylor in Fayetteville (20 miles from Dunn) who is handling most of details of Indian case; age about 35; graduate of U.N.C. Law School; native of N.C.; Episcopalian; very liberal in social views (from Southern viewpoint). excellent court room lawyer (he has defended Indians already in the contempt and trespass cases); wants to keep names of all and any national organizations out of case though glad to have any unofficial suggestions or assistance from AFSC or other agencies (we have put him in touch with the attorney who defended the Burnsville Negro children); his firm has accepted financial underwriting for case from Association on American Indian Affairs, including the Association's stipulation that no fees would be paid unless case was aimed at getting the children in desegregated school; he and his firm have reputation of being first class law firm and one of foremost ones in that part of N.C.; Dan Pollitt of UNC Law School is assisting Taylor as unofficial counselor in current case.

cc: Wil Hartzler
B. Moffett
S.Carey
Charles Davis

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Memorandum

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

cc; Wil Hartzler
Walter Taylor
Steve Cary
Lou Schneider
Charles Davis

Date November 24, 1960

To: Jean Fairfax

From: Bill Bagwell

Subject: Recent events regarding Indian school situation at Dunn, N. C.

Events regarding the Indian school situation at Dunn, N. C. have moved rapidly within recent weeks. Several legal maneuvers have taken place, including the filing of a federal court case against the school board by the Indian parents. All of the 25 to 30 Indian high school students who are involved in the situation have continued to boycott the 75 mile daily round trip to the school to which they have been assigned, and none of them have received any formal education this fall except for 6 who are attending schools in other parts of the state.

A brief summary of background information and events in the situation is as follows: Dunn, N. C., a community of about 8,000 is located in a south-central section of the state where three-way discrimination is generally practiced, that is, Indians, whites, and Negroes are segregated. This situation exists in 9 counties in the state, most of which are clustered together. In Harnett County, in which Dunn is located, there are only about 300 Indians, about 30 of these being high school age students. The Harnett County school board has been assigning these students for several years to an all-Indian high school in the adjoining county, although there are adequate white and Negro high school facilities in the community of Dunn within 2 miles of where most of the Indians live. Several of the Indian parents have asked for transfer of their children to the local white schools for 2 years in a row, but have been denied each time. In September of this year a small group of the children staged a sit-in at the Dunn high school and received national publicity.

As a result of this effort, the children were threatened with arrest and relatives of three of the children were arrested on trespass and contempt of court charges. The trespass charges were based on the fact that the parents entered the school grounds with the children in an effort to enroll the children and the contempt charges were based on the fact that the parents continued to bring the children to the school for some days after a local judge had ordered them to stop. The adults were convicted on both charges. On October 14, the Indian parents filed suit against the Harnett County school board in the Eastern District Federal Court on behalf of their children. This case has not been heard yet.

Following is a listing of the legal efforts in the situation: a) <u>contempt case</u> - September 8, James Chance and Eugene Chance, fathers of two of the Indian children, were convicted of contempt of court and fined $150 and $100 respectively. This case was tried in the County Superior Court. Consideration was given to appealing the case, but nothing definite has been done about such. b) <u>Trespass case</u> - on September 22, James Chance, father of one of the Indian students, and Claudie Groves, brother of one of the Indian students, were tried in the Dunn Recorder's Court on trespass charges. Decision on the case was postponed two weeks, at which time they were given 30 day sentences and such sentences were suspended for 12 months on condition that each pay a $5.00 fine. Consideration has also been given to appealing this case, but no definite action has been taken. c) <u>Federal court suit</u> - On October 14 the Indian parents filed suit against the Harnett County School Board in an effort to have all of the Indian children of the community admitted to the Dunn schools. The case was filed particularly in behalf of Juanita Chance, Emma Jean Chance, and Ruis Paul Maynard, the three students who had submitted application forms seeking transfer to the Dunn schools. The case also seeks admission of all of the other 25 to 30 Indian high school students in the Dunn community. Hearing of the case was set for November 21, but because of the illness of the judge, the hearing is postponed. d) <u>Restraining order</u> - On October 18, Federal Judge Albert L. Reeves of Missouri, who has been visiting in North Carolina and who has the Indian case on his docket, issued a restraining order against the Harnett County school board. The order, which was a temporary one and which

had been sought by the attorneys for the Indian children, ordered that the Harnett County school board could not continue to prevent the Indian children from attending the Dunn High School. Four days later, on October 22, Judge Reeves rescinded this order at the request of the school board attorney, the judge's reasoning being that after further consideration of the situation and after conferring with other legal authorities, it might be embarrassing to everyone if the children should be admitted temporarily to the school and if later at the time of the trial it should be found that they had not complied with legal procedures to gain admission to the school. One of the state's leading newspapers, The Winston-Salem Journal, may have come closer to the truth of the matter when it pointed out in an editorial that the judge had threatened the whole North Carolina Pearsall Plan and Pupil Assignment Act when he ordered children admitted to school before their case had been tried in court. There seems a good possibility that pressure was put on the judge by some of the leading powers in the state to rescind the order and that, possibly because he was only here as a visiting judge, he was influenced to change his mind. e) Hearing on court case - Judge Reeves, who is 86 years old, has suddenly become very ill and has been flown back to Missouri. This means that the case now will be taken over by the Eastern District Federal Judge, Algernon Butler, who has said that he will hear the case whenever the opposing attorneys can fix a suitable date. Because of technical flaws in the Indian's case, such as the fact that only 3 of the children have gone through the administrative procedure of filling out transfer forms and since there is good reason to believe that these forms were not filled out properly, it is quite possible that the case will not be won by the Indians in the District Court. However, the intention of the Indians and their attorneys at present seems to be that they will appeal the case all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. If they do not receive a favorable ruling by next summer, there is good indication that the School Board would give favorable consideration to transferring all the children to the Dunn high school provided the children would submit transfer forms properly filled out during the next reassignment period, which will be sometime in the summer of 1961. Thus, it appears now that one way or another the children will be enrolled in Dunn high school by next fall at the latest.

AFSC ACTIVITIES

As mentioned in earlier memos, our staff activities in the Dunn community began with an investigation of the situation and an attempt to bring about some reconciliation between the Indians and the school board. After it became apparent that there was no solution other than through the processes of law, we began thinking in terms of what could be done to provide an on-going educational experience for the children while their case is pending. Thus far we have been able to accomplish the following things: 1) we have found homes for 6 of the children in other communities where they are now attending school. Two are in High Point attending a public school (and living in my home); two are in Greensboro attending a Catholic school (and living with one of our committee members); and two are in Raleigh attending a Catholic school (and living in the home of a young Unitarian leader). Plans are underway to place two more in Raleigh and two in Chapel Hill. These placements have been done on an informal basis and without any budget to care for expenses, other than those incurred by our staff in making the placements. We have obtained permission to insure any of the children whom we place by the blanket health-medical insurance policy which AFSC carries on project participants. Because of special fees, particularly at the private schools, it seems likely that we will need to set up some kind of budget to assist the foster parents. The Indian parents, for the most part, are in a very low income bracket and are hardly able to pay much toward upkeep of their children. Academically, all of the children who have been placed thus far have been set back at least one yearin school because of their poor background preparation. However, according to such information as we have at the moment, all of them are doing satisfactorily in their school work. 2) Because there are a number of children in the community whom we will not be able to place, we have done much thinking about the possibility of a special tutoring program. From our background of experience in Yancey County, where a tutoring program for 18 elementary-aged children was carried out for a year, we feel certain that an adequate high school program could not be set up for a dozen or so

Indian children. However, since none of them are in school at present and since morale as well as academic progress is important, we feel that some kind of tutoring program, however limited, would be worthwhile. We have conferred with several people in the School of Education at the University of North Carolina and it seems quite likely that we can obtain professional assistance from the School in developing some kind of tutoring program. There is a possibility that we may be able to make use of some graduate students or teacher trainees who would do their field work in some kind of project in Dunn. At the moment, officials at the School insist that they must wait until after the case is tried, their thinking being that if the children are ordered admitted to the Dunn schools within a few days (the postponement of the case on November 21 just occurred a couple of days ago) there will be no need for a tutoring program. Even if the children are admitted to school soon, we have serious questions as to the ability of the students to compete with others immediately and there is also reason to think that the Dunn school officials will not encourage teachers to give any special assistance to the Indian children once they are admitted. On the basis of these things, we will pursue further the idea of some kind of tutoring for the children, regardless of whether they are admitted to school immediately or not.

On October 19 I met with the Dunn Ministerial Association, an interdenominational project of most of the 10 - 15 Protestant ministers in the community. One of the points we discussed was what role the ministers might play in helping to set up an on-going educational program for the Indian children. Several suggested that there were retired or former teachers in the community who would probably be glad to assist in some such program. Follow-up on this needs to be done. Regardless of what kind of tutoring program is set up, if any, some kind of financing will be necessary. Our thinking is not clear on such financing at present.

FINANCIAL MATTERS

The Indians' legal problems are being handled by the law firm of Tally, Tally and Taylor of Fayetteville, N. C., a prominent white law firm. A major part of the legal fees has been underwritten by the Association on American Indian Affairs, 375 Riverside Dr., New York City. LaVerne Madigan is executive secretary of this organization and Richard Schifter (1700 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C.) is general counsel for the Association. The Association has also indicated an interest in assisting with educational expenses for the children, but this needs to be explored further. I talked with Richard Schifter in Washington, D.C. on November 14, giving him our impressions about the situation and the educational needs as we see them. I had written earlier to LaVerne Madigan about these matters, and until a couple of days ago, we had had a tentative conference scheduled in Raleigh on November 21. Now that the hearing has been postponed, I am uncertain as to when or whether she will come to North Carolina. The impressions we have as of now regarding the role of the Association in giving financial assistance is that the Association would prefer to be the only organization raising funds for the Dunn Indians and their problems.

AFSC has not attempted to raise any funds for the Indians, even though a number of persons have indicated that they would be willing to make contributions to us for the Indians. In our search for homes in which the children might be placed, we learned from a number of families that they would be glad to contribute funds even though they did not feel that they could adopt a child.

A number of persons have written or gotten in touch with Indians in Dunn to offer financial or other assistance. Thus far, so far as we know, the Indians have not set up a definite fund raising program, nor have they encouraged gifts from persons who have written to them. This means that there are probably quite a number of persons who are willing and ready to make contributions but someone or some organization needs to approach them in definite terms, as to how much money is needed, where gifts can be sent, what the gifts will be used for, etc.

The only expenses incurred by AFSC thus far have been travel expenses and expenses for telephone calls and correspondence, by staff members who have been related to the Dunn situation. The

amount of these expenses is not available at the moment.

Any thinking which you might have regarding the matter of expenses, budget, fund raising, etc. will be appreciated.

Personal regards.

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

March 20, 1961

John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you very much for the back issues of New South. I am quite puzzled about the earlier shipment in December. So far as we can ascertain, it did not arrive here.

Please let me know if there is a charge for the back issues.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh

~~AHX~~
LWD files

February 20, 1962

Mr. James C. Paton
International Conferences and Seminars
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Mr. Paton:

Dr. Dunbar has asked me to respond to your letter of January 31 concerning the need for American students who might be able to participate in international seminars in Japan, Europe, or Southeast Asia. We so far have been unable to come up with the names of students who are traveling in these areas, but we are passing your request on to the directors of State Councils on Human Relations. If you have not done so, I would suggest that you write the Council on Student Travel, 179 Broadway, New York 7. They would probably be in a position to help with the Austrian and English seminars, at any rate.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

C.O files

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

January 31, 1962

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 South Forsythe St., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

One of the American Friends Service Committee's programs in the area of international affairs is our program of international seminars for graduate students and other young people between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. These international seminars are held annually in various parts of the world with the aim of bringing together persons from a wide range of countries to discuss together for a period of two or three weeks fundamental questions relating to international relations and world peace.

Our program staff in Japan has indicated to us their desire to have American white and Negro students participate in our seminars in Japan. Our staff in Tokyo has found great interest on the part of Japanese and Asian young people, with respect to the race question in the United States, and they feel that much could be gained from having mature American students participate who could interpret in a unique way the thought and action of those who are deeply involved in this problem. It has occurred to us that the easiest way to locate this type of young person is through groups like your own, and I am therefore writing to explain our concern and to inquire whether you could help us in any way in our efforts to find mature people who could participate and contribute in a real way to our program. We would ask specifically whether persons might be known to you or others in your organization who would be interested and available to participate in such an experience.

Our major difficulty in raising this question with you arises from the fact that we are not in a position to offer scholarship assistance to persons going to any of these programs overseas. This restricts our ability to select the kind of people we would like to find, since we are forced to choose only from persons who plan to be traveling abroad on their own and who would be available during their travels to take part in a seminar. In spite of this major obstacle, however, we want to put this before you in case there might be certain individuals planning to be overseas in either Japan, Europe, or Southeast Asia who might appropriately apply for participation in any one of these seminars.

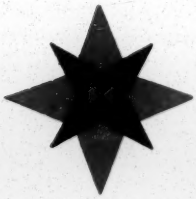
I am enclosing a brochure for the program in Japan which will explain most of the details of the program there for this coming summer. I should add that we plan also one seminar in Austria, near Vienna, for August and, perhaps, a second European seminar in England during the same month. We would welcome knowing of young people as I have outlined who might be traveling to either of these areas or to South Asia, in the event that we might be able to involve them in a seminar. I will be grateful for any help you may be able to give us in this matter. If there should be any questions that I could answer, please do not hesitate to write and I shall be glad to answer them.

Sincerely yours,
James C. Paton
James C. Paton
International Conferences and Seminars

JCP:mo
Encl: Japan Seminar Brochure

Applications should be mailed by March 25.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SUMMER PROGRAM



July - August, 1962

Sponsored by :

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

(QUAKERS)

Japan Unit

The American Friends Service Committee represents the Religious Society of Friends in efforts to relieve human suffering and to increase good will and understanding among men. These efforts, springing from the basic conviction that all men are brothers in the spirit, have expressed themselves in relief, reconstruction, social and educational work in many parts of the world. The Committee's work is made financially possible by voluntary contributions from people of many faiths who believe in its ideals.

The youth program has included International Student Seminars and International Student Work Camps in many countries of the Americas, Europe and Asia. A seminar has been an annual event in Japan since the summer of 1949, and domestic weekend work camps were expanded to an international summer program in 1954.

The opportunity offered to overseas students this year is a three-fold program of approximately seven weeks' duration, from July 6 to August 23; it includes participation in a two-week seminar, a work camp and several short periods of planned sight-seeing in Japan. These three experiences, although each has its distinctive characteristics, are planned to complement one another in bringing together young people from many countries, cultures, and traditions to study international problems of general interest, to encourage and enable individuals to be of positive service to society, and to promote a lasting and intelligent concern to work for peace.

SEMINARS

In the seminar, students gather to study international problems and their roots in society, under persons of recognized standing in fields related to the theme of the seminar. Thus they may seek new approaches and answers to basic questions especially in relation to the present international situation.

Members of the group share responsibility for the well-being of all by helping with household tasks, and planning special activities. Time is set aside for preparation so that all may contribute to the thought and study of the group. Through the daily period of silent meditation, the discussions and recreation together, members of the seminar find a deepening appreciation of various national, religious, and cultural traditions. In so doing they develop a pattern for future relationships with people of differing backgrounds and ideas.

The dates of the seminars are as follows:

Tokyo: July 11-25

Kansai: Aug. 8-22

WORK CAMPS

In the work camp, young people from many countries gather to devote a period of physical service in cooperation with a needy institution or community. Through the fellowship of working together, participants often find new insights to mutual understanding, and achieve a group fellowship which extends beyond themselves and to the wider community in which they are living.

About six hours a day are spent in manual labor, on a project devoted to meeting a need of an institution or community. Participants also share together all the daily aspects of cooperative living, preparing their own meals and caring for their own living accommodations, and planning much of their own leisure-time schedule.

Along with the work, time is included for the work campers to have intensive discussion among themselves and with members of the community. Through the sharing of work, ideas, and everyday living, the participants will learn from each other and with each other ways of promoting peace.

The dates of the work camps are as follows:

Kanto: July 10-28

Kansai: Aug. 5-22

TRAVEL

The travel program, which includes a few days immediately upon arrival, a week-long period in mid-summer, and a few days before departure, is designed both to provide rest and relaxation and a closer fellowship among students, and to offer a well-balanced glimpse of the rich scenic and cultural background of Japan and some of her current social problems.

QUALIFICATIONS

The program is open to young men and women under thirty years of age, college or university students or graduates, of good academic standing and with good knowledge of English. In addition, applicants should be physically fit, and be prepared to spend three weeks of daily physical labor. Persons of all nationalities, races, and religions are welcome. It is expected that about half of the group both at the seminars and at the work camps will be Japanese, and half from other countries.

COSTS

The cost for each overseas participant will be US $90 to cover his maintenance during the seven-week program in Japan. Participants are also expected to meet the cost of their travel either themselves or through financial support which they can obtain in their own countries. A small amount of scholarship aid for Asian student travel is available on application to the American Friends Service Committee, but this is given on the basis of individual

need which must be substantiated by a letter requesting scholarship aid.

APPLICATIONS

Application blanks may be had from the address in your country listed below, or upon request directly to Japan. Completed applications should be mailed to the local address listed below by March 25, in order to reach the Selection Committee in Tokyo no later than April 1, 1962.

All correspondence to Tokyo should be addressed to :-

The American Friends Service Committee.
International Student Summer Program.
28, Azabu Fujimi-cho, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
Cable Address : AFSERCO TOKYO
Telephone : 473-0903

LOCAL CONTACT:-

March 16, 1962

Mr. Harry Boyte
Box 310, Route 1
Matthews, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

I think the Friends Service Committee is fortunate and I know you will find the work rewarding. Let us know whenever we can be of assistance to you in your work and also let us hear from you from time to time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 3/7/62

Box 310, Route #1
Matthews, North Carolina
March 5, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

You will be interested in knowing that I have been employed on the national staff of the American Friends Service Committee, after having spent three days last week in Philadelphia. I will always appreciate very much your friendly attitude and real helpfulness to me in obtaining this connection.

My first assignment, which will carry me into the summer, will be in Prince Edward County, Virginia, where I expect to begin work in the next day or two. Of course I look forward to the opportunity of seeing you from time to time, and if you wish, I shall be happy to share some of my experiences with you. My new office address will be American Friends Service Committee, Miller Building, S. Main and Madison, Farmville, Virginia.

You know that I shall be only too happy to do anything I can for you and the Southern Regional Council at any time.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry G. Boyte

HGB/j

PR
MS

March 16, 1962

Mr. Noyes Collinson
American Friends Service Committee — file
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Noyes:

Thank you for thinking to send me a copy of your report regarding the Macon Conference. I am glad you were able to be part of this and am grateful for the help you gave the Georgia Council.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
TELEPHONE 523-4451

Employment on Merit Program
NOYES COLLINSON, *Director*

Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Before V. — to P.R. — Lud reply.

March 8, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

With the thought that you may be interested in a brief evaluation of the Macon Conference on Merit Employment March 2-3, I am sending you a copy of my report to Tartt Bell and Jean Fairfax.

Frances Pauley sparked the conference and should have credit for carrying it through. It is good for both the Georgia Council and American Friends Service Committee to develop this kind of working relation.

Sincerely yours,

Noyes

Noyes Collinson

NC/bjp

ENC. 1

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

To: Jean Fairfax March 7, 1962
From: Noyes Collinson

REPORT ON

Macon, Georgia Conference

March 2-3, 1962

The Macon Conference titled "Getting The Job Done", was a working conference on Equal Job Opportunities was sponsored by the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the American Friends Service Committee. Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, Department of Economics, Fisk University was consultant and gave the opening address at the Friday evening session.

Invitations were sent to members of the branches of the Georgia Council and to a selected group of Negro school Guidance Counselors. In addition certain interested persons in the Atlanta area was also invited.

Thirty-five conferees responsed and attended the sessions. Some were present only for the Saturday group discussions. Eight of the 35 were Caucasians. The following cities were represented, the number of persons from each being indicated by bracketed figures: Albany (1); Americus (1); Atlanta (5); Augusta (3); Columbus (3); Macon (18); Rome (1); Savannah (3); We had hoped for a larger attendance from Macon but the bus boycott and a mass meeting had prior claim on some who would otherwise have attended. There were a few advance registrations from persons who did not show up.

Eight staff persons participated, viz; John I. Binkley, Director of Education, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities; Dr. James Moss, Southern Regional Council; Dr. Vivian Henderson; Harold N. Arnold, Atlanta Urban League; Sarah Herbin; Rev. O.W. Holmes and Frances Pauley, Georgia Council on Human Relations; and Noyes Collinson.

Hospitality was provided by Mrs. Fisher Mosley, member, Macon branch Georgia Council.

****

EVALUATION

Although the attendance was slightly smaller than had been hoped, Frances Pauley and I are of the opinion that the quality of the material presented and the enthusiasm with which it was received will be productive. The discussion groups were sufficiently small to permit an across-the-table give and take.

It is significant, that everyone remained to the end and many tarried to continue questioning following adjournment of the sessions.

Mr. Binkley's talk at the luncheon stimulated interest in helping government contract agencies to comply.

Considerable time was devoted to a discussion of educational requirements and training necessary for minority applicants to compete for jobs above the traditional level which are opening up. Stress was placed upon the urgency of encouraging minority young people and adults to apply for jobs even though previous experience has not been satisfactory.

Staff members offered the services of their respective organizations to individuals or groups in the cities represented at the conference. I was privileged to sit in on one discussion group lead by Sarah Herbin and was impressed by the thoroughness and und rstanding with which she presented her material. It was not possible to attend both simultaneous sessions in the afternoon. I elected to join Dr. Henderson's group because I have access to Dr. Moss in Atlanta.

In summary, I congratulate Frances Pauley on an excellent organizing job and am appreciative of the opportunity to join forces with the Georgia Council in presenting the Macon Conference. Enthusiasm ran high and I am confident that long run results will prove the value of the Conference.

NC/bp

cc: Tartt Bell
Barbara Moffett
Louis Schneider

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

August 23, 1962

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I am grateful to you for your helpful letter in answer to my questions about the situation of Mrs. Elizabeth Moore of Sarasota, Florida. We shall certainly write to her to express our sympathetic interest in her stand.

Your advice that letters to the Florida Real Estate Commission would be inappropriate is especially appreciated. We felt sure we could count on Southern Regional Council for a good opinion in the matter.

Most sincerely,

Judith Howard

Judith Howard
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division

JH/eb

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

March 21, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of March 20 informing me that you had honored our request for copies of the brochure. I realize that copies of this are limited, so you can be assured that these will be used discriminatingly.

Thanks also for your kind remarks about the Nashville conference.

Sincerely,

Sarah Herbin

Sarah W. Herbin, Associate Director
EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM

SWH/h

file

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WAYS OF CONQUEST

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

"There was a time when men ran away to God as boys run away to follow the sea. That time can come again, but it must not be running away from the world—to the monastery, to the cynic's seat, to the ivory tower. Only by facing the world with its problems, and man with his failings, and winning through them can men be truly set free. The paths of service and fellowship are two paths that are not ways of escape but ways of conquest."

HENRY J. CADBURY, a founder of the AFSC

Though we live in a world of material abundance, gross inequalities exist. National enmities imperil international relations. Discrimination, exploitation, and intimidation negate professions of brotherhood. Young people press for involvement in their own future. Every human being hopes for a world unshadowed by a nuclear war.

What can be done about these paradoxes, opportunities, and aspirations?

The answers are inherent in acts of service and fellowship.

Reverence for life and individual worth has inspired projects undertaken by the American Friends Service Committee since it was organized 45 years ago. Its programs grow from motivations deeply rooted in the basic Quaker belief which cherishes the divine origin of all life. Its responses are as diverse as the opportunities. The "ways of conquest," described briefly in the following pages, are woven into the fabric of service and fellowship which unites thousands who support this work of freeing mankind from misery and alienation.

Chinese mothers in Hong Kong learn child care techniques

Dave Elder

AID TO THE NEGLECTED

The solace of tears may be the neglected person's greatest need. But where does one cry in Hong Kong's crowded resettlement blocks?

A Chinese refugee mother entered the AFSC center and sat quietly beside the staff worker's desk. There were no words of conversation, only a sudden burst of tears and sobs. The silence was punctuated by the tears that slipped easily down a mournful face. Minutes passed by with no explanation of the problem. At last the woman rose, dried her tears, and walked away toward her cubicle on the far side of the resettlement block.

The distraught mother had been at home in two of the Quaker programs—its mother's club and nursery—and is one of its ardent participants. Hers was a deep personal involvement in its activities. The center was also a place where she could express her personal sorrow.

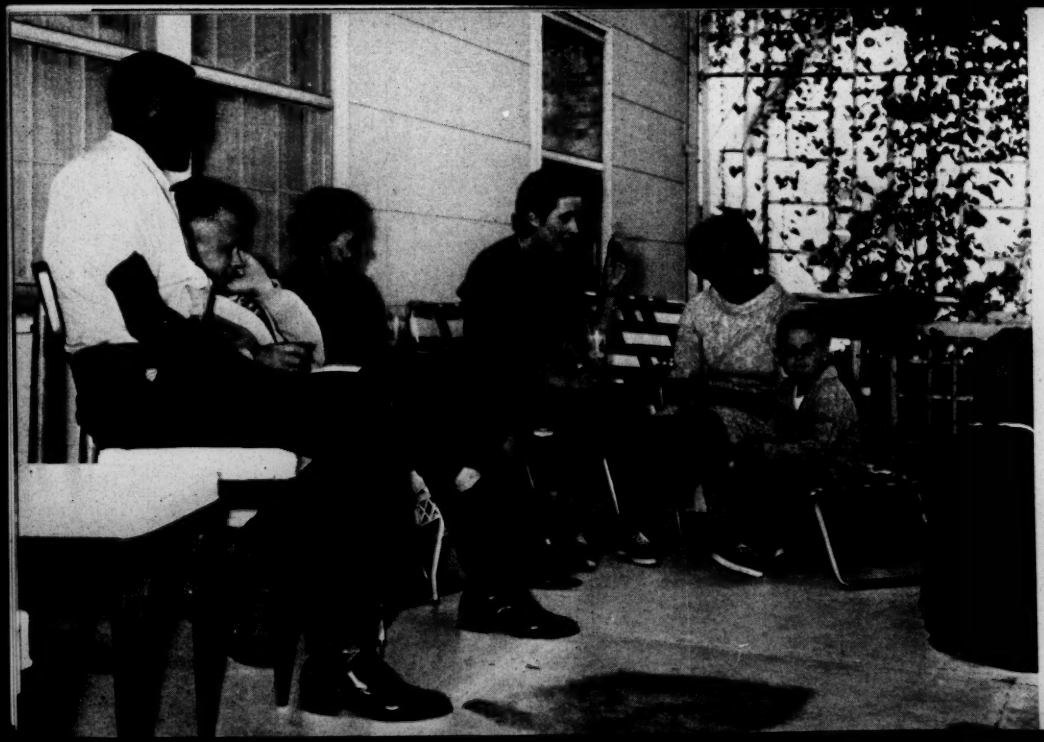
Diplomats probe deeply in off-the-record conversations

Jean Johnson

NURTURING A SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY

Diplomats spend most of their working hours together, but, as one of them observed after an AFSC Conference for Diplomats, they "never live with each other." More than 700 members of the international diplomatic community have shared the intimacy of living and of off-the-record exchange of views. Quaker sponsored conferences and seminars provide this opportunity for experienced diplomats and for those preparing for such careers. One Eastern European diplomat reflected after a conference that it was "the greatest single experience" of his life. Later contacts of Quaker staff members with former participants often provide surprising openings for effective communication.

Shared seminar experiences, and subsequent social encounters in the world capitals where they work, are helping to build the spirit of community among international public servants.



Neighbors in Levittown, N.J., enjoy mutual pleasures

Alex Morisey

OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE IN DIGNITY

The housewife's letter to the Burlington County (New Jersey) Human Relations Council expressed in simple language her gratitude for the opportunity to "live in dignity on Fairfax Drive and be proud of the history that's in the making."

Her words were directed to a wide assortment of local citizens who, through the Council, with AFSC support, had worked at the "grass-roots level" and with the local leadership to make homes available to Negro citizens. Among their tasks had been publication of an "open covenant" of persons willing to join others in creating equal housing opportunities. Their declaration of personal commitment led to group action. Today, more than 50 Negro families in Burlington County are grateful for what any American citizen is entitled to: the right to buy a house he can afford in a place that he likes.

Volunteers in Mexico serve in village projects

Dave Myers

BROADER HORIZONS FOR YOUTH

Why would a young well-to-do college man from the United States be laboring in a drainage ditch under a hot tropical sun in Mexico? He had gone there, offering his hands and heart, for a summer with an AFSC project in a Mexican village. This is his answer:

"To me, it seems that what is important in AFSC programs is not so much what is accomplished as the process of accomplishing, and of working with other people with a unifying goal in mind. AFSC community service units succeed in their aim of bringing some happy moments into the lives of people who seem neglected by fate, people with feelings and needs just like our own. Do not expect any great changes in six weeks. More reliable are changes we cannot see, the seeds of which we have sown, but which need to germinate before taking root."

Discussion participants search for sound approaches to peace

Alex Morisey

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

"The present posture of nations has made more men, the world over, anxious about the future than ever before. But anxiety needs to give place to imaginative planning . . . many fruitful lines of thought need following."

Those lines from the foreword to the AFSC's new "Beyond Deterrence" pamphlet series succinctly state the case. Studies, written by able and original thinkers, will be the textbooks for penetrating dialogues during the coming months. Obsession with old theories of military power, defense, or deterrence has prevented the fullest exploration of alternative policies. Americans across the nation will be invited to abandon anxiety and examine imaginative plans in AFSC sponsored discussions. The Committee will provide leadership materials and guidance for these discussions, which can help contribute fresh thinking on unexplored approaches to the current human predicament.

The AFSC outreach is further extended t

Assistance to refugees in Algeria and Austria and to others resettling in the United States.

Social and technical assistance programs in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Quaker program at the United Nations.

International seminars for advanced students.

International affairs seminars in Washington for government personnel and journalists.

Institutes and camps on international affairs.

Projects and educational materials for children.

Peace education literature, films, and speakers bureau.

through a wide range of other program areas:

Community development projects with American Indians and seasonal farm laborers.

Representatives in Quaker International Centers in several world capitals.

Visitation in prisons and service to parolees.

International high school exchange program.

Promotion of wider job opportunities for minorities.

Help to communities working for integrated public education.

Work and study projects for young people at home and abroad.

Year round youth service opportunities on five continents.

Development and interpretation of programs on college campuses.

WAYS OF CONQUEST

The service and fellowship undertaken by the AFSC reaches this year into more than 20 countries. Some of the programs are in cooperation with other Quaker committees. In the United States the work is conducted through 10 regional offices. Any office will be glad to furnish additional information.

The Committee's budget for 1962-63 reflects its faith that $4,000,000 will be contributed to support its work. In addition, it hopes to distribute gifts of material aids and surplus food valued at $600,000.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
1818 S. Main Street
P.O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

No. 581—165M—8-62—G.B.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM
Rm. 501, 41 Exchange Pl., S.E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

October 26, 1964

Miss Karla L. Jones
Personnel Department
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Jones:

Mr. John D. Due, Jr. has been a staff member of our Voter Education Project since February 20, 1964. He is an Eleanor Roosevelt interne, and we count ourselves fortunate in having been able to place him.

Mr. Due has been assigned almost entirely to field work for the Project. This has required extensive south-wide travel. He has been entrusted, as we came to know his capabilities, with representing the Project in numerous local situations requiring on-the-spot judgment as well as mature tact. The purposes of his trips have included reporting on progress and problems, untangling program snarls, encouraging local efforts, and implanting ideas and suggestions. He has occasionally also been asked to make recommendations to the Project Director for new or increased grants, after a local survey. In all of these important responsibilities, Mr. Due has performed with ever improving skill and we are well pleased with his work.

His deep motivation, as well as the blend of essential toughness and gentleness which is his personality, insure, I believe, that John Due will be a tremendously serviceable individual, both in the immediate future and the many years ahead.

I have had the good fortune to observe for some time the southern field work of the Committee. I admire it greatly, and therefore I am all the more reserved in recommending a person to you. I sincerely think that John Due will satisfy the high standards of commitment, skill, and judgment which the AFSC demands.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

Recd 10/16/64

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 13, 1964

Les Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia 30303

RE: John D. Due, Jr.

Dear Friend,

The above named person is applying for a position with the American Friends Service Committee and has given your name as a reference. It is our understanding that you are acquainted with the applicant and therefore, we would appreciate having your evaluation.

The form enclosed may be used as a guide to your thinking and any additional comments you care to make will be helpful. If, instead of using the form, you prefer to write a letter, the form suggests the type of information which we find helpful.

We hope that you will give us a frank statement of the applicant's strengths and weaknesses. Every effort is made to keep all reference materials confidential. While we would like to acknowledge all references received, the volume of our work prohibits this. On behalf of the applicant we would like at this time to thank you for this reference and to assure you of our appreciation of the time and thought devoted to writing us in regard to this person.

Sincerely yours,

Karla Lee Jones/p

Personnel Department

Encl.

Dear Miss Jones,

Mr John D. Due Jr. has been a staff member of our Voter Education Project since Feb. 20, 1964. He is an Eleanor Roosevelt intern, & we count ourselves fortunate in having been able to place him.

~~In this~~

Mr Due has been assigned almost entirely to fieldwork for the Project. ~~In this~~ This has required extensive south-wide travel. He has been entrusted, as we come to know his capabilities, with representing the Project in numerous local situations requiring on-the-spot judgment as well as mature tact. The purposes of his trips have included reporting on program & problems, untangling program snarls, ~~&~~ encouraging local efforts, & implanting ideas & suggestions. He has occasionally also ~~made~~ been asked to make recommendations to the Project ~~director~~ director for new or increased grants, after a local survey. In all of ~~the~~ these important responsibilities,

Jim Cline has performed with ever improving skill & we are well pleased with his work.

His ~~high~~ deep motivation, as well as the blend of essential toughness & gentleness which is his personality, means, I believe, that John Cline will be a tremendously serviceable individual, both in the immediate future & the many years ahead.

I ~~know~~ ~~a~~ have ~~had~~ the good fortune to observe for ~~a~~ some time ~~a good~~ ~~which~~ the work of the southern field Committee. I admire it greatly, & therefore am all the more reserved in recommending a person to you. I sincerely think ~~that~~ John Cline will ~~be~~ satisfy the high standard of commitment, skill, & judgment which the AFSC demands.

November 30, 1964

Mr. William Bagwell
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

I am returning the completed questionnaire. I always have difficulty weighing answers like these, and when I am done feel pretty unhappy with what I have put down. My inclination is to say that everything well-motivated is important.

I hope this may be, however, of some help. All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure

Recd 11/12/64

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina

P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
Regional Chairman

JAMES MATTOCKS
Treasurer

B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary

November 10, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was good to see you at the N.A.I.R.O. convention, even if we have to go to New York to meet. My work has kept me so busy in the two Carolinas and Virginia that I haven't been to Atlanta for quite awhile.

Les, I have a little project on which I would appreciate your assistance. In connection with the doctoral program in human relations which I am working for at New York University, I am at last beginning the research for the dissertation. My project is a study of the principles and factors involved in school desegregation and I plan to make case studies of two or more communities in North Carolina where some desegregation has occurred. In order to set up a list of about a dozen principles and factors to be studied, I am asking several social scientists who have done research or had experience in desegregation to rate the items on the enclosed list. If you would take a little time to do this, I will be most grateful. Add to the list any items you consider especially pertinent. The items on the list have been collected from the writings of several social scientists.

If possible, please return the list before November 20.

Personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell, Director
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRAM

WB/h
Encl.

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

December 30, 1964

Dr. A. D. Beittel
American Friends Service Committee
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Dr. Beittel:

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from an SRC friend in Japan. I have replied with the suggestion that Dr. Ishida write to you. Perhaps you could plan a couple of days activity for him?

Happy New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Mississippi Program

P. O. Box 4325, Fondren Station, Jackson, Mississippi 39216

(601) 366-8242

Rec'd 1/7/65 - file with title + address

SWD
NMC
MT
MS
MM
RH
Sec file

January 5, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have received your letter of December 30th, enclosing copy of letter from Mr. Yoriko Nakajima, Tokyo, Japan. I presume there is nothing to do until I hear from Dr. Ishida, who is scheduled to leave Tokyo for the USA on January 9th. I shall be glad to give assistance to Dr. Nakajima's friend.

We are looking forward to the coming of our full time director for the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. In the meantime we have scheduled a meeting of the Jackson group on Wednesday, January 13th, and of the State Council on February 1st.

With good wishes, I am

Cordially yours

Dan

A. D. Beittel, Director
AFSC Mississippi Program

File: American Friends Service Ctee.

March 23, 1965

Miss Nancy Adams
100 Madison Street
Farmville, Virginia

Dear Nancy:

Your letter to Les of February 15 has been returned to my desk with his request that I reply.

The two specific requests both call first for help from Washington, I think. The U.S. Office of Education has many specialists and a letter from you to the commissioner outlining your needs should bring a favorable response. If not, we'll try to come up with something else.

So too with OEO. If you write Shriver's office, outlining as specifically as possible your interests, I imagine the request (coming from Prince Edward County) would receive a very prompt reply.

If you run into difficulties we'll try to provide names of individuals whom you might try.

Let's keep in touch. We want to help if possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

July 13, 1965

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I am enclosing the little report on housing in DeKalb County which I told you about.

// See Report of Sub. Otlee on Housing - Christian Soc. Concerns Meth. Church.

It was good seeing you last week at Airlie House.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

TAU
LDAU

100 Madison Street
Farmville, Virginia
February 15, 1965

TA - please reply

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

I am writing to acknowledge receipt of the check in the amount of $100.00, pursuant to our conversations regarding the situations in Prince Edward County. The money will be used by the Citizens for Public Education for postage for mailings, additional public appeals, etc.

I enclose a re-print of the page advertisement which appeared in the Farmville Herald on February 4, 1965. We are at this time working on a brochure which will be mailed to citizens of the County.

I believe Connie Curry has spoken with you and with Paul Anthony about the need-- which I feel is urgent-- to meet with an "expert" in the field of school financing and long-range school planning. One cannot approach this situation logically without knowing what is possible: can a County of this economic status hope to cope with the severe problems we now have due to the educational retardation of so many of the children? One of the committees of the Citizens for Public Education has been working on this approach; they want to be able to so inform themselves as to be knowledgeable on all phases of school budgeting. Otherwise, we are left at the mercy of the School Superintendents, whom we know to be unsympathetic.

At this point, the committee has done a great deal of research into this, and other Virginia Counties', ability to pay for schools; into federal aid available for public schools, and into the needs in our system. How one sits down and budgets this, for the immediate future and for long range planning, is still a mystery.

In connection with the hope for a Community Action program under OEO, we will be meeting to discuss the remedial needs of the County. It may be that these meetings will answer the questions; in the meantime, if you could be thinking of persons who have the knowledge necessary and who could be obtained to come to the County to meet with the committee, it would be extremely helpful.

I have also enclosed a summary of the County situation which should bring you up-to-date on our situation, and a copy of a report which was recently submitted to the school board by the Citizens for Public Education concerning the specific problem of remedial reading in the schools. I'm sorry that I have a limited number of these; could you share yours with Paul Anthony?

Thanks so much for your help and interest.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Adams

Nancy Adams

cc: Connie Curry

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VIRGINIA
-or-
A Modern-day Alice in Wonderland

Prince Edward County is located in South-central Virginia, in the Piedmont plateau. As do most rural communities, it watches a steady out-migration: in 1950 there were 15,398 people; in 1963 the population was 13,732. The County's claim to fame is Farmville (population 4,000), County seat and marketing center for this, as well as five adjoining counties. These two characteristics mean that we have a large, ugly Court House which has the inevitable "court house yard," and steps on which one can generally find lounging whites settin a spell; and a shopping center.

Our principal industry is agriculture; Prince Edward ranks eighth among Virginia counties in the production of Burley tobacco (a large-leafed, dark, coarse tobacco used for pipe tobacco, snuff and chewin'.) There are eleven small industries in this County, the largest of which are two lumber companies, each employing around 300 people. The other nine industries here employ from one to 50 persons.

Virginia has no minimum wage laws. The going rate for domestics and unskilled laborers is around fifty cents an hour. (6.2% of Prince Edward Negroes hold "white collar" jobs, as compared to 45.5% of the whites.) Those employers who have to pay the federal minimum wage recognize it as being from one dollar to a dollar fifteen cents an hour. Employee benefits such as vacation, holidays, insurance, retirement, sick leave, etc. are largely figments of the imagination. According to the Virginia State Employment Commission, the median income for families is $3,043.90 annually. 49.5 % of the population makes under $3,000.00 per year.

The ratio of Negro-white fluxuates alarmingly depending on whose statistics you use. If we can trust the last U.S. census, there were 5,634 Negroes in the County, 39.9 % of the population. According to the Farmville Herald, at the time of the school closing, in 1959, 87 % of the total population was Negro. In 1959, 319 Negroes owned their farms, compared to 746 Negro farmers who worked as tenants. Between 1954 and 1959, 181 Negro farmers went out of business. At this rate, by 1967, all Negro farm owners would be out of business.

Public transportation in this, and the surrounding counties which make up the section of Virginia known as the Southside (pronounced soothside), is non-existent. There is once a day bus service along the major highway between Lynchburg and Richmond. There is taxi service (one) in Farmville, and maybe into the county, if it isn't bad weather.

In Virginia, we have the Byrd machine. This means that someone up there chooses almost all of our County officials, with the exception of the Board of Supervisors (six rather neandethalish men elected and re-elected to run the County) and the Sheriff. All other County administrative offices are appointed, one way or another. For example, our School Board is appointed by a three-man School Commission, which is appointed by the Circuit Court Judge, who is appointed by the Governor.

Virginia has always operated under a "separate but equal" school doctrine. In 1951, there were 15 Negro schools and 7 white schools. Fourteen of the Negro

schools were of wood construction, had no toilet facilities except outdoor privies, and used wood, coal or kerosene stoves for heat. The fifteenth Negro school was given to the Negro system upon the completion of a new school for whites; it had served as a white school since 1917. The total property value of the Negro system was $330,000.00.

The seven white schools were of brick construction, had indoor flush toilets, and steam or hot water heat. The total property value of the white system was $1,200,000.00.

In 1951, an estimated Negro school population of 2,000 students walked out of the schools in protest of inadequate conditions. This was the beginning of the Prince Edward Story. As a result of the walk-out, parental and community pressure, and a suit filed in 1952 by the NAACP, in 1953 a $948,000.00 building was built as the new Negro high school. This has proven to be a satisfactory plant; however, equipment remained chronically short. In 1959, at the time of the school closing, there was, for example, one biology microscope for the entire school.

In 1954, Prince Edward youth were among the plaintiffs in the Brown decision. As a result of this decision, in May, 1955, the Board of Supervisors voted to appropriate school funds on a monthly basis. This hand-to-mount method continued until June 3, 1959, when the Supervisors refused to appropriate any funds for school operation.

In September, 1959, the Foundation School, "A Private Academy for Whites," was opened. On September 15, the State Board of Education fully accredited this school. The school met, for the first two years, in churches, homes, basements and one attic. In 1961, a new building housing the upper school (junior and senior highs) was finished, with a vigorous show of community (white) spirit: donated equipment, labor, supplies, etc. Since then, this same community effort has added a swimming pool, tennis courts and baseball diamond to the Upper Academy. The Lower Schools continue to meet in the various churches of the County (with the exception of the Catholic Church); all of which have found it expediant to build "Sunday School" buildings.

The Negro children of the County were left without any schools at all. In December of 1960, white leaders in the County chartered a corporation called "Southside Schools, Inc." and invited Negro parents to enroll their children in this all-Negro, private, non-existent school system for an annual tuition fee of $240.00. Only one application was returned by Negro parents, and "Southside Schools, Inc." dissolved in February, 1960. This gave rise to the oft-quoted adage, "Nigras don't want education."

As the case wound its way slowly through the courts, the Negro children remained out of school. One boy, now a 19-year-old junior at the high school, made the following comment on his camp autobiography, "When the schools first closed I thought it was great. I never thought they'd do it; but it was fun. No school! After that, I worried a lot the second year. By the third year, I was sick just most of the time. When the fourth year the lady from the Friends asked if I wanted to go away to school, I couldn't help crying."

During the five years without public education, Negro children of the County had three alternatives. They could go out of the County to school, either by their own finances, or by appealing to outside agencies. (35 children were able to do this for the entire time; 268 children had some school away, the majority

had 1½ years away.) Or, they could attend the "Centers", which were "schools" run in homes and churches, and taught by volunteers. During the entire three years that the Centers operated, no money was ever available to them; the materials were sent from outside donations, teachers volunteered their services. Only one of the Center teachers was a college graduate. The Centers never attempted a full curriculum; they were more a "holding action" to keep the children off the streets. (Almost all of the children attended at least one year in the Centers; however, only 15 children went all three years.) The third alternative open to Negro children was to smuggle themselves outside the County and attend school in the Negro systems of adjoining counties. This was chancey; they were automatically expelled if caught and there was growing resentment caused by the overcrowded conditions in these schools. In all, 33% of the Negro children were able to attend a real school for some period of time. It should also be mentioned that for three summers "crash programs" were run by Eastern college volunteers and the Federation of Teachers.

Finally, in 1963, representatives of the Justice Department persuaded Foundations to contribute to the support of the "Prince Edward Free School," which would operate for one year, only. Buildings were rented from the County, and the school opened in September, 1963. This was roughly a million dollar project, and provided a marvelously exciting year for the children. The school closed in July, 1964, and all but six of the faculty left the County.

The Supreme Court of the United States ordered the schools re-opened in November, 1963. On June 23, 1964, the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors voted four to two to comply with the Supreme Court order. It was a tearful session. The clerk had to be relieved of his duties due to his uncontrolled sobbing. A long, emotional statement was read into the minutes and given to the press by one of the dissenting members of the Board in which he stated, "I love the nigger children of this County, but I will never vote 'yea' to something which destroys the American democratic way of life. Five years ago I voted to close schools in order to preserve democracy; I will not back down now."

After efforts at controlling themselves, the Supervisors then voted to appropriate $189,000.00 of local taxes for the public school system. In order to do this, they raised the nominal tax rate $1.00, making the 1964-65 nominal tax rate just $1.10 less than it was in 1958-59. Added to the local funds were extra state funds and Free School contributions, which brought the total operating school budget for 1964-65 to just under $500,000.00. This is a output of $118.00 per child; in 1958-59, the County per capita school budget was $133.00.

At the same time, the Supervisors appropriated $375,000.00 of local monies to be paid in the form of tuition grants to white parents for children who wished to attend the Academy, or school outside the County. With the threat of an enjunction hanging over their heads, on August 4, 1964, the word was quietly passed in the white community through door-to-door contact. From midnight until seven a.m., volunteers traveled the County, alerting white parents to come immediately to receive their checks. From three a.m. until 9:00 a.m., checks were dispensed at the County armory. By 10:00 a.m., the entire $375,000.00 had been paid out. The five lines at the bank that morning weretwo blocks long, but orderly. Police used walkie-talkies to direct the traffic, and the people stood quietly, humming and singing "Dixie." A suit charging the Board of Supervisors with contempt of court because of this "midnight raid of the public treasury," is currently pending.

In March, 1964, the first bi-racial meetings ever held in Prince Edward County were begun. At first, we met alternately in a white and Negro church; the white

church soon voted to expel us. We continued to meet in the Negro church and one Negro home until February, 1965, when we held our first meeting in a white home. The progress of this group was painfully slow. At first we merely read the Bible; then we ventured out to discuss some Christian social concern type books. Some of our more rabid members felt they should form an "action group", as opposed to a discussion group. Thus, three months after our first meeting, we had two bi-racial groups, each made up of the same people. The so-called action group decided to concern itself solely with public education. The discussion group, after months of meeting and discussing, in November, 1964, became the Prince Edward Chapter of the Virginia Council of Human Relations.

Shortly after officially dubbing itself "Citizens for Public Education," our "action group" was abruptly dissolved when it was discovered that all of the white members had participated in the midnight dispersal of tuition grants.

We began again with the Bible, and inched our way back to becoming Citizens for Public Education. In early September of 1964, this shaky group met with the Superintendents of Public Schools to inquire about the soon-to-be-reopened school system. In part, and in answer to their questions, the group was told:
(1) the school administration recognized no special needs among these children; schools were opening under court order. What was required would be done, nothing more.
(2) there would not be, therefore, any special education teachers, remedial reading teachers, remedial programming, speech therapists or school nurse (donations from the Free School have since provided one remedial reading teacher and one school nurse for the entire system.)
(3) none of the (previously white) padlocked buildings would be opened. School would consist of only those buildings rented and opened the past year by the Free School, even though they were overcrowded.
(4) there "was no need" for a compulsory education law (which had been rescinded at the time of the school closing in 1959.)
(5) there would be no advertisement, nor any recruitment for teachers out of the area, on the grounds that "trouble makers are not needed."
(6) all of the members of the School Board, all of the members of the Board of Supervisors and the Public School Superintendents would continue to send their children to the Academy.

And then our public schools opened. There were the same four white children who had attended the Free School; there were 1500 Negro children. The faculty was disorganized; many were new teachers. The let-down from the Free School was oppressive. The following are quotes from faculty members in the public schools:

"None of the teachers in my department, including myself, have ever taught school before. We spent the first week trying to find the books, and then trying to decide which books to use for which classes. There aren't enough to go around, but we were told not to order any more because next year the classes would be smaller."

"All of the kids who missed the entire four years are in the eighth and ninth grades, It's a mess. They are all, well, they're over 15 at least, and they read from no-readers to about the fourth grade level. We have been told to do the best we can, and pass them."

"No, I've never had any special training in remedial reading instruction. And no one ever asked me if I had had any."

"Those kids can't even read the algebra book, much less do the math."

"This is what I found the first day I asked my kids to read: non-readers all the way to ninth grade readers, all in my eighth grade class. Well obviously the ninth grade reader is very bored with those kids who can't read 'of' on the page. They stumble and stumble and hold up the entire class. It's impossible to hold an orderly class. It's nearly impossible to teach in such a situation."

"The Superintendent called and the principal was out. So I picked up the phone. He wanted the attendance report. I explained that I didn't know where it was, and he said, 'Listen, boy, I want that report and I want it ready when I call.' I think it's a shame to talk to a teacher like that."

"When I took the kids to Richmond the bus broke down four times. It was three a.m. before we made it back. The man in Richmond said it was 'a crime to let a bus go out without a brake belt on it.'"

"When the Superintendent announced that over half of us weren't certified yet, everybody laughed. He said to come by and get a form, but there didn't seem to be any hurry about it."

"What is really annoying me is the fact that they let the afternoon classes out and show a movie. No, not educational, a regular Hollywood movie. The kids who don't have the quarter have to go to homeroom and sit; it's like a punishment. They all use their lunch money for it. The money goes to the junior class for the prom. I suggested that they do it after school or at night; you know the answer to that, the building can't be kept opened after 3:30 because of the heat bill. We've already had five movies and these children can't miss much more school." (Please see pp. 1-4 of School Board Request.)

During the ~~four~~ 5 years that the schools were closed, tuition grants were enjoined for ~~three~~ 4. Recently, in December, they were enjoined again. The tuition to the Academy is now $300.00 per child per semester. The white leadership "stands steady," urging the people "not to panic," and philosophizing "we've been through enjunctions before and we'll get through them again." Like most southern rural communities, the power structure is a tightly controlled, small clique which exerts an amazing hold on the community. Economic disaster can almost be predicted with certainty for a majoirty of the white citizentry; yet chinks in the loyalty to the leadership are hardly visable. The average white citizen of this County doesn't question what has happened, or where he has been led; he is simply waiting to be told how the next round will be fought.

Recently, the Citizens for Public Education have begun a concentrated effort to reach the white community, to impolore them to re-think their situation and to inform them of the needs of the school system. As it has been since their conception, progress is sluggish, at best; yet this is understandable: most of the white members in this group are native southerners. They are geared to the "Southern way of life;" social ostracism and disapproval of the power figures is about the most horrendous thing that can happen in a small southern community. Added to this is the difficulty of communication between the races. None of the white members of this group had ever known a Negro other than in a servant capacity. Most of the white members of the group are college professors and their wives (there are two college in Prince Edward; one, a state teacher's college for women, Longwood, and a private, Presbyterian boy's finishing school, Hampden Sydney. Both colleges are segregated.) Naturally, most of the Negro members are farmers, domestic workers and laborers. There are two professional people: one dentist and one teacher. The Negro teachers are afraid for their jobs, and generally steer clear of such "radical" groups.

While it might appear a bit discouraging on the surface, we have tremendous hope from the minuscule meandering of this committee. (Hope, admittedly, dredged up from the knowledge that such indigenous leadership groups must succeed if there is ever to be a solution to this, and to the thousands of other rural southern communities, which are essentially the same.)

About a week ago, the Citizens for Public Education ran a page advertisement in the Farmville Herald, endorsing public education. This is the first time white residents of this County have dared to raise their voice. On February 8, about 35 white and Negro members of this committee appeared before the School Board with a report asking for immediate permission to tutor (similar requests have been rejected by the Board), and to join with the Board in requesting fundsfrom the Economic Opportunity Act for remedial education.

The meeting was a classic example of the democratic process in action, Prince Edward style. The group was kept in the hall for an hour, while the School Board checked the School Laws to ascertain whether or not the petitioners had to be admitted. Once in the room, the group was kept standing throughout the hour hearing. The School Board was hostile, threatening and intimidating. The members of the group were shaking, sweating and determined. It is the first time that white citizens have appeared before an administrative board of this County, on behalf of public education.

To complete the picture, one should understand that the Negro community is not highly organized; and this is a rather brazen understatement. It is largely rural and quite poor. Leadership is centered in one, rather magnificent man, a local Baptist minister and State President of the NAACP. His leadership is strong, intelligent and monolithic. It is difficult to find and encourage "lesser lights" in the Negro community due to the out-migration of most of the young, vigorous Negroes and because of the fear and apathy which such a situation spawns.

It's been 15 years since Prince Edward Negro children walked out of school in protest of their "separate but equal" facilities. Sometimes, in Prince Edward, I'm reminded of the story about the South African interpreter who was asked to translate into English what a South African chieftain was saying about his peoples' relocation. The Chief spoke steadily and emotionally for about 15 minutes. The translator, obviously moved, opened his mouth, closed it, opened it again, and then yelled into the recorder, one word, "Help!"

Looking backward, I suppose if the Prince Edward story had to be reduced to one word, that would be it. But looking to the future, our one-word-synopsis has got to be "Hope!"

Nancy Adams
American Friends Service Committee

Prince Edward County
February, 1965

(missing 8th grade graph)

TO: The Prince Edward County School Board
FROM: Citizens for Public Education

The Citizens for Public Education wishes to present to the School Board a report, at the conclusion of which we will make two requests.

We are concerned about the problem of remedial education needed by so many of our children and due, we feel, to the fact that numbers of our children have missed several years of school.

Although we recognize the need for a more inclusive study, due to the scope of this problem, we felt it best to limit our report at this time to two grades, the eighth and ninth grades at the public high school, R.R. Moton. Again because of the scope of the problem, and for other reasons which will become clear in the report, we have limited our remedial emphasis to remedial reading.

The need for remedial reading, over and above that which the one very competent reading teacher is able to offer, was first called to our attention by parents, teachers and students in the public school system. We were heartened when a representative of the Longwood College Tutorial Program called upon our group and explained that the college students had offered to assist the remedial reading teacher. The School Board's decision not to accept this offer puzzled us; but we respectfully accept that decision.

In light of our concern, however, our committee entered into the following study:
A report (The Educational Status of Children in a District Without Public Schools), published by the Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, reached the following conclusions:

1. That Prince Edward children's academic achievement was severely retarded by the lack of formal schooling.
2. That the I.Q. scores of the Prince Edward children who missed formal schoolin were depressed (lowered) by from 15 to 30 points by the lack of schooling, and
3. That short-term remedial programs (such as were offered during the summers of the years 1959-1963, while the schools were closed) were partially effective, but not adequate substitutes to deal with these problems.

The report also raised what is, we feel, a crucial question: "If environment exerts the greatest influences during the early years of a child's life, then many of the observed decifits will be impossible for the children to recover. This is especially crucial in reading, language skills...the matter of 'reading readiness', and the effect of by-passin this period in a child's life." The report went on to soften this devastating remark by sayin , "On the other hand, if the critical period of learning is within the normal school-a e range; then the effects might be ameliorated by intensive educational programs."[2]

This study supported what we were already learning from our interviews with teachers, parents and students about the need for remedial programming. We reached the same conclusion as the School Board, that the area of remedial work on which to concentrate was reading. (We make an assumption of the School Board's conclusion, based upon the fact that there is no special curriculum in the public school system, other than the one remedial reading teacher. We are aware that seven days a o a second remedial readin teacher was hired.) In addition to the example set by the School Board, the followin quotes from various sources support this conclusion:

1. "The eneral estimate of reading inability among school children is 15 to 20 percent; among educationally deprived children, it is 50 per cent. The significance of readin cannot be overestimated, because all other subjects may be retarded due to an inability to read."[3]

2. "Development of reading is particularly important: it is the key to overcomin academic difficulties and anti-intellectualism."[4]

3. Donald E. P. Smith, Director of the University of Michigan's three-year research project on readin problems has stated, "Three-fourth's of the children who 'can't read' may be helped by special attention offered by non-professionals."[5]

4. And, from the Great Cities School Improvement Studies, "Smaller classes are imperative for disadvantaged children,"[6] and, "Increased use of non-professionals (such as team mothers, fathers, grandmothers) for such purposes as vision and hearing screening and reading practice...will release professional personnel for teaching purposes and improve the academic achievement of the culturally deprived child."[7]

While all that we read seemed to support our concern, we felt it necessary to bring our study to the local level. In October, 1964, the Iowa Silent Reading Test was given to the high school students. While we recognize that one test is not conclusive, it is the only test which has been administered this school year, and we are forced to use only these statistics. Quoting from the results as published at the school, we find the following: In the seventh grade, of 30 children tested, 9 read on a sixth to ninth grade level (4 were reading on their grade level, or better.) 21 of the 30tested read from fifth to first grade level. 13 of these 21 were reading on the first through the third grade level.
In the eighth grade, 192 children were tested. Of this number, only 3 were reading on their grade level. 59 children were reading from the fifth through the seventhlevels. The remainder of the children, 130, were reading from the first through the fourth grade levels, with the majority of this group on the third grade level. The median reading level ofthe eighth grade is 4 years and 2 months.
In the ninth grade, 147 children were tested. Of this number 2 children were reading on their grade level. 39 were reading on a seventh or eighth grade level and 106 were reading from the first through the sixth grade levels. The majority of these students read on a fourth grade level. The median reading level of the ninth grade is 5 years and 5 months.[8]

Our committee believes that there is a "vicious circle" of correlation among educational retardation-lack of adequate remedial programming-school absenteeism-potential and actual drop-outs. Absenteeism, while not the objec t of this study, can hardly be ignored due to its severity and its interrelatedness with educational retardation and lack of a chievement. The severity of the problem is indicated by the fact that in the month of November, for example, 183 students were absent every day that month; 80 of these were Moton students.
We were interested in relating reading inability to absenteeism. Due to lack of statistics, we have been unable to complete this phase of our study; however, if the School Board wishes, we will be happy to complete it and submit it as addenda.

The relevance of such a study is indicated, the committee believes, by the fact that during a three-day period in this current month, all but three students absent from the eighth and ninth grade were reading below their reading level. During the three day period of February 3-5, there were 123 eighth graders absent from the high school. Of these 123 students, 88 read below the fourth grade level, only 17 of the absentees read on a fifth or sixth grade level; 1 student of those absent reads above the sixth grade level. This child reads on the seventh grade level.

During the same three day period, 145 ninth graders were absent. Of these 145 students, 83 were reading on the sixth grade level or below. 36 of the students absent read on the seventh and eighth grade levels; only two of the students absent were reading on their grade levels.

As part of our study on the local level, our committee interviewed a number of parents, students and teachers. We were not attempting to compile statistical criticisms of the public schools, but we feel the following quotes will be of interest to the School Board (at the request of the interviewees, names will not be furnished): "I think reading is the greatest handicap all of us have at Moton. Even some of the twelfth graders--even myself--I'm very handicapped in reading." (student)

(student) "The reason the school is so poor is that most of the kids, due to the lack of school when the schools were closed, aren't very good readers. We really need a teacher for all those slow kids; they have set up a system where the kids go once a week during their gym period, but this isn't good enough."

(student) "Reading just isn't being presented to the students as vividly as it should be to those ...you know... who don't have the fundamental elements of reading. If something were done about their reading problems, they could maybe bring up the standards. Maybe these kids should work on a different level of reading, because they're just wasting time in class. Maybe then they could accomplish something."

(parent) "My son, he's in the ninth grade. He missed all four years of school, and now, he seems to be going backward. He is failing everyone of his subjects."

(parent) "I went and visited the school and sat in on the classes because I was so worried. I wasn't pleased at all with what I saw."

(student) "For instance, in my history calss, eleventh grade history, we have some kids in there who missed all four years. The teacher I have, well, all we do everyday is read aloud and some of those kids, they can't even understand some four letter words that are real easy to understand. The teacher just doesn't take time to go over with these kids and explain the basic things to them. I'm telling you, these kids, they just can't catch on! What's going to happen to the next generation?"

(teacher) "You see, we have no skills at all; nor had we ever been asked if we had any special skills in remedial reading work. None of us have the faintest idea of how to teach anyone to read. This is a highly paid skill in most school systems; it takes a lot of special preparation for that kind of work.

(teacher) "Well, I just began as if I were going to teach a child of my own in the backyard. I just found some readers and when they stumble, I say the word for them. I guess that isn't the way to teach a person how to read; I know, but...?"

(parent) "All the folks in our section are really disturbed about the school. Most of the kids missed all of it our here, and they aren't doing good at all."

(From an interview with a 15-year-old eighth grade student at Moton): "Why don't you like it (school)?"

"I don't get my reading too good."

"Read this for me." (Interviewer held up a newspaper headline.)

"What is that?"

"It's a 'W'."

"I ain't learned that one yet."

(teacher) "The thing that bothers me is that in one class there are students

from eighth grade reading level all the way to non-readers."

(teacher) "Well, these kids in eighth grade algebra, for example, can't even read the algebra book, much less understand the math."

(teacher) "Obviously, a ninth grade reader is very bored with someone who can't even read the word 'of' on a page. They stumble and stumble and hold up the entire class. It's impossible to hold an orderly class. It's nearly impossible to teach in such a situation."

(parnet) "If I could, I'd like to leave Farmville, and put him in another school so he could catch up."

Thus, on the basis of interviews and research, our committee has concluded the following:

1. There is urgent need for intensive remedial work, especially concentrated in the field of reading, and particularly among the eighth and ninth graders of the high school.

2. Aid and encouragement should be given to these children immediately, in order to forestall what we fear is a potential drop-out problem. Volunteer non-professionals should be used as soon as possible to listen to children read, and to a id the remedial reading teachers.

3. However, we conclude that the extent and depth of this problem is too intense to be allieviated by such short-term, stopgap measures.

Therefore, Citizens for Public Education respectfully submits the following recommendations to the Prince Edward School Board:

I. To serve the immediacy of the situation, the Citizens for Public Education offers to cooperate with the School Board in organizing a temporary tutorial reading help program. We ask the School Board to consider the suggested outline for this program. (enclosed)

We request that the School Board convene a meeting of representatives of your Board and the Citizens for Public Education within the next ten days to consider this offer.

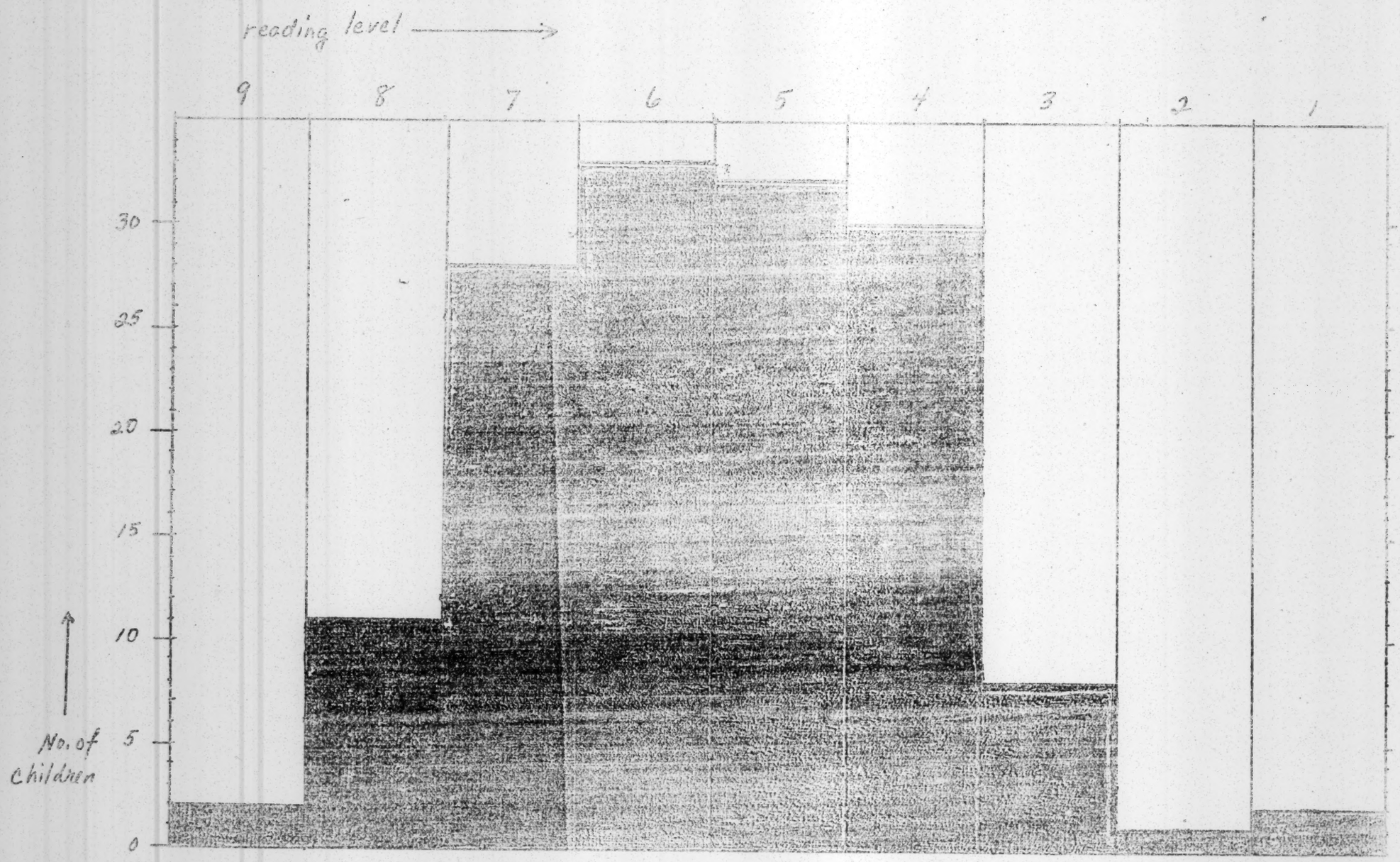
II. To serve the total needs of this situation, the Citizens for Public Education respectfully request the School Board of Prince Edward County to join with us in asking the Board of Supervisors to give their sanction to the submission of a community request to the Office of Economic Opportunity (poverty program) for a program grant which would include a comprehensive, long-range program to serve the remedial educational needs of this community. In order that all resources available to our community under the Economic Opportunity Act may be considered, the Citizens for Public Education will, in the near future, request a meeting with the School Board and the Board of Supervisors. At this meeting, we will have assistance and information available for your further consideration. We thank the School Board for your courteous and attentive reception. The committee will be glad to answer any of your questions.

Respectfully submitted,
Citizens for Public Education

Dr. Carl Walters, Jr., President
Mr. Alton Morton, Vice-President
Mrs. Reginald White, Chairman, sub-committee on reading study

Ran out of copies of 8th grade graph - !)

Ninth grade (total number tested = 147)



The following Reading Help Program was taken from an outline of a similar program used in New York, ~~and~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The Committee felt this was a well organized program, and we have "borrowed" from it for our submitted outline.

SCHOOL VOLUNTEER TEMPORARY READING HELP PROGRAM

I. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

A. The School Volunteer Temporary Reading Help Program is primarily a reading-assistantce program. By assisting individual students or small groups the volunteer ~~xxxx~~ will seek:

1. To assist those children who are selected by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Readhing Help Program to reach their reading potential and improve related language skills.
2. To supplement the teaching of reading done by the remedial reading teacher by listening to the child read and encouraging him to read.
3. To influence children's attitude ~~xxx~~ toward books and learning.

II. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

A. Assignment as a volunteer in the School Volunteer Temporary Reading Help Program will be preceded by a personal interview with the Coordinating Committee, by attendance at the required orientation program, and by periodic interviews, when necessary, with the Coordinating Committee of the Reading Help Program. Volunteers will be selected from among mature individuals who have indicated a special interest in and an aptitude for this type of service. Since individual reading help calls for resourcefulness, flexibility, and patience, the selection of Reading Help Volunteers will be based on these qualities.

B. The Coordinating Committee of the Volunteer Temporary ~~E~~ Reading Help Program will be composed of an English teacher, the remedial reading teacher and one member of the Citizens for Public Education, who is also a member of the Volunteer Temporary Reading Help Program. The Coordinating Committee of the School Volunteer Temporary Reading Help Program, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

C. A volunteer assigned to the Reading Help Program encourages the child to read by taking a personal interest in him and by developing a program to meet the child's needs and interests through:

1. Reading to and with the child
2. Listening as the child reads
3. Stimulating the child's interest in books
4. Providing books for the child to read at home
5. Maintaining a journal for each child. (see attached suggested check form) This will serve as a source of information for the teacher and the volunteers and also serves as a medium of evaluation for the teacher.

D. The School Volunteer Temporary Reading Help Program will operate under the supervision of the Coordinating Committee, in conjunction with the School Board and the High School Principal.

E. The Reading Help Program will concentrate on eighth and ninth grade students at R. R. Moton High School. Students selected for the program must read on at least a third grade level, and be at least two years under their nominal grade level.

F. Each child in the program will be able to read with volunteer supervision at least twice a week. Detailed scheduling is pending the School Board's acceptance of this program; it will be the program's effort and intent to meet each student as often as is possible during the school week.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bureau of Economic Research Services, Michigan State University. The Educational Status of Children in a District Without Public Schools. East Lansing, Michigan: Bureau of Educational Research, 1964.

[2] Ibid., p. 257.

[3] Ibid., p. 254-257.

[4] Riessman, Frank. The Culturally Deprived Child, p. 115.

[5] Ibid., p. 116.

[6] Ibid., p. 116.

[7] Ford Foundation Project (mimeographed), 1960.

[8] Ibid.,

[9] Results of Iowa Silent Reading Test, administered and published (mimeographed) by the Public School System of Prince Edward County.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

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Riessman, Frank. The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1962.

Results of Iowa Silent Reading Test published by Prince Edward Public School System.

Interviews by the committee with parents, teachers, and students.

An Important Message to Prince Edward County

Public Education

IS THE ONLY ANSWER

1 Do you believe in public education?

2 Without tuition grants, how much longer can you pay for private schooling for your children?

3 Would you like to see a good public school system which answers the needs of ALL Prince Edward children?

4 Do you believe that an excellent public school system would greatly aid the economic growth of Prince Edward County?

5 Do you believe that the people of Prince Edward can solve our problems if we think together and plan for the future?

6 Don't you think that NOW is the time to sincerely and constructively work for the best public education possible for all our children?

CITIZENS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION, residents of Prince Edward County, believes the above questions must be answered. We believe that we can solve our educational problem in Prince Edward County, if we all work together. We believe that the education, economic, physical and human resources are right here, and that they can be put to work for Prince Edward.

dren?

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We believe in public education; we believe that public education is representative of the best in our American heritage and fundamental for the overall welfare of our County.

We believe in the people of Prince Edward County; we are convinced that a majority of the citizens honestly want to find a workable way out of our dilemma. We believe that it is possible for Prince Edward citizens to work out a solution whereby public education is again a realistic choice for ALL parents.

We are a non-profit, non-political, independent, voluntary group of citizens. We are only local; we have no connections with any regional, state or national organization. It is no part of our purpose to argue public versus private education. We are not a forum for debating segregation or desegregation, the authority of the federal government, states rights or any other political question as such.

We think that the time for debating these issues is past. Now is the time to create good public schools for ALL of the children of this County. They deserve it.

If you are a citizen of Prince Edward County, and would like more information mailed to you, simply fill out and mail the coupon below.

CITIZENS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

DR. CARL WALTERS, JR., President
Hampden-Sydney, Va.

MR. ALTON MORTON, Vice-President
Darlington-Heights, Va.

MRS. DORIS WARD, Secretary
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Box 302
Farmville, Virginia

Please mail information on PUBLIC EDUCATION To:

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

MJ

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Executive Secretary

VISA USA
2038 Randolph Rd.
Charlotte, N.C.

November 23, 1965

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

With Charlotte in the limelight of violence and racial reflection, let me pause to express my appreciation to you and the Southern Regional Council for allowing our AFSC-VISA group to attend a few sessions of your recent annual meeting.

We also very much appreciated the time and effort that Lloyd Elliott gave us. Our Unit Meeting was greatly enhanced by these contacts with your Council.

Back to Charlotte - don't know what the outcome will be, but there is to be a march this afternoon from J.C. Smith to the City Hall with a petition stating Negro community expressions. There seems to be a little confusion as to how best move, but I'm glad that we aren't remaining in the discussing stage.

Thanks again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

BOB

Robert L. Sigmon
Field Director, US VISA

Institute of Religion

1608 GOVERNMENT

BATON ROUGE, LA.

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SECOND

ANNUAL

SESSION

FEBRUARY, 1960

WHY AN INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

As we enter a new decade, we are prone to try to look two ways. We look backward to years that have gone by, and forward to years which we hope to live to see. The evaluations we make individually are not apt to have unanimous approval. The fifties would be the best years of our lives to some while others would likely say "goodby and good riddance". Regardless of our views and judgments, they are gone and cannot be altered and we are left only the present and an uncertain future as time flows on.

The next ten years, the next decade, will challenge us individually and collectively as few decades of time have challenged man. We can hitch our destiny onto better and better aspirations and goals or we can chain ourselves to a dead past. The choice is ours.

It is our hope that "every occasion of evil is for you an opportunity of doing good, every occasion of misunderstanding and bitterness is for you an opportunity of witnessing to the spirit of good-will and reconciliation, every occasion of hatred and hostility on the part of others is for you an opportunity to show forth the spirit of love and forgiveness".

The Institute of Religion is co-sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Baton Rouge Ministers Fellowship Council as an ecumenical goodwill effort to discuss and share common concerns in an atmosphere of freedom which we hope and pray will be open to Divine guidance.

The only limitation on attendance is seating capacity. We invite your participation.

MONDAY

8:00 P.M.

Feb. 1—8:00 p.m.

Feb. 8—8:00 p.m.

Feb. 15—8:00 p.m.

Feb. 22—8:00 p.m.

This Is Your INVITATION To All Sessions

DR. HAROLD I. LIEF
February 1, 1960
"THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION"

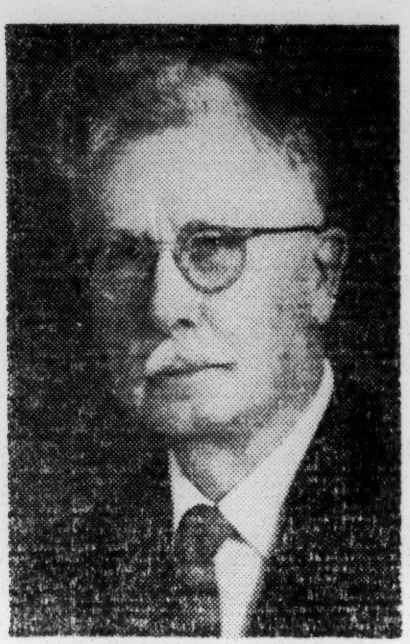
Dr. Lief is well qualified to speak on psychological problems. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan with an A. B. degree. He has a M.D. from New York University School of Medicine and Columbia University Psychoanalytic Clinic. He was associate psycho-analyst, Psycho-analitic Clinic, Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons. Since 1951, Dr. Lief has been at Tulane University in New Orleans, La, where he serves as associate professor, Department of Psychiatry and Neurology in the Medical School.

Dr. Lief is the author of **The Eighth Generation, Cultures and Personalities of New Orleans' Negroes,** Harpers 1960. He is co-author of "Psychological Aspects of Prejudice with Special Reference to Desegregation", **American Journal of Psychiatry, March 1958.**

We invited the speaker for this evening because we feel that he is qualified, and few men are, to interpret one of the basic problems which will be faced in varying degrees by participants in the Institute. We have been encouraged to do this because religious groups and leaders have become increasingly concerned with the inter-relationship of religion and mental health, and its relation to the orderly functioning of a healthy democratic society.

* * * *

We will have an open forum at the end of each session of the Institute and we invite each person present to participate.



JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
February 8, 1960
"A NEGOTIABLE HERITAGE"

James McBride Dabbs is a Southerner in every sense of the word. He was born in Sumter County, S. C., and received his A. B. degree from University of South Carolina. He received his M.A. from Clark University and did graduate work at Columbia University.. He taught for twenty years. Three years at the University of South Carolina and sixteen at Coker College where he was head of the English Department.

Mr. Dabbs has written for national magazines and quarterlys. A few of these are: YALE REVIEW, VIRGINIA QUARTERLY, CHRISTIAN CENTURY, SCRIBNER'S, etc. He has contributed chapters to books on the South and was author of **Southern Heritage** (Knopf 1958).

Mr. Dabbs is an elder in the Presbyterian Church, president of Southern Regional Council; member of the board of South Carolina Council on Human Relations, and Penn Community Service, etc.

Since 1942 when he retired from teaching, he has operated his farm which was once his grandfather's plantation.

With this rich southern background, Mr. Dabbs has faced about all our problems at one time or another. He knows the problems of education because he has been both student and teacher. He knows church problems for he has been active in this area all his life. He has seen first hand, the economic transforma-

(Continued on Back Page)

SAMUEL LUCIUS GANDY
February 15, 1960
"CONSCIENCE AND THE AMERICAN DILEMMA"

Dr. Gandy is the Dean of Lawless Memorial Chapel and Professor of Religion at Dillard University in New Orleans, La. Since his ordination he has served almost consecutively in the college chaplaincy. He was among the founders of the National Association of College and University Chaplains and is a past president of the national association. His campus ministry has included Fisk University and Virginia State College.

Dean Gandy is a member of the executive committee of the Southern College Personnel Association and serves as chairman of the Committee on the Religious Needs of Students. A consultant to the Southern Regional Council, he is also an adviser to youth groups and intercollegiate councils. As a member of the Religious Organizations Commission of The National Conference of Christians and Jews, he travelled with an inter-faith team in the summer of 1958 throughout Europe, much of the Middle East, and into the Soviet Union. He was appointed in 1958-59 as a special Danforth Fellow at The University of Chicago's Divinity School from which university in 1952 he received the degree of philosophy (doctor) religion and personality.

Dean Gandy has always been related to the field of human relations and has served actively in human relations organizations as member and lecturer. Born in South Carolina, he is sensitive to the problems of the Southern region and yields himself to an analysis of the contemporary situation.

JOHN P. NELSON, JR.
February 22, 1960
"LAW AS AN EXPRESSION OF SPIRITUAL AND MORAL VALUES"

John P. Nelson, Jr. was born in Gulfport, Miss. After graduating from St. Aloysius High School in New Orleans in 1938, he completed two years of college at Louisiana State University. The following five years were spent in the U. S. Army where he earned the rank of captain in the Pacific Theater of Operation. His record is acknowledged by being awarded the Silver Star, the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart. He was so severely wounded that he was honorably discharged with a 100% disability rating. Even today, fourteen years later, he has a 40% disability.

Jack Nelson rose to the challenge as soon as his disability fell and entered Loyola University of the South where he was president of the student body, and an outstanding leader. He graduated from Loyala School of Law in June, 1950.

After grduating he pursued the private practice of law until 1954 when he was appointed assistant district attorney for the city of New Orleans. He returned to private practice in 1958.

Jack has been since 1950, associated with Loyola's Institute of Industrial Relations which was the first voluntary inter-racial educational program at the university level. His subject: "Civil Rights and the South."

Space will not permit even a listing of all of this speaker's activities. He is vice chairman of National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice and chairman of its Legal Committee, and has received national recognition for his work.

He is a member of American, Federal, Louisiana, and New Orleans Bar Associations, etc.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS—

(Continued from page 3)

tion of the region. As a farmer, property owner and employer, he has living experience in economics. In all these and in other ways Mr. Dabbs has been a keen observer in human relations and has never lost sight of the dignity and worth of the individual human being. This is perhaps, the greatest world-wide need of our time.

1960 COMMUNITY WIDE

Brotherhood Service

MT ZION FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

356 East Boulevard

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

FEBRUARY 14, 1960

4:00 p.m.

Prelude

Call to Worship

Invocation

Hymn: "O God, Our Help In Ages Past" — No. 48

Welcome

Responsive Reading

Special Music

Scripture Reading

Pastoral Prayer

Offering

Offertory Prayer

Special Music

Sermon

Hymn:

"Where Cross The Crowded Ways of Life" — No. 454

Benediction

Postlude

This service is sponsored by the Minister's Fellowship Council of Baton Rouge in the interest of genuine brotherhood. Your participation is welcomed.

Organization Handbook

American Friends Service Committee
Southwest Regional Office
2106 Nueces Street
Austin, Texas

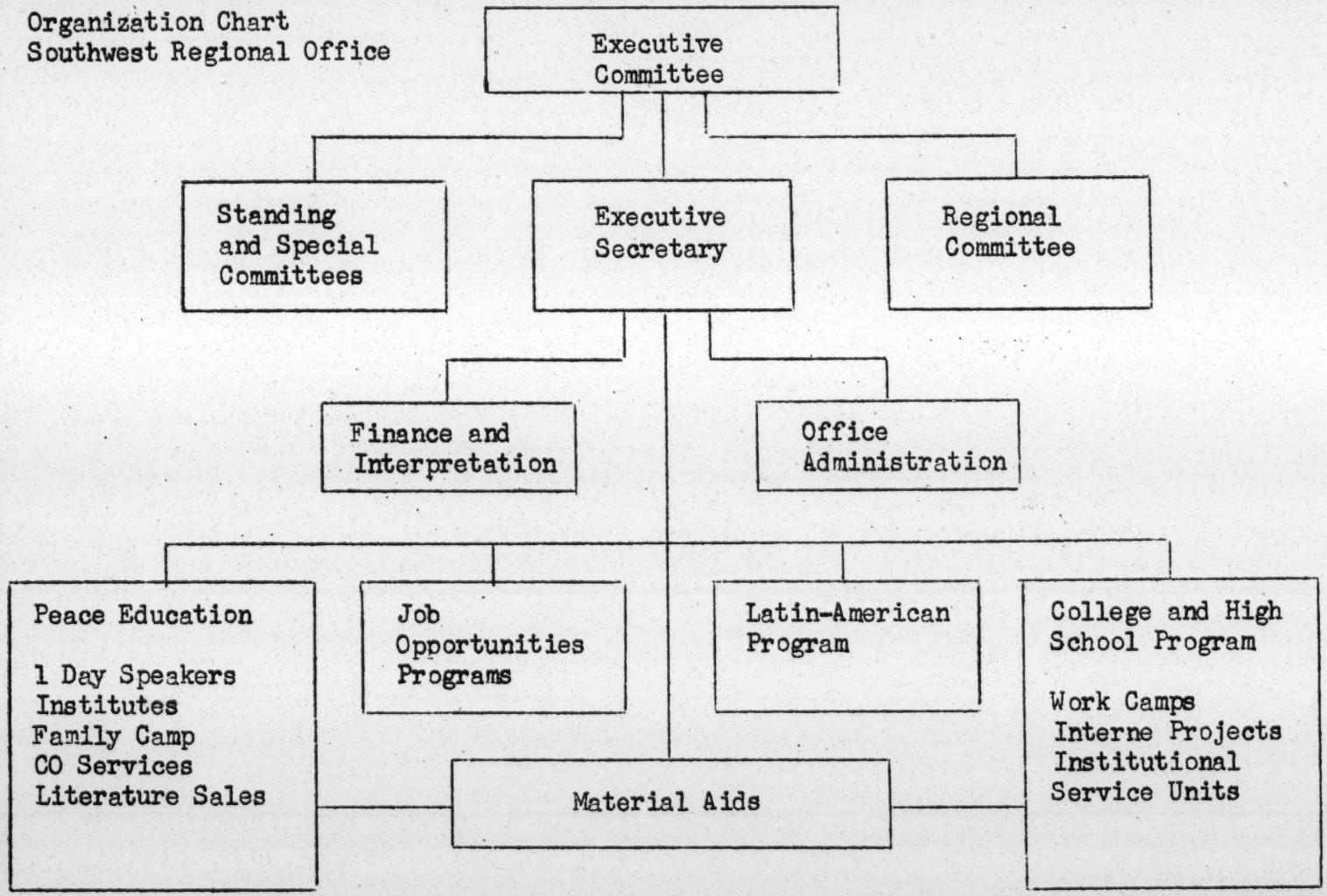
A BRIEF FOREWORD

The American Friends Service Committee, with headquarters in Philadelphia, has thirteen regional offices in the United States. The Southwest Regional Office in Austin, Texas carries out activities in the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi and is accountable to the National Office for raising funds and sharing in the religious and humanitarian motivated programs to which the AFSC is committed.

This booklet presents certain established principles of organization as related to the Southwest Regional Office. The information herein is not complete nor are the policies outlined to be considered final in all instances. The Committee endeavors to maintain a flexibility which will enable each situation to be considered on its particular merits. It is hoped, however, that the procedures outlined will serve as a helpful guide to employees and the Committee members in understanding the basic functions and activities of this office.

The Personnel Committee
June 1, 1955

Organization Chart
Southwest Regional Office



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Responsibility for the direction and continuing activity of the AFSC Southwest Regional Office is delegated to an Executive Committee. This committee is composed of individuals who have demonstrated an active interest in AFSC work. The members are familiar with the consistent Peace Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends, in which the AFSC has its roots, and have a sympathetic understanding for the pacifist position. No limitation is imposed on the size of the committee, but it normally consists of from five to twenty-five persons. Members are selected by a Nominating Committee and presented to the Executive Committee for confirmation.

Ordinarily, Executive Committee members have previously served as Regional Committee members, and have given of their time, ability, and money to furthering projects in which the AFSC is engaged. Members serve one year terms and may be renominated any number of times. One of the members of the committee is chosen to act as chairman, while others serve in various capacities on sub-committees.

The Executive Committee meets monthly and also in called sessions, and its business meetings are conducted in the traditional Friends manner. Liaison is maintained with the Philadelphia office and major decisions are reached by mutual agreement.

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE

Closely associated with the Executive Committee in the direction and work of the Southwest Regional Office is a Regional Committee. This committee is composed of individuals from throughout the region who have a willingness to give of their time and ability to objectives of the AFSC. Many members serve on standing and special committees, aid in scheduling speakers, counsel with CO's, give introductions of staff to potential contributors, distribute literature, and in other ways serve as a valuable link between the AFSC and the communities in which they live. Regional Committee members represent various cultural backgrounds, races, and religious faiths, but find the AFSC a channel for expressing their common concerns.

Regional Committee members are invited to serve by the Nominating Committee, are confirmed by the Executive Committee, and are appointed for a period of three years. They may be renominated for an indefinite number of terms. Members are invited to attend meetings of the Executive Committee and have a voice in the proceedings. Regional members meet with the Executive Committee and staff in an annual social and business session at which time activities are reviewed and planned.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEES

Standing and Special committees perform an important part in the activities of the Southwest Regional Office. These committee members are asked to serve on the basis of their interest in the problems with which the committee is concerned. Chairmen of standing committees are usually appointed from the Executive Committee, but members may be from within or without the formal organization. The Executive Secretary serves as an ex-officio member of each committee.

Standing committees are as follows:

Finance and Budget
Personnel
Peace Education
Latin-American
Job Opportunities
Nominating
College and High School
Educational Materials for Children
Material Aids
Building

Special committees may be formed at the discretion of the Executive Committee to deal with specific problems.

STAFF AND PERSONNEL POLICIES

Staff positions of the Southwest Regional Office provide opportunities for translating religious faith and conviction into action. In selecting employees consideration is given to character, attitudes, and motivation as well as to record of work experience and indicated ability to perform the duties involved. No applicant is discriminated against because of race, religion, or color. It is the policy of the Committee to discourage the employment of husband and wife, except as project directors. Only under unusual circumstances will women with young children be employed.

The staff of the Southwest Regional Office is necessarily restricted by budget limitations and workers must often assist with tasks other than those for which they were specifically employed. Staff appointments are recognized as short term assignments. However, the Committee shall be aware that extended service is in many cases desirable. Reappointments and promotions will be recommended when warranted as recognition of ability and devotion to duty.

While staff members are allowed considerable freedom in carrying out their respective responsibilities, certain personnel policies have been adopted to prevent misunderstandings and to provide a continuity of practice. The following pages present in some detail the employment policies of the Southwest Regional Office.

THE PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

The Personnel Committee makes recommendations to the Executive Committee affecting staff members of the Southwest Regional Office. While considerable authority rests in the Executive Secretary for interpretation and action within the framework of established policy, the Personnel Committee is responsible for maintaining conditions conducive to good work and for the general morale of staff members.

Appointment of the Executive Secretary and Program Directors is made by the Executive Committee upon recommendation of the Personnel Committee in cooperation with the National Office. Responsibility for the selection of other office employees will be that of the Executive Secretary. Any question or complaint concerning personnel policies or practices should be brought to the Executive Secretary or the Chairman of the Personnel Committee. Actions of the Personnel Committee shall be promptly reported and interpreted to staff members by the Chairman or by the Executive Secretary.

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS

The number of staff openings in the Southwest Regional Office is governed by the requirements of on-going programs. In 1955 the staff includes an Executive Secretary, a Peace Education Director, a Latin-American Program Director, an office secretary, and a bookkeeper-secretary. There is also a part-time student worker and several volunteer helpers who give regularly of their time and ability to routine office activities. In addition there are directors for the Job Opportunities Projects in Dallas and Baton Rouge and each of these branch offices also employs a secretary.

Staff employees in Regional offices of the AFSC are loosely classified as follows:

Executive Secretary

Definition: Under general direction of the Executive Committee to organize, plan, direct, and co-ordinate the activities and programs of the Southwest Regional Office.

Examples of work performed: To serve as secretary of the Executive Committee; to co-ordinate programs;to administer personnel policies; to counsel staff members on program; to counsel on personnel matters;to prepare budgets for the region;

to maintain liaison with national office; to interpret the motivation and work of AFSC; to represent AFSC in various meetings; to assist in program areas as needed.

Qualifications: College education or equivalent in actual related experience, and at least two years related experience; demonstrated ability to carry responsibilities involved.

Program Director

Definition: Under general direction to plan, organize, and direct a significant program or project as a part of AFSC's work.

Examples of work performed: To make studies in the area of program; to experiment with ways of accomplishing the work; to enlist help of others; to meet the public; to organize public meetings; to organize volunteer service projects; to raise funds; to interpret the motivation and goals of AFSC; to give direction to others working in the same program; to work with advisory committee; to cooperate with national program director.

Qualifications: College education or equivalent in actual related experience;demonstrated ability to carry responsibilities of assignment.

Associate Program Director

Definition: Under general direction to assist in a major program area or to direct a minor program.

Examples of work performed: To assist in studies relating to the program area; to assist program director in administering program; to direct a volunteer service project; to meet and work with the public; to work with advisory committee.

Qualifications: Two years of college training or equivalent experience in related fields; ability to carry responsibilities of assignment.

Program Interne

Description: Under immediate supervision to assist in the carrying on of a program.

Examples of work performed: To make field surveys; to handle details of program administration; to arrange travel schedules; to accompany speakers on tours; to speak before groups; to direct week-end work camps.

Qualifications: Two years of college or equivalent experience; ability to learn and assume greater responsibility in program direction.

Secretary III

Definition: Under general direction to perform difficult and responsible clerical work requiring the exercise of considerable independent judgment and to take and transcribe oral dictation; to do related work as required to keep adequate records of money secured and disbursed.

Examples of work performed: To compose replies to a substantial amount of correspondence of a non-routine nature for supervisor's signature; to transcribe rapidly and accurately dictation on complex or confidential matter, editing when necessary; to compile and type reports on special subjects; to keep informed on program and supervisor's area of work; in some instances to interview persons inquiring about service with the AFSC; to schedule appointments; arrange meetings, and handle details of itineraries and travel for speakers and staff members; to assist in preparation of budgets; in some instances to supervise the work of a small group of clerical staff.

Qualifications: Graduation from four-year high school and four years successful experience or advanced study of which at least one shall have demonstrated administrative skills.

Secretary II

Definition: Under general supervision to perform a variety of clerical work requiring the exercise of independent judgment, and to transcribe oral dictation from shorthand or dictating machines, and to do related work as required.

Examples of work performed: To transcribe shorthand or machine dictation rapidly and accurately, editing when necessary; to compose replies to routine correspondence for supervisor's signature; to read supervisor's mail and attach previous correspondence or data as required; to schedule appointments; to receive visitors and take telephone calls; to perform a variety of clerical tasks such as securing files, tracing complaints, compiling facts; to maintain financial records not requiring technical knowledge or training; to prepare or check vouchers and other records; to operate mimeograph, addressograph, or adding machines or other office appliances; to cut stencils.

Qualifications: Graduation from four-year high school and at least two years experience; satisfactory demonstration of ability.

Secretary I

Definition: Under immediate supervision to do routine typing, to perform simple repetitive clerical work and to do related work.

Examples of work performed: To type letters, cards, tables, reports, and other materials from copy or rough draft; to type and fill in forms; to address envelopes; to do simple clerical work such as filing and maintaining routine records and answering telephone; to deliver mail; to assemble and staple mimeographed material; to stuff envelopes; to operate mimeograph, addressograph, or other office appliances not requiring previous training; to serve as receptionist; to transcribe machine dictation.

Qualifications: Graduation from four-year high school or equivalent experience in lieu of two years of high school; and satisfactory demonstration of ability.

APPOINTMENT AND TENURE

Appointment to administrative positions in the Southwest Regional Office shall be for a period of one year. Appointments may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be arbitrarily set for any 12-month period which will best encompass the months of major activities of the program.

At least 30 days prior to the designated end of the appointment year, the staff member shall prepare for the evaluation of the Personnel Committee a written report of work done during the previous months and a summary of tentative plans for the forthcoming year. Following the organized report the committee shall make its recommendation to the Executive Committee concerning reappointment.

SEPARATION FROM SERVICE

Administrative staff members are expected to give reasonable notice of resignation in writing to the Personnel Committee in order to minimize fluctuation of program. Such written resignation shall be accompanied by a written report of past and current activities and plans and recommendations for continuing the program. To assure continuity of work the actual date of separation shall be determined by mutual agreement of the Personnel Committee, the program involved, and the resigning staff member.

Clerical staff members shall be expected to give a minimum of two weeks notice when resigning.

If it becomes necessary to release a stall member for reasons beyond his control, the Executive Secretary may suggest an amount of severance pay subject to the approval of the Personnel Committee.

AFSC PIN

Staff members are entitled to wear the AFSC pin which is a replica of the Red and Black Star known throughout the world as the symbol of Quaker service. Pins may be obtained from the Executive Secretary.

BENEFITS FOR EMPLOYEES

Liberal leave policies and employee benefits have been established by the AFSC in the interest of good working conditions. All employees are entitled to leave benefits as herein outlined, with the exception of workers employed on an hourly basis. Leave benefits are computed as of the beginning of each fiscal year (October 1 to September 30) with credit being given as of the first of October for all accrued leave benefits of staff members employed during the previous year.

Annual Leave

Annual vacation leave is granted to all regular staff employees. Part time employees working on an hourly basis do not receive vacation time.

Since vacations are intended to provide a period of rest and recreation, employees are urged to use their vacation time each year. Leaves shall be taken at times least impairing the activities of the office, and as approved by the Executive Secretary.

Staff members in salary bands I to III inclusive earn vacation time according to the following schedule:

One year	10 working days	(6/7 days per mo.)
Two years	15 working days	(1 1/3 days per mo.)
Five years	20 working days	(1 4/5 days per mo.)

Staff members in salary bands IV to X earn vacation time at the rate of 20 working days for a full year of service.

No more than 50 per cent of the vacation time earned during the preceding fiscal year may be carried forward beyond December 31, all other unused vacation time being cancelled. No vacation time shall be granted prior to 12 months' service.

Education Leave

At the discretion of the Executive Secretary, time and opportunity shall be provided for employees to participate in conferences, meetings, and other educational activities not sponsored by the AFSC, but which relate to the employee's work and will provide for the development of the staff and improve the quality of work accomplished by the organization.

Staff members shall receive full salary while on education leave. Additional funds may be available for such items as transportation, tuition, and maintenance. Conference and education programs involving more than one week's duration and expenditures involving more than $50.00 should have the approval of the Personnel Committee.

Sick Leave

Each employee is entitled to 16 work days per year as sick leave earned on the basis of one and one-third work days per month. Sick leave may be drawn upon in advance if needed. Any unearned sick leave shall be reimbursed to the Committee at the time of resignation.

Sick leave may be accumulated up to a maximum of 60 work days including the current year. For illnesses extending beyond five consecutive work days verification from a physican may be required.

Emergency Leave

Emergency leave with pay up to and including five work days per year (non-accumulative) for personal emergencies may be granted subject to the approval of the Executive Secretary. Examples of such leave are death or illness in the family or such other conditions requiring the absence of the employee from regular duty.

If additional time is needed it shall be taken first from accumulated annual leave, if available. When there is no accumulated annual leave the employee may request leave without pay.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield

Insurance provisions of the Blue Cross hospitalization plan and Blue Shield medical and surgical plan are available to employees. Deduction from regular salary for Blue Cross and Blue Shield protection through the Hospital Service, Inc. of Pennsylvania, is made upon request. Specific details may be obtained from the Executive Secretary.

Upon termination of employment, arrangements may be made to take over Blue Cross and Blue Shield coverage on an individual basis or for transfer to new employer.

Mutual Savings Plan

The AFSC has in operation a Mutual Savings Plan in which most Regional Office employees are eligible to participate. Complete details about this plan may be obtained from the Executive Secretary.

AFSERCO Credit Union

Membership in AFSERCO Credit Union is open to all staff wishing to participate. Further information may be secured from the Executive Secretary.

Financial Loans To Employees

Special assistance may be granted to staff in the form of loans with or without interest for the purpose of meeting exceptional situations and for which the staff member does not have other resources available.

Such loans are made in order to enable a staff member to purchase fixed assets. Such assets shall be protected by appropriate insurance.

Special loans shall be made upon the recommendation of the Executive Secretary and with the approval of the Budget Committee.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Hours of Work

Office working hours shall be from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. for the period from September 1 through May 31, Monday through Friday, with one hour for lunch, making a total of 40 hours as a standard work week. The Executive Secretary and the staff may determine the actual office hours within the hourly limits of the stated work week.

The working hours shall be from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. from June 1 through August 31, Monday through Friday, making a total of 35 hours weekly.

The Regional Office may also be opened on Saturday morning with a skeleton staff.

The individual hours of each employee shall be adjusted by the Executive Secretary so as to provide a regular working schedule. In general, staff members should take lunch between 11:30 A.M. and 2:00 P.M. on a pre-arranged schedule so that the service of the office may be maintained without interruption.

Rest periods of 10 minutes may be allowed each staff member during the period from 10:00 to 10:30 A.M. and from 3:00 to 3:30 P.M. Afternoon rest periods are discontinued during the summer months.

A period of worship shall be provided each week at such intervals as shall meet with the approval of the Executive Secretary.

Overtime

Consistent overtime shall be discouraged as a general policy.

It is expected that the Executive Staff will follow the regular work schedule when in the field insofar as possible. The Executive Secretary shall be kept informed of the travel schedule of each staff member.

Under necessary circumstances the Executive Secretary may approve secretarial overtime which shall be recompensed by time off within a week of the time it was rendered. Approved overtime in excess of 45 hours during the winter months shall be compensated at the regular hourly wage.

Holidays

The following holidays are observed each year:

New Year's Day
Good Friday
Independence Day
Labor Day
Thanksgiving Day
Christmas Day

Holidays falling on Sunday are observed on the following Monday. The office shall close at noon on the day before Christmas when that day is a regular working day.

Each employee shall be allowed two additional holidays in order to make possible the observances of special religious holidays or the planning of a long week-end. Such holidays may not be taken concurrently and shall not accumulate beyond the current year. Requests for such holidays shall be made at least one week in advance for the approval of the Executive Secretary.

. . . AND IN CONCLUSION

We can think of no more fitting conclusion for this booklet than a paragraph from a statement a few years ago by Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the AFSC:

> "If Civilization is ever to emerge into its promised land there must be some men and women dedicated to personal service. Part of the progress will be made impersonally; machinery and technology will do their part like the oxen and the wagons. There will always remain the more precious things which only individual and collective human effort can carry on. The vocation of the American Friends Service Committee seems to be with the more delicate tasks that depend upon the direct support of willing shoulders."

The AFSC takes the world as its workshop and proceeds in the firm conviction that every individual is of unestimable worth in the eyes of God. We believe that those who give of their time, energy, and money to the Committee find for themselves a way of "living more abundantly." We are sure that in your devotion to the AFSC you will find that this is true.

LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM CITY JAIL

by

Martin Luther King, Jr.

For more than 300 years the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) has been deeply concerned about human freedom. Quaker demonstrations in the seventeenth century for the right of peaceful association, for the freedom of all men to worship according to their consciences and against the injustices of tyranny brought them into conflict with the established order. Some, like George Fox, were led by conscience to practice civil disobedience as a witness to the supremacy of God's commands over the dictates of men. Many were imprisoned. Their actions seemed disruptive, their demands unreasonable. But today many of the freedoms for which they stood are bulwarks of our society.

Reforms are by their very nature often "unwise" and "untimely" because they are the birthpangs of change. Many people of good will have resisted reform until their consciences overwhelmed what appeared to be their interests.

From Birmingham jail, where he was imprisoned as a participant in nonviolent demonstrations against segregation, Martin Luther King, Jr. has written the letter which follows. It was a response to a public statement of concern and caution issued by eight white religious leaders. The letter speaks powerfully of one of the great freedoms—freedom from racial discrimination—which is rooted in our religious faith and which our nation has stood for in principle but has not yet established in practice. It is an eloquent expression of the nonviolent approach to the restructuring of our social order.

There is today an urgent need for honest, mature communication between Americans who, though they differ in color, seek relationships among all men which reflect a common belief in a God of love. In furtherance of such communication, the American Friends Service Committee publishes this letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. and the public statement which occasioned it.

Colin W. Bell

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee
May, 1963

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
Birmingham City Jail
April 16, 1963

Bishop C. C. J. CARPENTER
Bishop JOSEPH A. DURICK
Rabbi MILTON L. GRAFMAN
Bishop PAUL HARDIN
Bishop NOLAN B. HARMON
The Rev. GEORGE M. MURRAY
The Rev. EDWARD V. RAMAGE
The Rev. EARL STALLINGS

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the South—one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational, and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town, and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; (2) negotiation; (3) self-purification; and (4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?"

We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postpone-

ment after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three

hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she it told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness";—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are *just* laws and there are *unjust* laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law

that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is *difference* made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is *sameness* made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it *openly, lovingly* (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting

to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' "Counciler" or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because His unique God consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge

an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but is it possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be coworkers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators"—those of us who are working through

the channels of nonviolent direct action —and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love? "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice—"Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ—"I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist—"Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist—"I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist—"This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist—"We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above His environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed, and still fewer have

the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white Church and its leadership. Of course there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the Church. I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the Church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the Church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white Church. I felt that the white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the Gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading men to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other Southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised, and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the Church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the Church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the Church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformist.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were a "colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch-supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the Church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the Church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the Church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual Church, the church within the Church, as the true *ecclesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls

from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on torturous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the Church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our foreparents labored in this country without wages; they made cotton "king"; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young Negro boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "nonviolent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even moreso, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Prichett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used

the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Eliot has said that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of the elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thus carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of
Peace and Brotherhood

M. L. King Jr.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Following is a verbatim copy of the public statement directed to Martin Luther King, Jr., by eight Alabama clergymen, which occasioned his reply.

April 12, 1963

We the undersigned clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," in dealing with racial problems in Alabama. We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there had been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham, recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experience of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions," we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

Signed by:

C. C. J. Carpenter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Alabama

Joseph A. Durick, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop, Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham

Rabbi Milton L. Grafman, Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Alabama

Bishop Paul Hardin, Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church

George M. Murray, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama

Edward V. Ramage, Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United States

Earl Stallings, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama

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Name (responsible adult) Age bracket

Address Telephone No. (if any)

Family (including ages, sex, sizes, school grades of children and persons employed)

Church Minister (name, address and telephone)

Nature, cause and circumstances of difficulty: (For example, if suffering is result of job loss; job held, including name and address of employer, years of employment; reasons for loss of job, both as given by employer and applicant for help.)

Insurance and other sources of income(UI, SS, Accident; Life; Welfare; farm, other wage earners)

Legal implications (if any, name of attorney, litigation contemplated or initiated)

(use additional sheet if necessary) (over)

Efforts to get another job (including dates, firm and/or potential employer's name and address. If unsuccessful, why does applicant believe he was not accepted and what reasons did potential employer give)

Efforts to get assistance (to what other agencies, groups or individuals has application been made and with what result?)

Analysis of Need: (specific nature, ingredients; extent, long or short term)

Possible long term solutions other than continued finance (suggested by applicant and/or yourself or others)

Recommended Rights of Conscience role, if any, in this situation

American Friends Service

Richard Bennett,
AFSC,
20, South 12th Street,
Philadelphia,
PENN.

Dear Richard Bennett,

I have today sent a letter to Miss Irene Osborne, a copy of which I am enclosing for you to see.

Yours sincerely,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

GSM:rl.
Encl.

AFSC INSTITUTE ON KEY ISSUES IN RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S.

This Institute is planned for concerned people.

But it is not enough to be concerned.

Concern looks to remedial action.

And remedial action requires know-how.

Hence the Institute will have two aims:

1) to become better informed about the many problems and obstacles generally encountered in attempts to work toward eliminating the effects of racial discrimination in housing, jobs, and education.

2) to share, out of the wide experience of some of the most expert workers in these fields, the "know-how" for going about such tasks effectively and constructively.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

THE EVIL OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

Our forthcoming Institute centers upon one of the most serious social ills of American life. The harmful effects of racial discrimination are almost beyond full comprehension. They ramify into every aspect of our total living, from impoverishing all of us in some measure to deeply damaging millions of human personalities in appalling degree.

Racial discrimination begets a brood of human ills. It warps and hurts people, destroys their God-given potentialities, fosters unsocial attitudes and conduct. It perpetuates myths, untruths, hatreds. It issues in broken homes, in children being denied their birthright chance for normal growth in body, mind and spirit, in the fixing of unnatural social cleavages. It manifests itself in ghettos, segregated schools, closed doors to jobs. It spawns juvenile delinquency, crimes, slums. It impoverishes our national life, undercuts our economic efficiency, holds us up to the scorn and derision of millions of our fellow men throughout the world. And the cost of racial discrimination is terrifically high in dollars and cents as well as in the debasement of human values. It is unchristian, undemocratic, unpatriotic, uneconomic.

There is profound need to get rid of the prejudice which is the root cause of discrimination. This is a long, slow, stubborn process. But we cannot and must not wait upon the cure of the mental and emotional sickness of racial prejudice before bending our energies to deal with its vicious social effects. They cry out for correction and alleviation. What can we do, creatively, effectively, non-violently, to reduce and remove the effects of racial prejudice? It is to this question that our Institute addresses itself.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

INSTITUTE NOTES

The American Friends Service Committee is deeply appreciative of having the Yellow Springs Friends Meeting as hosts to the Institute. They are arranging for the care of children during the sessions. Their hospitality will be evidenced in other ways also.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

A packet of reading and resource material and a detailed program will be sent to all registrants. Also included will be biographical notes for all leaders for the Institute. (See reverse side of enclosed flyer.) Early registration will help us, and bring you this packet well ahead of the Institute meeting.

Foreword—flush right—24 Pt. Alternate Gothic

FOR FORTY YEARS the American Friends Service Committee has labored with problems, domestic and world-wide, which stand between mankind and the achievement of brotherhood among individuals and nations. A considerable part of our recent effort has been exerted toward replacing segregation with freedom, equality, and mutual trust. This has been a natural extension of the historic Quaker concern for the welfare and rights of persons who face prejudice and discrimination. A Quaker belief that "there is that of God in every man" requires living up to the best in one's self and respecting "that of God" in others.

We Americans today proclaim to the world our abhorrence of tyranny and totalitarianism, while, in our own practice at home, we exhibit large-scale inhumanity to our fellow men. Every American is responsible for this, regardless of his religion, color, or race, and regardless of whether he is a Southerner or a Northerner.

Recognizing the critical period through which we are passing, the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee authorized a working party to study where we as a people stand in the matter of race relations, to inquire where we ought to be, and to propose methods of bridging the gap. The working party which conducted the study is alone responsible for the present pamphlet, which has been approved for publication by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee.

Quakers and non-Quakers, Negro and white, have co-operated in this review of the situation. They came from widely separated areas. Their personal backgrounds were diverse, and their communities illustrated different aspects of the problem. They shared a deep belief in the relevance of religious conviction and moral standards to these issues. They had faith in the vitality of American democracy. The working party realizes that all problems arising from intergroupal connections are related. But Negro-white relationships are analyzed here because our times and circumstances urgently require this emphasis.

We believe that a moment of decision has now come for each of us and for our nation. America can be the America of our hopes. But a world in revolution cannot wait. The American dream must become a reality, and rapidly.

The words of freedom, of brotherhood, and of faith have a common ring that surmount time, place, and authorship. That is perhaps the reason why the members of the working party found themselves, again and again, turning to "Lift Every Voice," the moving words of James Weldon Johnson. They are not "Negro words," however, any more than Magna Carta is purely British or the Declaration of Independence is only meant for Americans. "Lift Every Voice" describes the history and hunger of a nation, not just a single race. It reflects a spirit of hope and dedication which we trust, in turn, will be found in these pages.

Lift Every Voice

Lift ev'ry voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.

Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has
taught us
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has

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Sing a song full of the hope that the present has
brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?

We have come over a way that with tears has been
watered
We have come, treading our path thru the blood
of the slaughtered,
Out of the gloomy past, till now we stand
at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might,
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.

Lest our feet stray from the places, our God
where we met Thee;
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the
world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever
stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.

The Working Party—flush right—24 pt. Alt. Gothic . . . . . .

B. Tartt Bell, High Point, North Carolina: executive secretary, Southeastern Regional Office, AFSC.

Richard K. Bennett, Ambler, Pennsylvania: foundation executive; chairman, Committee on Southern Programs, AFSC.

Philip Buskirk, Los Gatos, California: secretary, Santa Clara County Community Relations Program, AFSC.

Charles J. Darlington, Woodstown, New Jersey: chemical engineer; clerk, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

G. James Fleming, Baltimore, Maryland: professor of political science, Morgan State College; member, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (a municipal agency).

Frank S. Loescher, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: director, United States–South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

James McCain, Sumter, South Carolina: field director, Congress of Racial Equality; former associate director, South Carolina on Community Relations (affiliate of the Southern Regional Council).

Barbara W. Moffett, Merchantville, New Jersey: secretary, Community Relations Program, AFSC.

Algie I. Newlin, Guilford College, North Carolina: chairman, Department of History, Guilford College; clerk, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

W. Carson Ryan, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Kenan professor of education emeritus, University of North Carolina.

David H. Scull, Annandale, Virginia: president, *Turnpike Press;* board member, Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Phern Stanley, Atlanta, Georgia: member, Atlanta Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends; member, Executive Committee, Southeastern Regional Office, AFSC; member, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

Norman J. Whitney, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: national secretary for peace education, AFSC.

John W. Willard, Seattle, Washington: Seattle-Portland finance secretary, AFSC; former executive secretary, Chicago Regional Office, AFSC.

1—Questions that Face Us . . 24 pt. Alternate Gothic———flush r. . .

ANDMARKS in the course of social change are identified by time and place. One such landmark was the decision handed down on May 17, 1954, by the United States Supreme Court on the subject of school integration. Uncertain progress and direction gave way to conviction and commitment when the nation's highest judicial body unanimously decreed that racially separate public schools were inherently unequal and, therefore, contrary to the constitutional provision that all citizens are guaranteed "equal protection of the laws." That day and that decision are landmarks in the history of our democracy. Since then and since the finalizing order promulgated one year later, much has happened, and more has been written and spoken. The optimists, pessimists, and the accusers of others have all had, and are having, their say.

implementing

The beliefs which led to the writing of this pamphlet are not dependent on the Court's decision. Long before May, 1954, many people knew that segregation and discrimination were wrong, even though the legal doctrine of "separate but equal" prevailed. Other kinds of discrimination are also wrong, although as yet they are not reached by federal law. But while the Supreme Court's decision is neither the sole nor the most fundamental ground for our position, it does provide the occasion for a direct appeal to reason and conscience. In allying the authority of the Constitution with the forces of reason and conscience, the Court has transformed the issues and raised it to a new level, the significance of which can neither be overestimated nor ignored.

To some, the Supreme Court's decision signaled the full emancipation of American Negroes; others see the decision as setting back good race relations at least thirty years. Some diagnose the South as struggling with a terrible ordeal; others see the South as suffering from a multitude of fears and complexes. Still others offer the reminder that racially separate schools existed in several states outside the South at the time the Supreme Court spoke. Racial segregation, whether by law or custom and whether openly or subtly, is not restricted to any one geographic region.

There is some validity to all of these reactions. For the concerned, there is hope in the 1954 decision; and there is some breakdown in communication between the races in the deep South. One can see the psychological anguish within the South; and there is the sobering truth that the North's record will not permit it, without some hypocrisy, to point its finger southward.

The Supreme Court's opinions called for desegregation of the public schools with "deliberate speed." In the seventeen states which had biracial systems in 1954, 777 of their 3,700 school districts were desegregated or had begun desegregation within four years. In St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore, and some smaller cities in West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, the reorganization has been spectacularly successful; in other places—for example, Clinton, Tennessee—the change-over has made headlines. The tragic story of Little Rock is, of course, known to people all over the world. In many school districts no affirmative steps

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Following the Supreme Court decision, many private institutions for the first time opened their doors to all. The decision also stimulated church organizations to clarify their racial policies. It strengthened many persons to speak up for democracy, brotherhood, and tolerance. For the most part, judges of federal district courts and appeals courts upheld the law. Some white principals and teachers risked personal danger and social ostracism for themselves and their families; others resigned rather than be part of a segregated system which continued in spite of the law. Radio and television commentators, both local and network, have generally seen above and beyond the mobs. On many occasions white children have shown themselves quite willing to share their schools with Negro children.

Negro Americans are profoundly affected. Many see the Supreme Court decision and other changes for the better as inevitable for a nation that utilized their help to make the world "safe for democracy" in World War I, to defeat Hitler's racism in World War II, and to "contain communism" in Korea in 1950–53. After World War II many Negroes were no longer in a mood to accept less than full citizenship. They had taken seriously the pronouncements of the United States and its allies, they knew more about constitutional law and the Supreme Court, and they came to believe that segregated schools and restricted voting rights were most responsible for their second-class status. More than ever, Negroes recognized that, in citizenship matters, whatever is racially separate is always inferior.

But the new moves toward desegregation, and the later move for a federal civil rights law, found a countermove of bigotry resulting in vituperative attacks on the Supreme Court and the formation of White Citizens' Councils that called the Supreme Court justices Communists and demanded their impeachment. Local federal judges were also attacked. The White Citizens' Councils encouraged boycotts against Negro businessmen; they had Negroes active against segregation fired from their jobs; and they stimulated attacks and arson against Negro property—even churches. In several states White Citizens' Councils spearheaded campaigns to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the principal interracial organization which has been working for half a century to promote full citizenship for Negro Americans.

In Clay, Kentucky, Clinton, Tennessee, and in Little Rock, Arkansas, mobs prevented Negro children from attending schools to which they were assigned by the authorized school boards. They crowded the school grounds and threatened principals, teachers, and parents; they attacked friends of Negroes, burned crosses, and jostled and frightened the children. Some school boards resumed segregation; some Negro parents were forced to give up, for the time being, the right to send their children to better schools. Extremists, like John Kasper, outshouted most Southern voices in rousing mobs and whipping them into action.

State legislatures, whose rolls often include members of White Citizens' Councils, have passed a number of laws the purposes of which are: to render the Supreme Court decisions impotent; to abolish freedom of speech, assembly, and petition in regard to civil rights; to prevent lawyers from entering civil rights cases; to exile the NAACP from its states; and to bring to their knees individual Negroes who dare contend for equal protection of the laws.

These new laws do not affect Negroes alone. Like prescription and persecution in Hitler's Germany, these laws are aimed at the weakest members of the body politic. But they will be applied to others, until whites as well as Negroes will be throttled, frightened, fined, jailed, and oppressed to the extent that their liberty and freedom will be both constricted and restricted. In other days, not long ago, men of other lands said, "It can't happen here," or, "It can't happen to me." But it happened, to their sorrow.

This antidemocratic climate has been one result of the Supreme Court decrees. The Court's liberalizing opinion has not yet put an end to all racial segregation, racial discrimination, or anti-Negro mob violence.

In the North discrimination shows itself most plainly in restrictions on housing and the right of the Negro to improve his living conditions by moving his family into any house which he can afford to buy or rent. Anti-Negro outbursts continue around Trumbull Park homes in Chicago. In Levittown, Pennsylvania, a Negro veteran saw his newly bought home stoned and its windows broken by a mob; a Negro civil servant in New York had to appeal to the courts in order to rent an apartment (built partly by government funds) which was refused him solely because of his race. Most new housing, and all housing in non-Negro neighborhoods, continues to be unavailable to Negroes.

The new national trend emphasized by the Supreme Court decisions has not broadly improved job opportunities, North or South. The pattern still persists of "white jobs" and "Negro jobs." There are positions for which Negroes are never hired, and there are employers who never hire Negroes. Several state and municipal fair-employment-practice laws have improved the situation, but the old pattern persists in most areas of employment.

The exercise of the right to vote has still to become a reality. For years the Negro has fought for this right, winning here and there. Yet only about 23 per cent of all eligible Negro voters actually vote in the South. Local pressure, discriminatory application of laws, and illegal manipulation of ballots still prevent many Negroes from voting. In some sections, especially those less urban in character, registration officials still refuse to register Negroes on specious grounds. Sometimes registration boards refuse to meet, in order that Negroes may have no opportunity to qualify as voters; at other times these boards administer "examinations" to aspiring Negro voters which are guaranteed to keep them from voting. Often a mob atmosphere terrorizes Negroes and keeps them from registering and voting. On the other hand, Negroes have long contended for the right to vote and have appealed to the courts for years.

Negroes have come to appreciate what the noted English social scientist Harold Laski observed some years ago, that "those who are excluded from politics are also excluded from the benefits of government." The heatedly contested Civil Rights Bill before the Congress in 1957—the first civil rights bill passed by Congress in eighty years—created a Commission on Civil Rights with authority ". . . to investigate denials of voting rights based on color, race, religion or national origin." Much of the bite was taken out of the original bill to appease Southern politicians, and the Commission was challenged in its first attempt to investigate voting denials in the South by local officials who defied its authority. But the significant fact is that at long last Congress has passed a law buttressing the Fifteenth Amendment—a step which would have appeared impossible just a few short years ago, and a step taken in the face of dire predictions and threats.

This, then, is the atmosphere and these are the times in which this "review and reaffirmation" is written. One hopes for the best but cannot be sure of it until men and women learn the facts, separate fact from fiction, examine their own dedication and ideals, and rededicate themselves to work, alone and with others, for justice in our land, as free citizens and as children of God.

2.—How It Started—Flush right—24 Pt. Alternate Gothic . . . . . .

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IN 1619 THE FIRST AFRICANS, twenty of them, arrived in Virginia. They were the parents of the first slaves in British North America. These first African arrivals were not unlike many whites who were "bound out" in servitude. At that time color and slavery had not become synonymous. "Slavery," meaning buying, selling, ownership of, and enforced work by Africans exclusively, evolved with time. It was a free Negro planter who, in 1654, while suing to regain his Negro servant, evoked in Virginia the first judicial support for lifelong slavery. Other factors played into the situation, such as similarity of ethnic background and religion, and exploitation of the pseudoscientific doctrine which led the white settlers to view Christian whites as superior to "heathen" Africans. In addition, there was the dollars-and-cents reason: fellow-whites, as indentured servants, cost more to maintain than did Negro slaves.

Slavery grew. Plantation owners acquired power, wealth, and a comfortable way of life. The small farmer and artisan tended to look down on manual work because Negro slavery cast a stigma on it. Even though Negroes were upbraided for "laziness," it was Negro labor which opened the new land and built the great plantations. Slaves performed the least attractive, hot, hard, heavy, and hazardous jobs. As private property they could be bought and sold; their family life might be wiped out, and their offspring would become slaves. The slaves were fed and sheltered, but they could not bargain for wages or quit their jobs. In law, and in the common thinking, slaves were chattels. In the Dred Scott case (1857) the Supreme Court ruled that to the founding fathers, as they wrote the Constitution, Negroes "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

But the conflict between the generally accepted concept of the divine nature of man and the degradation which slavery imposed on master and servant alike troubled thoughtful men. The land of slavery was also heir to the Declaration of Independence, with its ideals of freedom that still stir mankind. For a slaveholding society to espouse the cause of personal liberty and still reap the benefits of this "peculiar institution," it was necessary to invent a series of myths. Some of the myths which were developed to justify slavery are still used today to justify discrimination and segregation.

father!

It was alleged that:

1. *The Negro was benefited by slavery because it brought him out of savagery into the blessings of Western culture.*

Anthropologists and historians, in Europe and the United States, now hold that the Africans, kidnapped and sold into slavery, had previously lived under systems of law and tradition, formal family organization, and a pattern of morality, with works of art and craftsmanship which compared favorably with those of Europe a few hundred years earlier. Family and tribal groupings among the arriving slaves were deliberately broken up because slave merchants and slaveholders alike recognized that for the slavery system to be a success, it was necessary to divide them. The slave system first cut off the cultural traditions of the incoming Africans and later asserted that the Africans had no indigenous culture prior to their enslavement.

2. *Plantation life was an ideal patriarchal society.*

It is to be admitted that the relationship between house servants and the slaveholder's family, and between the small landowner and his one or two slaves, was close and often friendly. Indeed, if we exclude the idea of equality and think only of intimacy of contact, integration was the way of life in a plantation household. For example, the children of Robert E. Lee and the children of his slaves studied under the same tutor. A farmer-owner worked alongside his one or two slaves. Mutual consideration was very likely to prevail. But house servants were few in comparison with the total number of slaves; and small farms did not pay, so slavery and large plantations became the general pattern of the times. The plantation owner had very little contact with his field hands. He may have given his overseer a high standard to follow, but economic

gain was what he expected and demanded. For this result, the foremen exacted excessive hours of work by dint of flogging, maiming and other tortures, including the breakup of families. Plantation life was not idyllic.

3. *The Negro was happy in slavery and did not want to be free.*

Slaves quickly learned that masters and overseers liked to see cheerful faces and that an obsequious servant could obtain favors and escape punishment which would have earned a whipping for a sullen slave. Is it surprising, then, that slaves cultivated a happy-go-lucky manner and that the children of slaves imitated their forebears? But were the slaves happy? They could not have been contented or they would not have run away. They would not have rebelled. Yet the newspapers frequently printed the detailed identification of slaves who escaped, or reported the sending of bloodhounds in pursuit of them. The Nat Turner Insurrection in Virginia in 1831 and the earlier, well-planned, but abortive Denmark Vesey uprising in South Carolina are two among many attempts by slaves and former slaves to overthrow the system of slavery and replace it with freedom. The laws passed by the slave states to insure the *status quo* are evidence that the slaves would strike out for freedom whenever they saw a chance.

4. *The Negro was unfit mentally and morally for freedom.*

Slaveholders and their apologists expounded endless "proofs" that slavery was the only way of life for Africans because they were mentally unfit for freedom. Further, they averred that slaves had no ambition and would take no pains with their work unless driven to do so. The slaveholders had to make these assertions in an attempt to satisfy themselves that slavery was right. But other actions showed that they could not believe their own arguments. They passed laws making it a crime to teach slaves to read, they outlawed the distribution of what was considered incendiary literature among slaves, and they prohibited free assembly. If Negroes were mentally unable to learn, would these laws have been considered necessary?

Where slaves were permitted to buy their freedom or to operate as independent craftsmen, and so gain extra pay and privileges, they showed themselves able to plan, manage, and produce. They were not afraid of hard work. The "big houses" still standing on Southern plantations and the handsome wrought-iron grills in old New Orleans, as well as other products of mill and shop, attest the skill of Negroes both as slaves and freemen. Phyllis Wheatley's poems written in the late 1700's and the graduation of the first Negroes from Bowdoin College in Maine in 1826 also contradict the myth that Negroes were mentally unfit for a status other than that of bondage.

5. *It was only those Negroes with an admixture of "white blood" who had initiative and superior intelligence.*

Having assumed the Negroes had low intelligence, the slaveholding society found a way to explain why some Negroes showed superior mental ability. Their argument was this: Negroes are intelligent or successful to the extent that they have "white blood" in their veins. Few, if any, responsible investigators accept this claim. If attempts to escape demonstrate initiative, there was untold initiative among the fully-Negro slaves. Advertisements issued to help in their capture show that by far the larger number of fugitives were described as "pure black" or of "pure African" features.

6. *Negroes were not really human.*

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6. *Negroes were not really human.*

Sooner or later it was to be expected that a slaveholding society would have to maintain that the slaves were not really human. At this point pseudo scientists came in. A Dr. Cartwright of Louisiana catalogued a series of diseases which, he declared, were peculiar to Negroes. These included "Drapetomania," a disease which caused slaves to run away, and "Dyaesthesia Aethiopica," which, he said, overseers erroneously called "rascality."

Although usch alleged diagnoses were not taken seriously by intelligent people, it has remained for the twentieth century to demonstrate through anthropology, psychology, and physiology, that the so-called racial criteria are only skin deep.

7. *Slavery was good for Negroes because it gave them the benefits of the Christian religion.*

Undoubtedly many owners were sincere about Christianizing their slaves. But the church and religion became additional means to keep the slaves in their place and justify slavery. The general outlawing of education also meant that the slaves had to take religion as it was given them. In general they could not read. Church attendance meant sitting in the slave gallery or attending a separate service for slaves.

These are samples of the myths which for nearly 250 years influenced and affected the lives of both whites and Negroes in the United States. They found their way into sermons, lectures, textbooks, and classrooms and became an unquestioned form of brain-washing.

RECONSTRUCTION MYTH

Reconstruction is one area about which it is fair to say that many white Americans have not been able to replace myth with fact, even though it is charged that the Negro was responsible for inefficient and corrupt government in the former slave states during the Reconstruction period. There is always much to complain about when occupied by a victorious army, as was the case of the South following the Civil War. It is also true that no one likes government imposed from without. In the postwar period the South, along with the whole nation, suffered the results of the war. The South had special problems because of Reconstruction policy and practice, for which there often seems little justification. The spoils system, exploitation by Northern business, and the inability of former Southern leaders to participate in government were among the evils of Reconstruction. The important fact needed to replace myth, however, is that the evils of war or Reconstruction were in no manner the fault of Negroes.

Which ones?

The Reconstruction regimes were in no sense Negro governments. Negroes did not control a single state or city administration or legislature. Few headed important legislative committees. There was never a Negro governor, although a Negro lieutenant governor in Louisiana served for a time as acting governor, and in South Carolina during one legislative period more Negroes than whites served in the legislature.

Bills to establish or improve the public school system, to counteract political corruption and extravagance, to establish a homestead law, and to provide relief for the needy were introduced by Negroes. Some former slave states, while condemning political participation by Negroes in the state governments, have continued to function under constitutions which Negroes helped to write.

The Negroes in Reconstruction legislatures were men of some experience, and a few freedmen had higher education. They often showed a desire for reconciliation with the white population and espoused programs for the development and strengthening of the South.

HOME RULE AFTER CIVIL WAR

By 1877 the protection which the federal government had given to Reconstruction governments was lifted, and the South began to experience "home rule." Step by step Negroes were pushed out of government. Through discriminatory laws and mob violence, the right to vote was withdrawn from Negroes. There began a long series of laws and practices designed to "keep Negroes in their place," to segregate them in public places, and to make racial segregation legal. No area of life was uninvolved—from the cradle to the grave.

Most Americans are aware of the patterns of racial discrimination. It is popularly supposed, also, that segregation, as symbolized by Jim Crow railway cars, separate facilities in public places, and the exclusion of Negroes from places of recreation, has prevailed since slavery. To most Americans these racial practices are so long established and deep-set that it is not to be expected that they can be changed easily or quickly. In reference to public-school desegregation, for instance, a national weekly carried a series of articles in 1957 emphasizing that the deep South will "never" submit to such integration.

The truth is, however, that formal, thorough, complete, and legal segregation is relatively new. It has not always existed, as C. Vann Woodward, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, has recently pointed out. In his book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* he reveals that more than ten years were to pass after Reconstruction "before the first Jim Crow law was to appear upon the law books of a southern state, and more than two decades before the older states of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina were to adopt such laws." Shortly after Southern "home rule" was reinstituted, several observers traveling in the South reported that Negroes were being treated with equality on common carriers—trains and streetcars—and were being admitted freely to theaters, exhibitions, and lectures. One traveler in Columbia, South Carolina, found Negroes "served at bars, soda water fountains and ice cream saloons, but not generally elsewhere." A Richmond, Virginia, newspaper editor wrote in 1886: "Nobody here objects to serving on juries with Negroes. No lawyer objects to practicing law in a court where Negro lawyers practice . . . ."

Mr. Woodward reports that in 1897 a Charleston, South Carolina, editor fought a proposed Jim Crow law for trains in these words:

> We care nothing whatever about northern or outside opinion in this matter. It is a question for our own decision according to our own ideas of what is right and expedient. And our opinion is that we have no more need for a Jim Crow system this year than we had last year, and a great deal less than we had twenty or thirty years ago.

The editor added that such a law was "unnecessary and uncalled for" and "a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people."

Woodward cautions that:

> . . . although the segregation system is relatively new, it is grounded upon theories and attitudes that are not at all new. It is a mistake to assume that the idea of innate Negro inferiority and white supremacy originated along with the Jim Crow system, for they are much older. Segregation is, after all, only the latest phase in the long history of the white man's ways of fixing the Negro's status, his "place."

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This "long history" explains why the South has had no monopoly on practices of racial discrimination and segregation; why non-slave states have also practiced racial proscription, both legal and nonlegal. In the period from 1875 to 1910 the North tended to immitate the South—more subtly, but every bit as effectively.

3. Separate byt Equal—A Contested Doctrine

ROM 1897 TO 1954 THE UNITED STATES lived by the "separate but equal" doctrine in Negro-white relations. This doctrine was made law in late 1896 by the Supreme Court in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. The Court, in deciding a case of intrastate segregation on railroads under Louisiana law, rejected the plaintiff's argument that "enforced separation of the two races stamps the volored race with a badge of inferiority." The Court ruled, however, that in order to be legal, segregation would have to go hand in hand with "equal" accommodations. Thus we have the doctrine of "separate but equal."

The Supreme Court did not originate this idea. As far back as 1849 the Massachusetts Supreme Court (in *Roberts* v. *Boston*) has held that segregation of the races in Boston's public school system, of itself, was not unconstitutional. It is to be noted that this decision preceded the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

In both the Roberts and Plessy cases, the Courts upheld the priority of recognizing race and color as factors to be considered in civil rights cases. This line of argument was maintained until 1954, when the Supreme Court reversed itself and took the position of Justice John Marshall Harlan of Kentucky, who had dissented in the Plessy case. He asserted: "Our Constitution is color blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

Plessy v. *Ferguson* strengthened the hands of all those, North and South, who wanted to practice racial segregation. It was applied in every area of public life. States, counties, cities, and private agencies established segregated schools, playgrounds, parks, community centers, hospitals, cemeteries, and transportation accommodations. Legal separation generally meant the provision of services for whites alone. Many people are not aware that often there was no service or facility for Negroes. For example, some school districts had no secondary education for Negroes; others provided busses to transport white children to a consolidated school but had no bus for Negro pupils. In some cities the white high school had a well-equipped athletic field and gymnasium, while the Negro school had no field or gymnasium; in some cases, white schools had adequate science laboratories, but Negro schools had none. Many localities, especially prior to 1935, provided no hospital facilities for Negroes, maintained no street paving in the Negro district, and, in the North and South alike, where there were swimming pools, their use was restricted to white persons only, or they were opened one day a week for Negroes. This day was usually the last before the pools were emptied, cleaned, and refilled. Actual necessities might be separate; extras were often nonexistent for Negroes.

Improvement in the practice of "separate but equal" usually came about under the compulsion of war or of court decisions, although some improvements resulted from efforts of a concerned minority persisting even under the most disheartening circumstances.

During the years of legal segregation, voices were lifted against it on constitutional, moral, and democratic grounds. But until 1954 the Supreme Court upheld the Plessy decree that racial segregation did not in itself constitute inequality. Decisions to equalize teachers' salaries, to open graduate and law schools to Negroes, and to end discriminatory treatment on railroad dining cars were decided without any reversal of the Plessy decision. Legally, the doctrine of "separate but equal" still held.

In their search for ways to challenge their unequal status, Negroes were hampered by lack of a political voice. Any group which cannot exert political power unfortunately is ignored and ill served.

THE END OF "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"

The five Supreme Court decisions—i.e., *Briggs* v. *Elliot* (Clarendon County, South Carolina); *Davis* v. *County School Board* (Prince Edward County, Virginia); *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (Topeka, Kansas); *Belton* v. *Gebhart, Bulah* v. *Gebhart* (Wilmington, Delaware); and *Bolling* v. *Sharpe* (Washington, District of Columbia)—which put an end to the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" doctrine in education are now used as precedents for the desegregation of public playgrounds, parks, and beaches. They also have a hearing on the legality of all-white and all-Negro eligibility lists issued by city civil service commissions. This is similar to the extension of the decision in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* which involved Louisiana railroads, to cover other forms of discrimination.

The school decision of 1954 was the climax and inevitable culmination of what courts had been saying and preparing for during more than a decade. The trend was definite. The judicial branch of the government was not a lone wolf. Some executive and legislative branches were beginning to take steps, often painful and plodding, to reaffirm the "American Creed." But unfortunately the federal legislature did not enact a single piece of domestic civil rights legislation from the years shortly after the Civil War until 1957, when a sharply limited civil rights law was enacted by Congress. Its meaning and effect have yet to be determined.

In some state legislatures the picture is a happier one. Although prior to 1940 more than thirty of the states had laws aimed at preserving and extending the segregation of Negroes, by 1954 several states had taken steps to nullify this discriminatory legislation. Today fifteen states prohibit discrimination in employment based solely on race or religion. Fair-employment ordinances have been adopted in eighty-eight municipalities; in twenty-four municipalities these are strengthened by enforcement powers. Over half the workers in the United States are now covered by these new protective measures. Much remains to be done on the housing front, but notable beginnings have been made in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, Washington, and Oregon, which are applying various laws to prevent discrimination in publicly assisted housing. The cities of Pittsburgh and New York have adopted local ordinances directed against discrimination in private housing. Home-financing agencies of the federal government have agreed to abide by state provisions outlawing housing segregation and to withhold federal financing and guarantees where a state has ruled that there is illegal discrimination. Unfortunately, where state laws do not prevent it, segregation is financed by these same federal agencies. But this practice was challenged by a June, 1958, decision of the California Superior Court in Sacromento which declared discrimination in the sale of housing involving FHA- or VA-financing unconstitutional. The federal government "cannot play favorites as to race, color, or creed," the judge declared.

Something should be said about the effect of World Wars I and II on the changing status of Negro citizens. During World War I, the South and North competed for Negro workers. The slogan of "make the world safe for democracy" gave at least some lift to domestic relations. And increasing interest in public affairs on the part of Southern white women was a new note. These women protested that their men did not need to "protect" them by resorting to violence against Negroes. During the first war, Negroes had "closed ranks" to support the United States, despite segregation in the armed services and outbursts of mob violence even against men in uniform.

World War II, with its opposition to the racism of Hitler and Mussolini, benefited American Negroes by creating a more sympathetic climate for opposing racism at home. By this time, Negroes had become more important as voters in key cities of the North. Increased literacy and experience had lifted the sights of Negro leaders and their followers.

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The armed forces became increasingly integrated by a Presidential executive order in 1948 and a resulting directive by the Secretary of Defense the following year. Since 1953 other directives have been issued to eliminate spots of segregation, including segregated schools for the children of armed forces personnel in defense installations.

With regard to fair employment, the executive branch of the United States government has shown an interest and has taken action in two directions: in employment practices by the federal government itself, and in controlling the practices of private enterprises which hold government contracts. Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower issued orders requiring observance of the nondiscriminatory clauses contained in government contracts. Special committees on contract compliance functioned under two Presidents. Since 1953 the Vice-President of the United States has served as chairman of the current committee. It must be noted, however, that the contractual agreement between the nation and its businessmen, in regard to nondiscriminatory employment, is promoted primarily through urging compliance rather than through legal enforcement of the contracts. In this area the government has not made the most of the fact that the United States is the nation's largest employer.

In reference to federal employment, the scarcity of personnel in certain categories has been an important factor against discrimination during and since World War II. Together with affirmative Presidential policy, the greater significance of the Negro vote in key Northern cities, and a marked change of attitude among personnel men, this need for man power has helped to democratize federal employment, especially in the lower classifications. The millennium has not arrived. There are still questionable or unclear areas, but there is notable demonstration that Americans of diverse racial backgrounds can work successfully in the same office, eat in the same dining room, supervise or supervised, and share in leisure-time activities without humiliating devices of separation based on religion, race, or color.

Outside the government, there had also been a break with the habit of segregation by 1954. Years of work and protest by individuals and private organizations, surveys, complaints of how colored diplomatic representatives had been insulted, and some picketing gradually opened doors and lowered barriers in eating places and hotels in the nation's capital. As long ago as 1939, some leaders in government protested and took action when they learned that Marian Anderson had been barred from singing in Washington's leading auditorium. One little woman, past ninety, stood as a reminder of what a single concerned individual can do. She was Mary Church Terrell, educator and civic leader long retired. In spirit and in person she led the silent picketers who braved hot and cold weather, day after day, to call attention to the anti-Negro practices in the District of Columbia's eating places. Before her death, she saw the turn of the tide.

In the forefront of the struggle to overcome enforced segregation has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization at once loved, maligned, and misunderstood. The NAACP has deep roots in America. Organized by men and women of many racial, religious, and economic backgrounds, its coast-to-coast membership is open to all. While impatient for reform, it has always shown itself patient enough to utilize the processes and instruments of democracy, the Constitution, public opinion, the courts, and the best legal minds available. This it has done effectively, advancing not only the cause of Negro and other colored citizens, but enhancing the dignity and divinity in each of us.

There are other courageous and able organizations. The National Urban League has for many years done solid work in preparing Negroes for wider opportunities. The Southern Regional Council, working in the South, has contributed in a major way by combating myth and encouraging action projects on the local level. The YWCA, wise and effective, has stressed the establishment of integrated programs and projects. Some labor-union leadership has notably demonstrated interracial brotherhood, and some unions have carried on vigorous programs of education to erase discrimination and prejudice within their own ranks.

Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish agencies work through programs of education and action projects toward the implementation of their religious ideals. The major Protestant denominations or their affiliated agencies have adopted forthright declarations of policy challenging religious groups to make urgent changes in local church practices that pertain to race. Even though the gulf between the churches' preaching and practice is still great, the position of the Protestant church today contrasts sharply with the time when "white superiority" and racial segregation were given the sanction of Christianity.

Radio, television, popular magazines, and newspapers have also helped Americans to know the truth about the "separate but equal" doctrine. The public increasingly realizes that this doctrine should never have existed and that in fact the separation was never equal.

4. Why Confusion and Opposition

IN REVIEWING THE STEPS that have moved Americans as a people along the way toward equal opportunity, we have seen that the roadblocks and retreats have been many and that the forward steps have often been timid, clumsy, and faltering. On the other hand, forward steps have sometimes been firm, brave, and rapid. They have brought us to the present moment, when something of the old has given way, never to be reinstated. Much of the new has yet to be seen in clear and full focus.

One of the perplexing aspects of the present time is the intense reaction to the challenge of the Supreme Court decisions. If ever there was handwriting on the wall to prepare a people for change, such premonitions appeared before 1954. If people had noted the signs of progress, they would not have been surprised by the Supreme Court decision. But many Americans were surprised; many were shocked and have remained confused. Others, not themselves either surprised or confused, have exploited confusion for their special ends.

Reasons for the confusion and opposition are (1) fear of change, (2) exploitation of the decision by those who ought to know better, and (3) the historic clash between ideals and practice.

FEAR OF CHANGE

Most people are afraid of change. Their reaction may be anything from verbalized nostalgia to overt revolt and violence. The more a relationship or an institution is emotionally loaded, the more difficult it is for people to accept the fact that everything changes, everything is affected by time and circumstance. Most people have little emotional capacity to accept change easily when it has a personal effect.

But if it is axiomatic that change is hard, there is ample evidence that men do accept change, for themselves and for their world. Change is not contrary to the nature of man. How impossible our world would be if there were no room for change!

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A manifest contradiction appears in the fact that men will revolt against change in some areas while demanding it in others; or they will insist on change for the better for themselves, while fighting to "keep things as they are" for others. People covet the newest in technological improvements; yet, at the same time, they admit little room for change in their ideas or institutions. For example, states anxious for industrialization, which itself represents enormous change, often have shown themselves adamant against unionization. Southern agricultural areas wanting factories have not been ready for the change which would utilize Negroes as factory workers. Northern centers, although they lured Negro workers in wartime, have often used violent measures to keep them from renting or buying homes.

Another side of the resistance to the advancement of Negro citizens is people's need for what Robert Penn Warren calls "pridefulness." Writing in *Life,* he quotes a white official of a segregationist organization who calls himself a "redneck." "The redneck," he says, "is on the underside of the plank with nothing between him and the bare black ground. He's got to have something to give him pride. Just to be better than something."

Our United States history is continuously marked by change. From a colonial people we have advanced to a free and sovereign nation. We have transformed our wage system so that slave-labor and low-pay labor have given way to the most highly paid labor in the world. From a second-rate nation we have moved to a position of leadership. Our standard of living is geared to change. Each year's styles quickly supplant last year's. The horse and buggy have given way to the automobile and the airplane. The silent movie has been replaced by stereophonic sound. Today's purchasing power was never dreamed of before the era of installment buying and deferred payments. Without change the United States would not, and could not, be the country that we know, nor could we be the kind of people we are—economically, socially, or politically.

EXPLOITATION OF THE ISSUE OF RACE

Often the opposition to the Supreme Court decision is based on more concrete grounds than fear of change. Some opponents of the new pattern, even when they have overcome their fears and conflicts, still find it to their advantage to generate alarm, to incite and attack, and to organize "hate" groups.

Politics and profits are responsible for at least some of the extreme opposition.

Some politicians play up the fears of white people—the threats to "white womanhood" and to white supremacy. They make it appear that every time a Negro seeks one new goal there are fifteen million other Negroes around the corner planning an invasion. These politicians know that freedom to vote does not mean that all Negroes will vote alike or vote just for Negroes or against the interests of their white neighbors. They know that Negroes have varying economic, social, and political interests and that their vote will vary with these interests except as they are forced to take a common stand against a common outside pressure. People being what they are, not even in Montgomery, Alabama, did every Negro join or support the anti–Jim Crow bus boycott.

When we speak of politicians, we are not pointing to office holders alone but to all persons active in political affairs, who have aspirations for political power and who profit politically from exploiting the racial fears of white voters and controlling the electorate by keeping it small. These political activities help create the condition under which no politician feels he can campaign for office—and win—without exploiting the race issue.

Some profit seekers are interested in keeping both white and Negro workers malleable and low paid. They understand the "divide and rule" principle. An unscrupulous real-estate dealer benefits financially by promoting panic selling among white homeowners when one Negro family moves into a previously all-white block. A particularly unethical dealer

may even make the first Negro sale so that he can exploit the fears and ignorance of white owners and lead them to sell him their homes at a loss, allowing him in turn to resell to Negroes at a handsome profit.

THE CLASH BETWEEN BELIEFS AND PRACTICE

The United States as a nation has been, and is, facing two ways—in one direction toward what Americans believe and in the other toward what Americans do. This was the thesis of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist who undertook in the late 1930's the most comprehensive study of American race relations ever completed. Myrdal, in the introduction to his *An American Dilemma,* explained:

> The American Dilemma, referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people, and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook.

Myrdal and his associates studied the strange anxieties, the paradoxes, and the stresses and strains of Americans as they lived with segregation and discrimination. In trying to define the meaning of our racial pattern of living, Myrdal found in race relations the basic American dilemma.

We Americans have stated clearly the equality of men and our belief that human freedom should not be limited by factors of wealth, social station, or ancestry. And all the while we have developed an elaborate and deeply entrenched system of human relations in which white and Negro are set apart from each other and treated with myriad varieties of invidious distinction. In the presence of this paradox we experience guilt, fear, hostility, anxiety, and distrust. The unresolved dilemma makes us weak where we should be strong. The American dilemma is a moral one. Says Myrdal: "The moral struggle goes on within people and not only between them. As people's valuations are conflicting, behaviour normally becomes a moral compromise . . . ."

This moral schizophrenia is responsible for the nature of some of the opposition to the Supreme Court's decision. When a person repeats "Our Father" every night and by day stands in his state legislature questioning the common fatherhood of God, he is bound to suffer conflict. If he ponders the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution and yet continues to deny equality to his fellow citizens, he is bound to feel uneasy. Personal conflicts send large numbers of Americans to psychiatrists. Our national dilemma brings about a similar unrest.

5. From Before Birth Until After Death—HANDSET . . . . . .

PERHAPS ONLY RECENTLY have sensitive people become fully aware of the suffering endured by human beings who find themselves unwanted, barred, labeled, segregated, and trapped; who find themselves classified and judged as a mass instead of as individuals. Because of the natural identification, few, if any, escape from suffering. It is, in part, this per-

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PERHAPS ONLY RECENTLY have sensitive people become fully aware of the suffering endured by human beings who find themselves unwanted, barred, labeled, segregated, and trapped; who find themselves classified and judged as a mass instead of as individuals. Because of the natural identification, few, if any, escape from suffering. It is, in part, this pervasive quality of American segregation which led the Supreme Court to hold that segregation itself is destructive and that it has such an impact on the victims as to call for judicial remedy under the authority of our Constitution. From before birth until after death the American Negro is in one way or another a victim of the United States' brand of racism.

Consider the individual. Perhaps his mother received inadequate prenatal care. On the day of his birth she may have been denied admission to any but the crowded segregated wing of a general hospital or to a second-rate Negro hospital, or she may have been denied hospital care altogether.

As school age approaches, parents of the Negro youngsters in some parts of the country find no nurseries or kindergartens open to them, although such facilities may be readily available to white children. During the elementary grades many Negro pupils find themselves with no choice but to attend poorly equipped, understaffed, and overcrowded schools. Sometimes they actually walk past schools "for whites only" which are more than adequate in all their appointments. Until recently, Negro youths in many places had no opportunity for high school training, and, where the opportunity did exist, the equipment was often inferior and only a few fields of training were offered. In a Southern county some years ago, the superintendent saw no need for Bunsen burners for the chemistry course at a Negro high school. In another, a school official said, "We have not taught Negroes any secretarial subjects here in over twelve years." In still another, in the Southwest, all the Negro students of whatever grade were segregated in one class, taught by a single Negro teacher, in a separate room of an otherwise all-white high school.

In spite of obstacles, some Negro students completed the prescribed curriculum and went on to either higher education or employment. If they chose higher education, here again they met with discriminatory treatment ranging from refusal of admittance to state or private institutions to relegation to poorly supported all-Negro institutions. There were many fields of learning and training which no Negro could hope to enter, regardless of his qualifications.

Outsire the "separate but equal" states, racial segregation and discrimination either kept Negroes out of some institutions or admitted them with less than full status. Usually no Negro was admitted to a medical school. Negro young women might be admitted for classes in home economics but denied the opportunity for practice in household management, which called for living in a home situation with white students. The factor of race has often led to refusal to house Negro students in college dormitories, or to denial of the opportunity to participate in all sports or some sports, or to an unwritten law barring Negroes from certain honors. Refusal to admit a Negro to engineering or business training has been explained away by saying that the college could not secure employment for a Negro who has had this training.

In the field of employment Negroes have suffered, regardless of their qualifications. A few observers have remarked that the more training they have, the more they suffer. White workers, union and nonunion, have sometimes rallied by habit or through agitation to keep Negroes out of employment. Occasionally Negroes are refused employment because of being "unpromotable"; more recently the excuse has been made that a certain Negro was acceptable for the work but unacceptable because of the many social functions which the employer conducts for his workers. More often the excuse is no more than the rebuff, "We have never used Negroes here."

What is true of private industry is also true of public employment. Since emancipation, Negroes have found themselves largely "unwanted" as policemen, firemen, toll collectors on bridges, technicians, or clerical workers. In one border city two or three years ago a Negro elected to the City Council discovered by accident a category of civil servants who were the only employees not granted sick leaves or vacations. On inquiry he found them to be the street cleaners, all Negroes, some of whom had worked steadily for a long as twenty-five years.

Until World War II there was little difference between North and South, or between segregationists and nonsegregationists, in employment

policy. Many outstanding American employers, spokesmen for "the American way," have practiced discrimination by never employing Negroes.

Even today, in all parts of the United States, employment discrimination persists. What is the employment pattern in most government offices, on airlines, in railroad stations and on railroads, in banks and leading stores, on newspapers and news services, in many religious and social-welfare organizations, in many colleges and universities?

When a Negro looks for a place to live, he is confronted with "not wanted," if he seeks anything better than, or different from, the accommodations in a "Negro section." The blockade of custom and code results in a housing situation which has nothing to do with a Negro's ability to pay, his character, or his occupancy standards.

That Americans can live as neighbors, amicably and constructively, is illustrated in a recent survey by the Commission on Civil Rights of the State of Connecticut. *Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut* is a study of the "progress of racial integration of white and Negro families in non-segregated, private, residential neighborhoods." These neighborhoods in thirty-two towns include six hundred Negroes who have lived side by side with, or across the street from, whites over varying periods of time. Some have been there thirty years or more; others from two to twenty years; others less than one year. Energetic exclusionists who instigate neighborhood opposition to new Negro householders might be enlightened by this Connecticut finding:

> [These] Negroes moved from their former neighborhoods for essentially the same reasons that motivated their white neighbors; they wanted a better place to live. Their motive was not to engage in an interracial experiment.

So much has been said about the pivotal Negro vote in fifteen Northern states—made pivotal by the northward migration of Negroes during and between the two World Wars—that many Americans have forgotten that in the rural South, Negroes are still largely denied the vote. Where Negroes outnumber or are nearly equal in number to whites, despite recent campaigns to "Get Out the Vote" or "Register and Vote," the Negro finds that appeals to voters do not include him. The steady effort to disfranchise Negroes in the South is convincing testimony that the right to vote is crucial in the total scheme of racial segregation and discrimination. Despite improvements over the past twenty-five years, according to two special reports issued by the interracial Southern Regional Council, fewer than 1,250,000 of the more than 9,000,000 Negro inhabitants in eleven Southern states are now registered.

The Congressional debates of 1957 on the Civil Rights Bill, now a law, furnished further evidence on suffrage in the South, but not even those debates are as striking as the case study of the Negroes of Tuskegee, Alabama, and their efforts to vote. Some six hundred Negroes resident in Tuskegee are eligible to vote. They are largely employees of the all-Negro Tuskegee Institute and the Tuskegee Veterans Administration Hospital and their families. They include a high proportion of college administrators and teachers, as well as trained professionals in the field of medicine. In reference to the "separate" policy of their state, these Negroes behaved for too long in an accommodating way. They were too willing to accept the relatively favorable economic position of their separate life. For seventy-six years Tuskegee Institute has brought international attention to the town and has been its most important customer. But what happened when the Negro citizens of Tuskegee decided to take seriously the urging to "Register and Vote"?

First, the election registrars used all the historic tricks to disqualify those who applied for registration. Next, the board of registrars decided

according to two special reports issued by the interracial Southern Regional Council, fewer than 1,250,000 of the more than 9,000,000 Negro inhabitants in eleven Southern states are now registered.

The Congressional debates of 1957 on the Civil Rights Bill, now a law, furnished further evidence on suffrage in the South, but not even those debates are as striking as the case study of the Negroes of Tuskegee, Alabama, and their efforts to vote. Some six hundred Negroes resident in Tuskegee are eligible to vote. They are largely employees of the all-Negro Tuskegee Institute and the Tuskegee Veterans Administration Hospital and their families. They include a high proportion of college administrators and teachers, as well as trained professionals in the field of medicine. In reference to the "separate" policy of their state, these Negroes behaved for too long in an accommodating way. They were too willing to accept the relatively favorable economic position of their separate life. For seventy-six years Tuskegee Institute has brought international attention to the town and has been its most important customer. But what happened when the Negro citizens of Tuskegee decided to take seriously the urging to "Register and Vote"?

First, the election registrars used all the historic tricks to disqualify those who applied for registration. Next, the board of registrars decided not to convene for receiving new registrations. Then the Alabama Legislature, in 1957, separated the Negro community from the town of Tuskegee, leaving only ten Negro voters in the town. Tuskegee Institute and the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital were made part of Macon County, without the right to the usual services furnished by an incorporated town. Finally, Macon County has been divided into five parts, each to be added to another country. All this rearrangement has been undertaken because there were more Negroes than whites in Macon County!

The Governor of Alabama refused to sign the Tuskegee gerrymandering proposal, leaving it to become law without his signature. Those white citizens of Tuskegee who knew their Negro neighbors best did not say a public word against this procedure.

Campaigns to prevent Negroes from voting stand out in the South, but there has been political discrimination in the North as well. At times Negroes have been discouraged from voting. They have been segregated in Negro political "clubs" and denied offices in party organizations. They have been given the least attractive or the lowest-paid political jobs.

Even though the northward migration of Negroes, the concentration of Negro voters in certain cities and states, and the tempo of wartime have improved the political status of Negroes in the North, in both parties Negroes still have an extra struggle because of the dominant racial attitude of white America.

In recent years judicial and administrative decrees have outlawed segregation in interstate travel, and a new generation is growing up without knowing much about the Jim Crow railroad coach. Although the pattern has decidedly changed since World War II in such matters as racially dictated seating on buses, segregated and discriminatory arrangements on dining cars, and the Jim Crow coach itself, these improvements have not extended to travel within a state to the same marked degree. Even the decisions handed down in 1956, making segregated seating on municipal bus lines illegal, have not been observed everywhere. Waiting rooms and washrooms of bus, railroad, and airplane systems are, with some exceptions, still set apart on the basis of race in most Southern cities.

The triumphant experience in Montgomery, Alabama, where 50,000 Negroes walked for a year in a nonviolent boycott against the ignominious treatment they received on the local buses, is too recent to cause anyone to think that segregation and discrimination have been eliminated. In less urban areas, where every sheriff is king and every policeman the "law," those against whom the segregated system is aimed still feel that it is the better part of valor to let things remain as they are.

Hotels, motels, and eating places are beyond the reach of federal jurisdiction. A Negro couple seeking hotel accommodation is still not certain to secure it in any hotel in the North. If they are accepted, they are often placed on a certain floor or in a certain corridor where they find the other Negroes who happen to be guests at the time. In the South, Negroes know that they are still not accepted, except under very special circumstances. But there has been improvement, some striking improvement, especially in the metropolitan areas of the North and West and in the District of Columbia.

It is doubtful whether today a leading Philadelphia hotel would refuse a banquet for the President of Liberia "unless at least 60 percent of the guests are white," as it did some years ago. In most cities of the North and West, a Negro with a reservation will generally receive accommodation; but he is more certain of accommodation if he is part of an organization holding a convention in the host city or host hotel, or if he is a member of a sports team.

Negro baseball players know what it is to visit a city as part of a team and find themselves compelled to leave their teammates and seek lodging in a "Negro YMCA" or with a Negro family. Since the 1957 season, when Baltimore hotels changed their former practices, it is reported that all major-league cities now open their hotels to all ballplayers, regardless or race or color. The Baltimore Hotel Association took the trouble to chill its welcome by saying that the change was for "economic" reasons

only and that the welcome of the hotels was intended only for baseball players and out-of-town delegates attending conventions. If a Negro traveling in Baltimore needs hotel accommodation, it would seem that he must join a baseball team or attend a convention!

The motel is the least predictable of all forms of accommodations. In the South one may see a motel with the sign "Colored Visitors," meaning that colored clientele only is accommodated, or he may see "White Only." But occasionally one hears of a white motel that accepts a Negro traveling party. In the North and West, where there are no racial signs, inquiry by Negroes reveals motel after motel "filled up," or one hears, "We never take colored," or "We think you are looking for Blank's place, about two miles from here," or "We would like to take you, but our guests . . . ."

What is true of Motels is also true of eating places—closed by law to Negroes in the South; sometimes closed, despite the law, in the North. Sometimes in the North it is the large, well-known establishment which says, "We are willing, but our guests . . . ." Sometimes it is the little "hole-in-the-wall" that refuses to serve Negroes. These practices are not new in restaurants. They are improving all the time, but how devastating is the inconvenience and the uncertainty for Negroes and for white and Negro persons who are in the same party!

If the Negro turns to waging "peace on earth" through organized religion, here, too, he finds either the reality or the ghost of "separate but equal." Despite gains, it is still true that in the United States at eleven o'clock on Sunday mornings there is more racial segregation, enforced or customary, than at any other time of the week.

This picture of racial segregation and discrimination has not been drawn to make readers bitter or to arouse a spirit of ingratitude for such progress as is generally admitted. But it is easy for the white person to forget that under existing attitudes, emotions, practices, and laws a substantial tenth of our nation is dogged by racism. It is easy to forget that those affected can scarcely fail to carry the scars of their suffering. They cannot always sublimate their hurts in platitudes and optimism.

We might stop here, if segregation and discrimination did not continue to the grave. But in many sections of our country, North and South, there are cemeteries "for whites only" and cemeteries "for Negroes only." Recently, in the Southwest, after a flood in which hundreds of persons lost their lives, one of the pictures featured in the press showed scores of bodies being buried in a common white grave and other scores, Negro victims, being buried in an all-colored grave. Finally, there is the experience of one city where Negro and white have for generations been buried in the same cemetery, the racial groups beginning at opposite ends of the grounds. The day came on which further burials would bring white and Negro bodies alongside each other. The city fathers solemnly legislated that all Negro bodies were to be exhumed and moved to a distant all-Negro cemetery. Neither in life nor in death can a Negro be free from the insults inflicted by racial segregation.

6 The Impact of Segregation on every American—HANDSET . . . .

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THE ECONOMIC IMPACT

Discrimination and segregation cause large-scale losses to our nation. The evidence accumulates and is reported in such recent studies of Eli Ginzberg's *Negro Potential*, which points out the financial loss to busi-

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> Discrimination is based most commonly on color (especially in the case of Negroes), on religion (most notably in the case of Catholics and Jews), on sex (of course, with women), on language (we still have many foreign language groups), on politics (try being a Republican in some parts of South Carolina or a Democrat in some parts of Vermont), on national origin (some still think Anglo-Saxon forebears are superior to South European, for instance), on birth (the silver spoon adage still has too many real life illustrations), on property (and this is true if you happen to come too far from either side of the railroad tracks), on economic status . . . , on education, and on many other differences.

Among the economic losses brought about by discrimination, he lists the loss in failing to harness the production potential of available workers; the loss from underproduction stemming from poor morale when workers feel they are being discriminated against; the loss from reduced purchasing power incurred when some workers are forced to live in conditions which exact maximum public services from city, state, and nation; and the loss when an unused or underpaid group is unable to pay substantial taxes, or any taxes, to support public services.

Racism is not good business from any practical point of view.

THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

America loses international status because of discrimination. We do not suggest that we should mend our ways because of what Russians or others think or say to us. We should make the prayer of John Donne our own: "From needing danger to be good, O Lord, deliver us."

As a nation, we long to exert moral leadership in a world that is two-thirds nonwhite. When the United States speaks out for political democracy, the nonwhite people naturally ask, "Does that mean democracy for colored people?"

The American Friends Service Committee's personnel, especially its overseas workers, agree with Chester Bowles, former United States ambassador to India, that the question most often asked about America concerns its "Negro problem," not its high production or its gadgets.

The foreign observer sees the United States in at least four different ways: First, he sees it through his own newspapers. A segregation court case in Virginia was front-page news in a Bangkok English-language paper, where it was given four times as much space as it was in the Washington *Post,* which consistently gives good coverage to such stories. The foreign reader gets a picture of America in which race relations loom larger than they do in the mind of the average white American. Trouble spots make the headlines. It is Governor Faubus' rebellion in Arkansas that makes the front pages, rather than the relatively trouble-free steps toward desegregation in other Southern areas.

We ourselves are careless about the way in which we picture our nation. A recent film made in co-operation with the United States Information Service for publicity abroad portrayed an "ideal," planned community, its residents all white. When shown to a color-conscious foreign audience, such a picture makes a profound impression.

The foreigner also learns about America from Americans abroad. While we have certainly sent some able people abroad on government assignments, too often our official representatives have not been well

informed about encouraging developments at home in recent years. Too often there is justification for Chester Bowles' remark in *The New Dimensions of Peace:* "I have met more than one American official in Asia and Africa who, at times, has acted and talked not unlike the racist American prototype regularly found in Russian propaganda."

Visitors to the United States, especially colored visitors, go home with a sense of the depth of tragedy in our segregation.

The trend toward freedom here is but one current in the river which is sweeping away old barriers all over the world. Hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ghana, and many other lands have thrown off white political rule. Millions more have freed themselves from economic and cultural domination. This is more than the breakup of one or another colonial empire; it is world-wide revolution.

How the nonwhite people react to the United States will depend not on what we say but on what we do. Our country is a testing site. The impression we make on other people is part of our responsibility; but more urgent is the moral call to make the "American creed" live, to be our best selves, individually and collectively.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

A major factor in segregation is its impact on the conscience of white Americans. The Negro has in a sense become the conscience of America. The very explanations used to justify racial segregation show an uneasy conscience.

White parents, faced with the need to create a single integrated school system capable of educating the nation's school children for life in a democratic society, sometimes avoid the real issue by focusing on intermarriage. The householder, faced with a new Negro neighbor, seeks to justify his "For Sale" sign by economic arguments. The politician who faces a Supreme Court decision which he does not like talks about states' rights.

These questions are very real in people's minds and need discussion, but the moral question—how to build decent relationships based on equality and respect—is the central issue in each case. The arguments put forward to justify action, or inaction, as the case may be, are offered by individuals unconvinced of their rightness and guilty before their own consciences.

Segregation has also given us inadequate and false views of ourselves and others, with the result that we live in an unreal society, peopled by myths. Negro and white have been set so far apart that neither has a realistic idea of the other. We have allowed ourselves to see race through myth-blurred eyes. Each group allows itself to think of the other as somehow quite different, not sharing the hopes and needs common to all people.

White Americans have allowed themselves a conflicting set of beliefs about Negroes as a group. A Negro is satisfied with things as they are; a Negro is to be feared because he wishes to retaliate against those who have oppressed him. The Negro is lazy and lacks the "typical" American drive for advancement; he is a seed-bed for communism, which will flourish on his discontent and provide an answer to his drive for advancement. Who is this Negro American whom white Americans see with such confused eyes? Is he a lesser man, satisfied with a lesser life, or an angry person bent on revenge? If we were not blinded by lack of contact as equals, the truth would show us a normal human being seeking the same fulfillment in his life that is sought by other normal human beings.

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The coin has two sides. Negro Americans are daily tempted to think of white Americans as far less than children of God. They know that someone stands between them and freedom. Who else can it be but the white Americans who chained them in slavery and checked them with segregation? Who else can it be but the white Americans who extol, but refuse to grant, liberty?

The answers to these questions are not easy. No one denies the existence of injustice or excuses those responsible for it. However, stereotyped thinking can be wiped from the mind of the Negro as it can be wiped from the mind of the white man. As Negro Americans plead to be considered individually, on their own merits, so should Negro Americans look at the potential in each white individual. They will find many who have proclaimed, worked, and suffered for the sake of liberty for all. They will find some who have been silenced by fear. And they will find others who suffer daily torment because of the conflict in their lives. The White man who has conformed to rude custom is morally as much a slave in mind and soul as ever a Negro was enslaved in body.

One of the greatest areas of misunderstanding based on our separation-produced ignorance is the subject of intermarriage. This subject is raised by many as if it would stop all argument and paralyze all other thoughts. Many white persons think that Negroes consider marriage to whites an important objective. This myth needs to be replaced by the truth which only knowledge of each other can produce. Some discussion of this myth is included here, not because we see intermarriage as a crucial issue, but because the very thought of it has become an obsession, persisting when many other myths have been replaced with reliable judgment. This myth has become symbolized by the question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?"

But evidence is plentiful and clear that Negroes do not consider intermarriage a leading objective. Myrdal's "order of discriminations" showed that while white Americans list intermarriage as the greatest reason for segregation and fair employment as the least, the Negro American reverses the order, wanting first of all equal job opportunities. "The marriage matter," says Myrdal, "is of rather distant and doubtful interest to the Negro."

The myth that intermarriage produces an inferior race is stubbornly resistant to scientific facts which deny inherent differences among the races of mankind. The authors of this pamphlet are neither for nor against interracial marriage. We believe in marriage between two people who love each other and have the capacity to live together as man and wife, to cope with the problems and find the rewards and joys of everyday family life. If a husband and wife are of different races, they need to be strong enough to withstand the pressures of a prejudiced society. The problem is not in the marriage but in the environment which attempts to mold a social institution to conform to an artificial standard. The problem as contrasted to the myth lies in the continuation of laws against intermarriage in many states. We hope for a society in which the conditions which make interracial marriage a special problem will be eliminated.

The intermarriage issue will undoubtedly continue to arouse fear. It is up to Americans to think through this myth and strive for the really important objectives of democracy, unburdened by this particular segregation-produced fear.

In addition to keeping us in ignorance of one another as fellow human beings, segregation has hindered our taking an honest view of ourselves. White Americans have lived in a dream world of superiority, expecting special privileges. When segregation is replaced by liberty, they will have to learn the important lessons that one's future depends on his individual ability and that the rights and privileges of each person are linked to those of every other person, regardless of his race.

Negro Americans are often misled by their image of themselves as relegated to a lesser role. The yearning for liberty never dies, but the hypnotic myth of inferiority can lull almost anyone into some degree of acceptance. The idea of inferiority has been drummed into American Negroes for so long that they are not always able to step up to their right place in society. They knew slavery before Siberia became a symbol,

They knew totalitarianism before Hitler was born. The Ku Klux Klan predated the Gestapo. Negroes were lynched and burned alive before Belsen became infamous. Yet Negroes have not been, are not, and will not be inferior. They unite with the resolve of James Weldon Johnson:

> I will not allow one prejudiced person, or one million or one hundred million to blight my life. I will not let prejudice or any of its attendant humiliations and injustices bear me down to spiritual defeat. My inner life is mine, and I shall defend its integrity against all the power of hell!

THE IMPACT OF FREEDOM

In earlier chapters we have indicated that in some areas state legislatures are responding to the white public's fear of change with laws intended to restrict the rights of Negro citizens whose very presence threatened old ways and beliefs. Such people seem willing to risk destroying their own rights as well. Freedom of belief and action are given up under pressure of fear. Recently a white school teacher was shocked to find that she and a Negro teacher who had become friends at a summer school could not, once the course was over, attend a movie or concert together or even go to a restaurant together for a meal. The white teacher was told by her landlord that she would be evicted if her Negro woman friend visited her again. A white graduate student from Ohio wanted to study under a Negro chemist in the South. But the state law forbade this kind of teacher-student relationship, and the white man had to give up his plans. Recently, a group of students at a Southern white college invited foreign colored students to share their Christmas program. Custom condemned the joint program. These Americans were cheated of the chance to learn about several foreign lands; the visiting students lost the opportunity to learn more about the United States.

Segregation faces us, individually and as a nation, with a moral dilemma. Some among us, and some part of each one of us, want to proceed with the unfulfilled requirements of democracy and to free ourselves in the process. Others, and some part of each of us, fear the new ways and try to hold back the tide of freedom. Many, perhaps most, know what we believe and what we ought to do, but we allow the real or imagined attitude of other people to block us. Segregation has so affected the hearts and minds of some that its termination leads them to acts which are counter to democracy and which ignore religious principle. On the other hand, many who are sick of segregation speak out and behave with honesty and courage.

We are a society facing both ways. There is only one way out of his dilemma. That way requires each American to consider his own responsibility.

7. Responsibility of the Individual

ODAY THERE are no innocent bystanders. What each person does or does not do, what each one says or refrains from saying, the fears on which we act or the fears we overcome, and the friendships we extend or the hands that we withhold have a measurable effect on the achievement of a just society in the United States.

World wars, international crises, and the so-called little wars demonstrate the truth that "no man is an island." Where there is unrest and injustice, bystanders are not innocent. Their inaction creates a dangerous delay into which rush forces of violence and hate.

It was into such a vacuum, created in part by bystanders, that the mob rushed in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where one lone Negro girl was denied her tediously won right to attend the state university and receive an

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It was into such a vacuum, created in part by bystanders, that the mob rushed in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where one lone Negro girl was denied her tediously won right to attend the state university and receive an education in the field of her choice. The bystanders were not in the mob. But no member of the mob felt their disapproval. They exerted no influence for peaceful resolution, even though they would probably claim to be in favor of the use of peaceful measures. The experience of Tuscaloosa has been multiplied in many other Southern cities since.

Into such a vacuum rush the unruly gangs in Chicago who spit at Negro children on their way to school from their homes in an interracial public housing project. By night these same people explode homemade bombs near the apartments occupied by Negro families—not bombs to kill the body, but bombs designed to kill the spirit. A bystander cannot claim innocence when he does not try to prevent such injustice.

Into such vacuums rush those whose violence prompts bystanders to proclaim to the world their dissociation from such criminal acts. They decry the murder of the NAACP leader or the young Negro boy; they urge the end of such acts and ask the world not to generalize from "isolated" incidents. But they daily create an even more dangerous delay, enlarging the possibilities for murder and violence.

When some unscrupulous real-estate man in a "lily-white" area of a Northern city manipulates the inevitable change of racial patterns by promoting panic selling, he catches the bystanders unprepared. They have given no thought to the inevitable consequences of segregated housing patterns which compress one part of the population into dwellings inadequate in quantity and quality. They have no conception that "ghettoized" life for Negroes results, among other things, in the fact that the population density of the worst Harlem block could be matched only if the entire United States population were jammed into two-thirds of New York City. Bystanders are startled when a Negro family with increased purchasing power exercises American initiative in attempting to meet his housing needs by moving into the formerly all-white block which offers more desirable housing.

The bystanders become easy prey to demands to "protect" their neighborhood. They are easily influenced by persons as uninformed as themselves or by agents who want to make quick purchases of property for later resale at exorbitant prices. The bystander is persuaded to flee in panic and make a new life for himself in some other "white" neighborhood. Because he does not recognize the myths of segregation, he cannot realize the satisfactions of living in a democratic community. He will find himself deeply and continually involved in fearful flight from a challenge which he postpones facing and for which he denies any responsibility.

He joins families living in the "white" suburbs—some unmindful of the patterns of exclusion on which their existence rests, others seeking to erect an invisible wall segregating themselves from the possibility of a more just society. In suburbia are to be found some of the most deeply involved of the bystanders of our day.

At this point the authors of this document are moved to develop a major concern, to direct some of our thinking very pointedly at you, the reader, as a challenge to your thinking about your responsibility as an individual. We use the form "you" for this purpose, without for a moment forgetting that we are also involved and that no man can claim to have worked through all the problems which surround him as a member of our segregated society.

If any one person could answer "yes" to all the questions concerning the racially inclusive aspects of where he lives, works, studies, eats, banks, shops, and plays, he might well say "you must do this" without some pang of conscience. No one of us authors, Negro or white, has moved sufficiently out of all segregated patterns to say "yes" to all these questions. We know of no such person, although there may be one. We are affected daily by segregation, but we are uncomfortably aware of our involvement in its patterns and our responsibility for them at every turn. The important thing to each of us is that we can say "yes" to a fair number of the questions and can work daily to increase our score. We believe that an affirmative answer in each instance must be our goal, one toward which we strive with a deep sense of urgency.

Thus, may we suggest to you, in a spirit of shared responsibility, the following ideas for action:

The first step starts with you where you are. You are a witness—for right or wrong. You have a choice to make. If you choose the design of democracy, you will at once be allied with moral forces working for justice; and you will not be alone.

Since your life daily touches the problems of segregation, you must resolve to separate yourself from discrimination in your personal activities and associations. You may not be able immediately to break away from the web woven by centuries of injustice. But the patterns of segregation can be cracked and broken more generally than will at first seem possible.

First, list the discriminatory institutions to which you are related in business and in religious, fraternal, social, recreational, educational, governmental, and welfare activities. You support them by your personal involvement and by your financial participation through taxes, subscriptions, dues, contributions, and purchases. How you oppose discriminatory policies is largely a matter for you as an individual to decide. One thing is clear: the groups whose policies trouble you can only assume that you accept those policies unless you show them differently. You can play an effective role. Only the reluctant person, seeking an excuse for inaction, will fail to find a way.

For some, nothing short of ending a relationship with the undemocratic institution will suffice. This is not an easy first step for persons who have conformed to unfair patterns. But it is an effective step. It may open the eyes of others to the principles you honor. It will strengthen the will of many who have had doubts and have aspired to decency but have been too timid to put their beliefs into action.

Denunciation does not help. Remember that you have been guilty and are only now breaking with troubling tradition. Let your decision and the reason for it be clearly known. Be frank about your reluctance to break old ties and your hope of joining your friends in a better society.

Do not slip out unnoticed. The principle that requires your action deserves to be known to others. By frank and friendly explanation you may provide the occasion and impulse for a change of policy.

Some of you may decide to remain in the group with the hope of changing its ways. The important factors are your resolve not to let this be an "easy way out" and your judgment about the possibilities for change within the situation.

To be effective in challenge and persuasion over a period of time requires special ability, integrity, and persistence. Illustrative of the potential for success in this approach are the numerous stories of courageous individuals who stand up for their beliefs in their jobs, neighborhoods, P.T.A. meetings, school boards, unions, and churches and who have the satisfaction of seeing change come about through their efforts.

Too many once-hopeful citizens become frustrated, discouraged, and ineffective in carrying out what they felt was an important job. The opportunities for work are going to be, for many of us, of this more-difficult and potentially frustrating sort. We must somehow develop the imagination and staying power to insure that we affect the situation more than it affects us.

Thus far we have suggested individual roles, to be played regardless of what others do. But freedom deserves and requires an arm-in-arm movement of brothers, strengthening and receiving strength from one another. People unite daily for lesser ends. Does the cause of a moral society require less of us?

Your like-minded neighbors, troubled by the same problems that trouble you, can be drawn together by common aspirations. Experience proves that you have more sympathizers than you think you have. There are

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Your like-minded neighbors, troubled by the same problems that trouble you, can be drawn together by common aspirations. Experience proves that you have more sympathizers than you think you have. There are also a variety of denominational, regional, and national organizations which look to you with welcome and from which you can gain strength, determination, wisdom, and results. To your role as an individual and as an individual related to a like-minded group, democracy makes a further requirement. You must help multiply the opportunities for whites and Negroes to know one another as persons. The high wall of segregation has produced the myths of race and allowed them to go largely unquestioned. The myths that separate can be destroyed only as we, Negro and white, come to know one another.

In 1942, during the war, Lillian E. Smith wrote in her magazine, *South Today,* a message to white America, especially the white South, under the title, "There Are Things to Do." This farsighted Georgian, no bystander herself, tried to show people the many "decent things" they could do "to bring ease to the [racial] tension felt throughout our region"—things, for the most part, "so simple, so unrequiring of courage, that even the most timid among us can safely do them." She included learning where the racial pressure points are; urging others to stop using terms of insult; writing letters to radio stations, newspapers, and public officials; seeking out a few individuals across racial lines "with whom you can become good friends"; reading books by and about Negroes; subscribing to a Negro magazine or newspaper; working on some creative interracial project; training our children in good racial manners; including books on minority groups in school and public libraries; speaking out when others are rude; and working to end racial practices in churches, labor unions, and places of employment. Lillian Smith also advised, "spend a little time thinking." She added:

> Think how it must feel to be a Negro in our South today. How it must feel to be jim-crowed on busses, on street cars, in dining cars, in theaters, in elevators, in churches, in schools, hotels, restaurants, in the armed forces, in jobs. How it must feel to be a Negro college president and have to walk 22 flights of stairs in an office building to meet the white chairman of one's board because you won't be jim-crowed into a freight elevator (an incident which occurred recently in Atlanta).

There you have a short list to check what has changed since 1942, what is changing, and what is still "unfinished business" in your community.

GUIDEPOSTS FOR ACTION

There are many guideposts for constructive action. Most of them do not need to be drawn in detail, but you may note here some guides based on experience.

Your voice can be a powerful force for freedom. The right opportunity to express a clear message is not given to all in the same way or at the same time. When the opportunity comes to you, make use of it.

One opportunity is constantly with each of us. Choose between the language of prejudice and the language of dignity and democracy. This seemingly small step can have powerful effects. The very act of refraining from prejudicial talk is a witness, however subtle, for equality. Slowly but surely it will have a cumulative effect on your listener. Prejudice, yours and that of others, feeds upon itself. The words you choose can starve prejudice and provide nourishment for liberal attitudes.

You have a responsibility to speak in positive terms when others speak in negative ones. When you hear the language of prejudice, do not let it go unchallenged. Adjust your approach to the needs of the situation. Decide whether the objectionable words come from prejudice or ignorance. A friendly refusal to accept what is said can plant the seeds of doubt in the mind of the speaker.

Determine to speak truth about matters of race in your everyday contacts. Avoid seeming to agree with myth and falsehood. Only in this way can you keep your right to speak out at another time—without

seeming to be contradictory or hypocritical. Any reasonable American will respect your right to disagree and will honor you for your integrity in doing so. Any unreasonable American should not have the power to influence your actions and speech.

You have a responsibility to advice wisely and honestly when asked for guidance and information. Say what you believe rather than what you think the listener wants to hear. Having spoken, you may find as others have that there are more who agree with you than you could have imagined.

What you do means more than what you say. What you believe and what you say must be put into practice by you. Otherwise, the chasm between preachment and practice will be forever with us. Some, through circumstances, will act on a grand scale—the judge interpreting law rather than fear, the mother leading her children through a mob into a school. Others will bear their witness in little ways. Both are important.

Your efforts for racial justice should be carried out on an interracial basis. Small neighborhood meetings of P.T.A. members, church people, parents, or persons of the same professional interests are often and can generally be interracial. George S. Mitchell, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, said in the *Social Welfare Forum* (1955):

> This follows the one sure rule in doing away with racial prejudice; get people of different groups, with some basis of likemindedness, to work together on a matter of common interest. Two drops of that, and any amount of race prejudice disappears. So the task is to open the little bottle and spread some droplets around. But you have to do it; not just talk about doing it.

Policy people are important. They can speed or delay the day of freedom's establishment. Who are the policy people? They are, among others, the corporation president, the school superintendent, the mayor, the school-board member. They include the bishop and the politician, the store manager and the election board official, the federal official and the local housing official. They are policy makers, but they are also people. As individuals, they deserve to be freed from fear and released from the bonds of discrimination. Enlist them as allies.

Ignorance is unnecessary and dangerous. It provides the climate for bigotry. Ignorance has been the chief ally of totalitarianism through the ages, and our age is no exception. Know what is going on in Negro-white relations, and the meaning of current events. You can then properly evaluate the progress and the pressures.

There is no need to be ignorant. Every form of mass media provides some information. Some is factual; some is distorted. Some is adequate; some is woefully inadequate. Many excellent bibliographies exist.

Progress means persistence. Persistence is the key toward freedom and equality. The legal props of discrimination and segregation are failing one by one, but resistance to change is still powerful. Setbacks, hostility, and skepticism are to be expected. Some will not hold you in high esteem when you act on your beliefs. Fortunately you have a cause for which it is worth being persistent, worth the temporary discomfort caused by a noisy opposition. The cause of liberty is a creative and winning cause; nothing but your discouragement and defeat can delay its victory.

You are surrounded by resources. There are a variety of instruments in your community which can help you or which can provide the leverage for action. The city, town, or county in which you live has at least one of the following:

* a United States government agency (including the Post Office) subject to the fair-employment directives of the federal civil services;
* an attorney competent to advise on legal recourse for civil rights enforcement and legal school-desegregation processes;

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* a United States government agency (including the Post Office) subject to the fair-employment directives of the federal civil services;
* an attorney competent to advise on legal recourse for civil rights enforcement and legal school-desegregation processes;
* a public library with a bibliography of publications documenting the essential unity of the human race;
* a private business or corporation holding federal government contracts which include nondiscriminatory clauses;
* a local branch or chapter of a human relations organization through which you can receive information on the work being carried on. Such organizations can make available to you literature, audiovisual aids, speakers, and consultants;
* a church or synagogue which, by its very presence, symbolizes man's reach toward God and can offer you inward strength and fellowship.

Violations of civil rights should be reported to the United States Department of Justice, while you and others in the community work locally on the problem. In cases of employment discrimination where the federal government is involved as an employer, complaints may be made to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy. Employment discrimination involving a private employer holding a federal government contract may be referred to the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

"Enemies" can become allies. Values held by our citizens can respond to moral challenge. Those values include:

(1) *a sense of justice and fair play.* The very language used to justify discrimination is distorted to conceal the violation of justice and fair play. Even the bigot feels the need of these qualities in personal and social life.

(2) *personal generosity.* Even the most prejudice-blinded people make generous responses to personal human need.

(3) *the desire to believe that he is good.* The worst outrages are usually committed by persons who have taken steps to "lose" themselves in a mob, so as not to feel personally responsible.

(4) *devotion to democracy.* Love for the ideals upon which our nation is founded runs deep and strong. Given new light on the application of democracy, many who now stand in the way of freedom might become strong in its favor.

People deserve a chance to do the right thing. Do not always expect negative results. Friends of integration unwittingly slow the pace of progress when they deny that others are capable or willing to take the necessary steps. No one should be written off.

House and employment provide classic illustrations. "I want to, but my neighbors would never stand for it if I sold my house to a person of a different race." This is a commonplace statement. Yet a University of California study in San Francisco and Oakland showed that most people did not even know the racial background of others in their neighborhood.

"We'd like to do it, but if we did not discriminate in our hiring we would have real trouble from our present employees," is another common reply. The President's Committee on Government Contracts reports that this expressed fear is unjustified; integrated work forces in every part of the country have been created without friction.

Remember that anticipation is more threatening than accomplished fact. Often advance commitment to desegregation is more difficult to secure than acceptance of its actual achievement. Persons who have opposed the concept with vigorous words and even threats have often accommodated themselves to the situation, once desegregation has become a fact. Therefore, opponents of equality also must be viewed by their acts rather than by their words alone. A bigot is sometimes a person of violence and lawlessness; but many a prejudiced person says things out of ignorance, fear, and the belief that such words are expected of him. He has little faith in his fears and less intention of following through with

the threats he makes. He, a child of God, can be reached, and we need to be governed in our actions by his greatest potential rather than by his self-expressed weakness.

Law has a place. Government has a vital role to play. When the Supreme Court ruled the segregated public schools unconstitutional, most opponents of integration accepted the decision, although some still try frantically to delay desegregation. Wherever government—federal, state, or local—provides firm leadership, the removal of discrimination proceeds with greater speed, ease, and smoothness. Where agencies of government vacillate or even oppose change, difficulties arise.

The executive arm of government has the primary responsibility for carrying out the law of the land. When it does so, citizen support comes forward. Where such leadership is lacking, men foment violence. When government gives tacit approval, keeps silent, or looks the other way, events move toward economic and social reprisal, physical intimidation, and violence. It is not the courts or laws that cause the breakdown of law and order. It is the lack of faith in the law by public officials.

In the area of racial justice, the Fourteenth Amendment was violated and ignored for almost one hundred years. Yet without it we would not have progressed to the point which we have now reached. Despite warnings and fears, many states and municipalities have enacted fair-employment-practice laws. The fears have proven false. The laws work. Perhaps as important as anything else, they "take the employer off the hook" by giving him the sanction of community acceptance as he proceeds to do what he knows is right. Good laws light the way for the uncertain and provide support for all who want to do right.

Tension can be used creatively. The struggle to remove injustice will often create tension in your community. It can be used creatively. Such tension is inherent in race-relations situations today because our religious and democratic creeds conflict with our ways of life ever more clearly, and the conflict needs to be resolved. This tension is a healthy sign of life in the individual and national conscience and offers a challenge to change.

Tension plays an important role in the process of change, by bringing issues out into the open. Through the open expression of differences, needed changes will come about and people will be enabled to adjust their ways. A disservice is done to society when tension is glossed over without being allowed to fulfill this purpose.

It is equally harmful to meet tension with violence. Attempts to relieve tension through violence have never succeeded. Whether in individual lives, communities, or in the area of national and international affairs, violence tends to delude people with superficial victories while creating still greater injustices and tension.

Some seek to escape tension by unquestioning acceptance of dogma. This is an escape in conformity and tends to renounce individual responsibility and to stifle personal growth.

Instead of being fearful of tension, you need to offer wise and creative leadership in removing it by resolving the injustices out of which it grows. Only when you abandon the effort to act creatively and imaginatively will the situation deteriorate, violence break out, and progress halt.

Individuals in all parts of the United States accept the challenge to act creatively in the face of tension and conflict. In communities large and small, North and South, many clergymen feel keenly the relation between their teaching and the actions demanded of them in a time of crisis. They respond to conscience; they speak out and act. In the changing neighborhoods of the North some white families greet new Negro neighbors as they would any other newcomers. In one Southern county teachers have refused to sign a statement concerning organizational affiliations when such a query seemed an abridgement of a fundamental and precious freedom.

These courageous responses may cost the individuals something—sometimes a job, often friends; but they are creative and helpful actions,

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These courageous responses may cost the individuals something—sometimes a job, often friends; but they are creative and helpful actions, designed to clarify issues and to put choices plainly before people, the first steps in removing injustice and eventually lessening tension.

AREAS OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS

These guideposts may help the concerned individual move effectively through the many areas of unfinished business in America's race relations. But before the United States can be in fact a land of equal opportunity, problems in the following areas must be dealt with:

(1) public schools and the implementation of the Supreme Court desegregation decision;

(2) employment and the utilization of manpower without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin;

(3) housing and the elimination of segregation and discrimination;

(4) public accommodation and the lowering of barriers of race, religion, and color;

(5) political participation and elimination of restrictions based solely on race and color;

(6) religion and the development of inclusive congregations and organizations;

(7) law and its application to provide all Americans with equal protection and rights.

There are more segregation-produced problems remaining unsolved than we have listed here. There is no need to be overwhelmed by them, however. None but he who will not see can fail to find instances where some or all of these conditions have been faced and resolved on a person-to-person or community level. The nation is not without examples which give hope. As a nation, we have the democratic institutions with which to do the job. As a people, we must find the faith to do what is required of us.

8. A Reaffirmation of Faith

E BELIEVE IN THE FATHERHOOD of God and the brotherhood of man. We believe that God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." And we subscribe to a Quaker faith in "that of God in every man."

Our beliefs have consequences.

If we are of one blood, children of one common Father, brothers in the household of God, then we must be of equal worth in His family, entitled to equal opportunity in the society of men. That "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" we hold to be self-evident.

Moreover, if there is the seed of God in every man, then every man has, by reason of that fact alone, worth and dignity. It follows that no man may, with impunity, discriminate against or exploit another. And if the nature of man is such as we have affirmed, then nothing less than its full recognition, nothing less than the dignity and respect due him simply because he is a man, can ever satisfy him.

Our faith leads us one step further. Like responds to like. If there is in every man a measure of goodness and truth, this quality will respond when it meets its kind. We are called upon, therefore, to love our fellow men, all of them, with all the risks that that implies and all the privileges that it promises.

Our faith is incurably optimistic and unyieldingly realistic. It teaches us that we live in an ordered universe in which the moral law of cause and effect, of means and ends, is as unchangeable as any physical law. Violence corrupts and destroys both the user and the victim; the power of love and nonviolence is creative and redeems both.

In such a faith we look forward with confidence to a new day when man will be measured by what he is and not by his race, creed, color, or nationality. That day can be near if we go forward with energy, faith, and knowledge. It can be very far away if we respond with fear and ignorance. In that day each man will be free to develop to his fullest extent every capacity with which he is endowed; each man will be free to contribute to his fullest capacity for the good of all men. Segregation and second-class citizenship will take their places with slavery as evils of the past. No two men will be alike; but no two will be different in value to society because of race, color, religion, or nationality. Just as we now know that all are hurt by injury to any one, so in that tomorrow all will benefit by the achievement of each. As prejudice feeds on prejudice, so brotherhood will nourish brotherhood.

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(22)

1201

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R GSA260 RX PD=GREENSBORO NCAR 9 118PME

=GEORGE MITCHELL

=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNSEL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

ARRIVING THRUSDAY MORNING OCTOBER 11TH=

JOHN ALEXANDER=

TH ATLANTA

Afsc

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FBR ✓
HCF ✓

MR. JOHN W. ALEXANDER
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
617 WEST MARKET STREET
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

OCTOBER 11 AND 12 SUPERIOR. 15, 16, 17 WORKABLE. COME AHEAD.

Acknowledge

dates JH + CHP are here for conf.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

October 2, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 4 1956

Dear George:

Having taken a fairly good general look at the State and a specific look at a number of communities, I am about to get our School Desegregation Program under way. We had counted on about a four month's orientation period.

I would find it extremely useful at this time to be able to have a good chat with you, Harold Fleming whom I have not yet met, and Fred Routh, in order to get your views on the whole situation in the South and specifically to get your reactions to my thinking on what can be done in North Carolina. I want to come to Atlanta for a couple of days, possibly three, when I will have an opportunity to see all three of you. Thursday and Friday, October 11 and 12th look good on my calendar, how would they be for you? October 15, 16 and/or 17, would be a next choice for me.

In addition to getting general counsel on my program, I would like to discuss publication problems with Harold Fleming and I would like to get a better picture of the present functioning of the Southern Regional Council and to see what may be useful in your files and records for further orienting me to the problems with which I am working.

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr

October 30, 1956

Mr. John W. Alexander
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter. We can handle the Bryson City matter either way you choose. There is no question that having specific names in mind would be an advantage. I doubt, however, whether it would be worth while to try to get a definite commitment out of specific consultants prior to your conferences in Bryson City. The big question is who - or what type of consultant - it would be best to offer. If you will give me your ideas on that we will get busy. Meanwhile, enclosed is a recent general report of our activities which lists the social science consultants we have used up to now.

Greensboro is undoubtedly a place to concentrate, and we would be glad to fit in with whatever type of visitation the local people and you feel would be most fruitful. As Tartt will probably have told you, we discussed at the Tuskegee meeting given communities on which the agencies represented might focus their efforts. Greensboro was one of those mentioned, and the AFSC there was considered the prime mover. All the more reason, therefore, why we should be prepared to act on a cue from you.

I am looking forward also to the outcome of your negotiations with the School Board in Chapel Hill.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

CC: Mr. John Hope II

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

October 23, 1956

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

When we met in Atlanta I know we concluded otherwise but I now wonder if it wouldn't be better for me to come to Bryson City with a specific name or names in mind to present to the School Board as possible consultants. This means, of course, that we would probably have to locate and get some commitment from the consultants before I go to Bryson City. Would appreciate your comments.

The Greensboro School Board has appointed a sub-committee to present a new proposal on school assignment and attendance areas for the city system. It consists of conscientious and able people who might well benefit from a trip to Louisville to see how it was done there. This trip would aid them in the specific assignment they have at hand. A trip by a consultant from Louisville to Greensboro or a trip by someone from Greensboro to Louisville it would seem to me would be quite in order. Your comments would be appreciated.

As we agreed no further preparation is necessary before I speak to the members of the School Board in Chapel Hill about the possibility of one of them going to Lexington.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Alexander

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr

November 28, 1956

Mr. John W. Alexander
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear John:

Thanks for sending us the very able statement by Irving Carlyle. This was a noble contribution to the popular debate and we will certainly make some use of it.

How did your meeting go on Monday? Everybody is appreciative of the business-like way in which you and Tartt have taken hold of the coordinating responsibility in North Carolina.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

RECEIVED NOV 21 1956

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

November 20, 1956

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a very effective statement by one of North Carolina's outstanding voices in the wilderness on the school question. Thought there might be some useful quotes in here for New South. He is an able and cooperative ally. We are in close communication with him.

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr
Enc.

December 14, 1956

Mr. John W. Alexander, Director
School Program
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear John:

Thanks for sending me the minutes of the November 26th meeting. That and the account of your activities in Greensboro sound very promising.

I trust that by now you have had word of the inter-agency meeting we are convening in Atlanta on January 23-24. I hope it will be possible for both you and Tartt to be present.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

RECEIVED DEC 5 1956

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

December 4, 1956

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are minutes of our November 26th meeting. The attendance left much to be desired but we at least made a start. The concensus on the areas for concerted and intense efforts was Greensboro and Winston-Salem--with Durham and Charlotte getting alternative or secondary consideration. Charlotte and Greensboro are too far removed for much close cooperation between Harry Jones and the rest of us in this area.

The December 18th meeting mentioned in the minutes has been cancelled. We have agreed to work through the Greensboro Community Council which is an affiliation of over a hundred educational, welfare, and recreational organizations in the city. A sub-committee of the educational and recreational division of this Council is meeting on Wednesday, December 5th to consider what the Council can do and recommend for helping Greensboro prepare for the inevitability of desegregation. The chairman of this subcommittee, Harold Hipps a liberal Methodist minister, was thinking principally along the lines of recommending the appointment of a Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. Herman Ebeling of NCCJ and I have been invited to serve with this committee. We wish to present the further suggestion that there be a continuing informal meeting of professional leaders of the organizations in the Council to consider the preparation for desegregation question in a much more frank and fundamental manner than would be possible in a"Mayor's Commission", which at best would be many months away from formation. I still see a possible need however for a more "select" meeting of the, probably no more than a half dozen, actual human relations agencies that are fully committed to desegregation. This, of course, is not final but just passed on to you to show how we are thinking.

After some efforts are under way here in Greensboro, we hope to explore thoroughly possibilities for the same in Winston-Salem.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr
cc: Tartt Bell
Irene Osborne
Harry Jones

December 27, 1956

Mr. John Alexander
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear John:

I am sorry for the mix-up about the projected Atlanta meeting of January 23-24. As a matter of routine, notices of the meeting were sent to the national headquarters of all the Agencies asking them to designate the staff members they wanted to attend; this means that the AFSC notice went to Barbara Moffett. This standard proceedure may not have made sense in the case of AFSC.

Anyhow, enclosed are copies of the memos, which I would appreciate your sharing with Tartt. I am counting on at least one of you--and I hope both--being with us. Let us know when you conveniently can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc
Encl.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

December 26, 1956

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Your letter of December 14th mentions an inter-agency meeting you are convening in Atlanta on January 23 and 24. Tartt and I know nothing about it beyond your brief reference except an indefinite statement from Gordon Lovejoy in November that some such meeting was likely to be called.

Hope we will be hearing more about it, so that we may see if it is possible to work it in.

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr

January 11, 1957

Mr. John W. Alexander
Director
School Program
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear John:

Don't be unduly discouraged by the lack of receptivity among school people; unfortunately, that seems to be a general condition. All the more reason to bring our resources to bear on private community leadership.

Your idea of pastor-consultants falls well within the limits of our concept of the program -- provided we can find the right ones. We are now canvassing the possibilities and you'll hear further from us soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 3, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are having difficulty selling the idea of consultation or any other kind of talk--to say nothing of action--to school people. The most that even the fair minded want to do is to sit silently by until Negro applicants force the issue.

Morton Kurtz, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Council of Churches, suggests an approach to trying to spur the ministers in our two pilot cities of Winston-Salem and Greensboro to taking a lead in preparation for school desegregation. He suggests we recruit one or more ministers who have experienced a successful or dramatic desegregation and who can speak personally on the role a minister plays. This person or team can come to North Carolina and speak to ministerial associations and confer with individual ministers and lay groups in transitional neighborhoods where desegregation is anticipated. Given ample notice we could arrange two or three days of very busy and useful activity for such an individual or individuals.

This makes sense to me and I wondered if it comes within the range of your conception of the consultation project?

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr
cc: John Hope
Tartt Bell
Irene Osborne

File

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 29, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Swain County Board of Education has voted to request consultant services available through SRC. Mr. J. A. Sutton, Jr., Bryson City, Chairman of the Board, has advised me that they would find it most helpful to meet with a school superintendent or board member from a similar community that has already desegregated. This would mean someone who could bring them reports on concrete experience with desegregation in their kind of community. They also wish a reliable report on what to expect from North Carolina authorities. This I could bring to them myself or arrange for someone else to do so. They would find it helpful to be offered a selection to be made from among two or more available people, if such is possible. The school board association president in Lexington, referred to by C. H. Parrish, might be one alternative.

There are no local financial resources to cover the cost of travel for the consultant. They would appreciate it if SRC could provide this.

Mr. Sutton suggests that the consultant (or consultants, if I should go to give the North Carolina picture to them) be present for the regular board meeting on Wednesday evening, March 6, 1957. During the visit he believes the consultant could also meet with the school administrators and teachers as well as an informal gathering of leading citizens. Such meetings could take place the day of or the day following the board meeting.

I hope this is enough information to get under way the procurement of the first consultant on school problems in North Carolina--for which we trust there will be calls for more to follow.

It has occurred to me that after we get a consultant booked for Swain County it might be useful to communicate with Dr. Cameron McRae of Burnsville, Yancey County, who is an active SRC and North Carolina Council supporter, to see if he can arrange for the consultant to visit there while in that part of the State. There is a similar situation in Yancey County, with no Negro high school and a grossly inadequate Negro elementary school. My contacts there are poor and I was unable to find Dr. McRae when I visited there briefly recently.

Sincerely yours,

John

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr

February 5, 1957

Mr. John Alexander
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear John:

We were most encouraged by the possibilities you have developed in Swain County, and I send you a copy of the enclosed letter from John Hope to Galen Martin as evidence that we are working on the recruitment of an appropriate consultant. You will hear from us at once when we have settled on a likely candidate or candidates.

There is no reason at all why, after this initial experience, we shouldn't try Yancey County or others similarly situated.

The fact that the Swain County Board of Education officially voted to make this request is a real tribute to your effective handling of the situation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

cc: Mr. John Hope, II

AFSC - Alexander

March 15, 1957

Mr. John W. Alexander
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear John:

This is just a note to acknowledge your very thoughtful and detailed letter. I want to share it with John Hope and C. H. Parrish this afternoon when they come, and then on Monday or Tuesday of the next week I will write you in detail about the various topics you bring up.

I think you made a very substantial contribution at Charlottesville.

Best personal regards.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

COPY File COPY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

POST OFFICE BOX 1307

HIGH POINT, N. C.

March 28, 1957

John Hope, II
Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association,
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

The choice of Noah Turpen for the Bryson City job couldn't have been better. He really disarmed them of any apprehensions they had about the experience. The discussion with the school board and superintendent was frank, open and extended. From the viewpoints and basic assumptions that AFSC and SRC share on these matters Noah Turpen leaves absolutely nothing to de besired so far as I was able to ascertain. In addition, he is a fine, personable individual.

Apparently, they, (the board chairman and superintendent) were apprehensive to the point of not having scheduled any other meetings beyond that with the school board. They wanted to see just what the consultants were like before going any further. As it happened there was just not sufficient time left to schedule people the next morning, because they had other commitments. We couldn't get the ministers together and the superintendent was either reluctant or unable to get any school teachers, the principal or the supervisor together. We at least had a follow up meeting with the superintendent the morning after the 3½ hour evening session.

The board chairman told me the next day that the board was genuinely impressed by and appreciated greatly the approach and attitude of both Turpen and Coleman.

We are truly grateful to SRC for arranging this first school desegregation consultation experience, which to my mind will bring concrete results in Bryson City even though we did not get much beyond the board and superintendent. It was of even greater value as a pilot operation for the state.

Turpen has recommended a teacher and a principal from his system to come to Greensboro to help us with a teacher workshop we are planning for May. I plan to go to Lexington in April to see what has been done there in the city and county systems and to complete plans for the workshop if Turpens people accept the invitation I have sent them.

Need I add that I still am without a secretary, but will have one April 1?

Sincerely yours,

John W. Alexander,
Director, School Program

Copy to Fred Routh

American Friends Service Ctee - Tartt Bell

February 18, 1957

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Do you still intend to put on a civil liberties program and conference with the high school age group? If so, and you are still looking for a volunteer coordinator, you may wish to consider a young man who has been in Atlanta for the past few days and who is looking for a place to do some good before entering law school in the fall. The guy's name is Charles Levy, 21 years old, graduate of Bard College, plans to go to the University of Virginia in the fall to law school.

He has a concern in the civil liberties and race relations field, has toured some of the South on his own to get the feel and to find where he can put in some licks. Thus far he has made a tour in Mississippi and in Georgia. Most recently he visited Koinonia for several days and interviewed members of the Americus power structure.

He came to the Atlanta A.D.L. to use them as a contact point on the recommendation, or introduction, of Alex Miller in the national A.D.L. office.

Levy is interested, mobile, perhaps available without salary for the period of time he would be working. He will call me in a day or two for an answer as to where he can go to work. He appears to be intelligent, I think conversant with the fundamentals of the civil liberties problem. He is fairly articulate, some slight stammer, and seems to have some discretion. He has little organizational experience, except some limited student work.

If you are interested in him for the civil liberties program or something else perhaps you should call me or answer by return air mail. SRC in the meantime is giving some consideration as to how we might make use of him.

Two other items: (1) where is Dick Bennett - organization and address; (2) I'm glad to see that you are on the program for the

Florida Friends Conference; who will be participating in the "present day interracial problem" round table, and is this likely to be a session that will lay a real concern before Friends that will lead to individual and group action? Obviously, you cannot give me all the answers. I would like to attend but cannot. I do wish that more Friends, even as individuals, could perform today what we have come to consider their historic role in laying a deep moral concern on those who have to do with our social ills.

Enough for now. Best wishes to you personally and for your much appreciated work.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

AFSC - Tartt Bell

March 4, 1957

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Mrs. Fred Cappuccino urging Southern Regional Council and American Friends Service Committee to do something about Koinonia. The impression that neither of us is concerned with this situation was given in a memorandum sent by Bill and Nita Hinley, 5615 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago. The Hinleys live at Quaker House in Chicago and have worked with AFSC and I do not know why they lumped AFSC and SRC together. If you have not seen their memo, perhaps you would like to write them for it. On the whole, it was a good job giving expression to a real concern. Also enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mrs. Cappuccino.

With best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

American Friends Service Ctte

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	Paid		Southern Regional Council	5-8-57, 3:30 P.M.

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. Tartt Bell
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Whats the poop on Russell Branson for SRC meeting May 21-22?

Frederick B. Routh

June 10, 1957

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Have received your "urgent" letter of June 7th and am sorry to hear you are losing John Alexander, for I know he was doing a splendid job with the committee; however, Columbia University will gain a good administrator by this move.

As to a replacement for John, I would suggest any one of the following:

1. Irene Osborne

2. Miss Eulalie Ginn
   Director, Wesley Foundation
   University of Miami
   Coral Gables, Florida

3. Rev. C. Emerson Smith
   Presbyterian Church
   P. O. Box 1587
   Foley, Alabama.

I have known Eulalie Ginn for a long period of time. She is poised, well-educated, democratically minded, and Southern. I don't know that she is available. Emerson Smith used to be director of the social action end of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia.

You might write Will Campbell, National Council of Churches, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, for he has contacts with many people. Had you considered Ann Queen?

I am afraid this is not as helpful as you had hoped, but it is the best I can think of at this time.

One other suggestion - Howard "Buck" Kester of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C., is casting about for a new job. He might be just what you are looking for.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

P.S. Harold and I have discussed this and these suggestions include both of our thinking.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

June 7, 1957

U R G E N T

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

I am sure you know what a disaster it is to lose a director just as his program has gained momentum and is dealing creatively with a crisis situation. This is why I need your help.

In July we are to lose John Alexander, Director of our School Desegregation Program. He is returning to Columbia University to continue a career in the Administration.

Will you examine the attached job description and send me at once any suggestions you may have for this opening? Your serious and immediate attention will be most appreciated.

Thanks and warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h
Enclosure

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

JOB DESCRIPTION:
Director
School Desegregation Program

This program seeks to promote the desegregation of public schools in an orderly, creative manner in compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court decisions. North Carolina is the area of special concentration. The director is a staff member of the American Friends Service Committee regional office in High Point.

DUTIES -- The director has responsibility for executing policies of a committee (in which he also helps shape policies); developing projects; interpretation, vocally and otherwise, to interested groups; no fund-raising.

QUALIFICATIONS NEEDED -- Religious committment to cause of brotherhood; considerable experience in South essential; mature enough to deal effectively with school administrators; ability to articulate ideals; physical stamina; some prior experience in education or human relations desirable; ability to write clearly.

We hope to maintain the inter-racial nature of the three person team working in the program. Therefore, for this particular position a white person is needed.

DATE OF OPENING -- Though we are anxious to fill this position immediately it would be possible to wait until September for the right person.

SALARY -- Around five thousand dollars ($5000)

Interested persons write to B. Tartt Bell for personnel application form.
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

August 20, 1957

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks for your suggestion about the forthcoming Washington conference. I agree with you wholeheartedly that we need to get the facts on the table as a basis for our deliberations, and I will try to arrange for an appropriate summary presentation of that kind. I had a long talk with Arnie Aronson yesterday about the general plan of the meeting. Our Southern group will meet by itself on the morning of the first day, after which the sessions will include both Confederates and Yankees. It seems to me that we might well point our morning session toward those considerations that we think ought to be dealt with by the national agency leadership.

I will be looking forward to seeing you in Washington if not before.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 16 1957

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
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REGIONAL OFFICE
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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 15, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have a suggestion about the agenda for the Washington conference on September 17-18 which it might be well to get into the "hopper" now. It seems to me we can very profitably use the opening session in trying to get a clear picture of where we stand now in the desegregation process on various fronts. This will serve as a background against which we will talk about specific problems and programs and projects. I would hope this can be done by one or two people rather than giving every agency the opportunity or responsibility of reporting its own particular programs. It ought to be something of an analysis and summary rather than a detailed program progress report on the part of individual agencies. What we do from this point on I am not now sure but at least this is a good place to start.

Hope you had a good summer and a genuinely restful and relaxed vacation. Brother, you are going to need it because when the gong sounds in September it's going to be a rough and rugged race for us all! If you come this way please be sure to let me know. Warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/as
CC: Barbara Moffitt

VIA AIR MAIL

August 28, 1957

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I was glad to hear that you are considering Jim McCain as a replacement for Henry Catchings. Our experience with Jim has given us a very healthy prospect for him. He is wholeheartedly devoted to the principles that AFSC and SRC share, and he brings some unusual skills to the field. We have been particularly impressed by the confidence he inspires in local Negro leadership and the use he makes of this skill in fact-finding and in stimulation of constructive local efforts. Based on what I know of him and of the position for which you are considering him, I should think he would work out very well. I discussed this with Fred Routh and C. H. Parrish and find them both of the same opinion.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Washington at the time of the CCD meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 2-4025

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Jim McCain writes that he will not be on the South Carolina staff after October 1. It happens that we are at the moment looking for a replacement for Henry Catchings in the Employment Program. What would you think of Jim for this kind of job? He would be working principally at the business of redirecting the focus of the Negro community from "jobs" to a much broader perspective of employment opportunities. What kind of experience have you had with Jim? Did he turn out to be a lemon or was he really the kind of good guy which he gave every appearance of being?

I'm just beginning to explore this with him and would appreciate hearing from you posthaste.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h

September 27, 1957

Arnold Aronson
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Arnold Aronson:

At the Tuesday afternoon session of the CCD, I concluded there was no use in trying to put before the conference a suggestion I have in mind about how we might most effectively pick up the generous offer of the American Jewish Congress to finance some legal aid for human relations agencies and individuals concerned about race relations developments in the Southeast. Perhaps this can best be handled by your placing it before the Executive Committee of the CCD at the earliest opportunity. I hope there is an opportunity here to join the need for further legal aid which was expressed by the southern contingent with the offer of the AJC to underwrite such a program.

Briefly, my suggestion is that an attorney - either experienced in the field of civil rights and civil liberties, or especially promising - be stationed in Atlanta for the purpose of aiding the southern agencies in dealing with restrictive legislation in both the stages of prevention and cure, to provide help in specific cases which are deemed especially important, and to render certain technical assistance which we might all need from time to time. The use of this person's energies and time should be directed by a small group composed of representatives from the Southern Regional Council, the ADL, the Atlanta Urban League, the YWCA and perhaps two or three others. For numerous staff purposes, he might be attached to the office of the Southern Regional Council.

In any event, what is needed is a maximum of flexibility to meet the needs as they emerge and can be evaluated by those who are in the Southeast and facing these problems from day to day. My own thinking is that it will be highly desirable to talk of this in terms of a two year program. In any event, I hope this suggestion might prove useful as a starter in initiating this consideration. I hope something can come of this. Even the dramatic days since our leaving Washington have demonstrated a growing need for this kind of help.

Please let me know if there is any way I can help implement this suggestion. With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h

cc: Barbara Moffett
Harold Fleming

RECEIVED OCT 10 1957

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date October 9, 1957

To: Harold Fleming

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: Reprint of Times Article

If Art Levin can duplicate the Popham article at very little cost, we probably could use as many as 500 copies. We would plan to send it with a personal word of recommendation to a list of key community leaders across the Southeast.

Regards.

BTB/j

October 4, 1957

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Many thanks for your memo of September 27th and the copy of your letter to Arnold Aronson. I am convinced that there is a good project in this legal aid idea and am very glad that you are throwing your weight behind it so effectively. Dick Bennett is paying a brief visit to Atlanta and I have planted the idea with him as one deserving fund support, once the details have been worked out.

I was also pleased that you spotted Popham's article on Kasperism and shared our view of it as a useful piece of work. By a stroke of good fortune, Popham called me about this assignment shortly after I returned from Washington, so I was able to pass on to him the ideas we had kicked around up there.

I have talked about this with Art Levin, and between the two of us we will try to work out some plan of reproduction and distribution of the article. Art has duplicating equipment very much like off-set that might enable us to do it for a very small cost. If so, how many copies do you feel that you could use? And what

ideas do you have for distribution outside of our normal channels?

I met Ed Randall some time ago when he was making a swing through the South. His account of the interest in his tapes shown by Southern radio stations was quite impressive. As a matter of fact, I had intentions of working out some cooperation with him before now, but the rush of events in the last year swept them away. I will look forward to seeing ~~him~~ him and picking up the ball again.

I wasn't as discouraged about Washington as I may have seemed. On the whole, I think it was a valuable session even if it only achieved the purpose of getting some of us from down here together.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 4 1957

Copy

October 2, 1957

Mr. B. Tartt Bell, Ex. Secy.
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks very much for your suggestions regarding ways and means of providing legal assistance to agencies in the South. Would that others who are undoubtedly under much less pressure than yourself were as conscientious in following up on this important issue.

According to my notes, the decision at the Business Meeting directed the Executive Committee to convene a meeting of representatives of the appropriate agencies "aimed at facilitating the extension of legal services in the South." You can be certain that I will do everything I can to implement this decision. Although this may take somewhat longer than we would like, I have high hopes that the services you seek can and will be made available.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

AA:SL

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

cc: Barbara Moffett
Harold Fleming

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date September 27, 1957

Answered

To: Harold Fleming

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: Popham's Classic

I thought John Popham's analysis of the John Kasper type demagogue in Sunday's New York Times was a classic. I think we all might find a reprint of this extremely useful. It ought to be in the hands of every police chief in the Southeast. Is there anybody we can get to take this on as a project? Or in some other way manage to have this reproduced?

Incidentally - quite incidentally - that Tuesday afternoon session of our Washington conference was one for the books. I'll bet it will be a long time before Blake will come down to Washington to chair another session for that gang! Perhaps the highlight of the whole conference came when the plenary session Tuesday afternoon heard a report on what the plenary session Monday evening had discussed.

You may be hearing sometime soon from a guy named Ed Randall. Ed is a former full time staff member, now a part time volunteer. He is an experienced radio broadcaster who now has his own programs with WCAU in Phila. Ed is very much interested in the whole race relations front and has made numerous tape recordings in which he has tried to report "in depth" developments on the race relations front. He has sent these tapes in the name of the AFSC to about 300 stations across the country and has turned up with some kind of phenomenal coverage. He is interested in using his programs to do the kind of job which we feel is necessary. At some time in the near future, he would like an opportunity to talk with you about the use of radio and about gathering materials in the Southeast. I think Ed has a good bit to learn about the race relations climate and affairs in our territory, but he is an intelligent, sensitive person. He certainly is on the side of the angels. Please give him what help you can.

Enclosed is a copy of my note to Arnold Aronson about the legal aid suggestion we did not get to put before the Tuesday afternoon session.

I hope you have recovered from the discouragements of Washington.

Warm regards.

BTB/h

Enc.

C O P Y

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

November 25, 1957

Executive Committee
Consultative Conference on Desegregation — See Minutes attached
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

The developing patterns in the South indicate there is now an urgent need among human relations agencies for additional, supplementary legal counsel and services. The variety and scope of problems with important legal facets being encountered by individuals, groups and agencies on the desegregation front are far beyond the legal resources now available.

The southern field staff of C.C.D. agencies, in session in Atlanta, November 5-6, feel this need can effectively be met by an inter-agency directed legal aid staff. The organization of this service should be established on essentially the following lines:

I. Staff -

(a) To consist of one or two experienced and able attorneys with adequate secretarial help.
(b) To be based in Atlanta.
(c) For purposes of staff supervision, office space, etc., to be attached to Atlanta office of one of the agencies.

II. Committee direction -

(a) A five-man policy committee consisting of representatives of Atlanta agencies.
(b) This committee to establish policies, priorities for staff time and energies.

III. Regional coverage -

(a) This should be a regional service
(b) Available to all agencies on basis of need and relative importance of the legal and other issues involved.

IV. Inter-agency coordination -

Staff to work in collaboration with existing legal resources of all the agencies but will be clearly independent of them.

V. Term of appointment -

The operation of this project should be not less than two years.

VI. Costs -

As seen now, this would be approximately at $30-35,000 annual operation.

VII. Types of services -

(a) Interpret and analyze legislation and proposals.
(b) Act in advisory capacity; assist in securing local legal counsel.
(c) Function as consultant for agencies; e.g., how an agency office should handle seizure of records.
(d) Help formulate legal strategy; e.g., the implications of the Birmingham situation.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

B. Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY MEETING

ATLANTA, GOERGIA. NOVEMBER 5-6, 1957.

Arthur J. Levin, Chairman Mrs. H. Ben Russell, Secretary

The Chairman reminded all present that while the Southern Regional Council had been requested to act as the "secretariat" for the Southern agencies with the function of coordination, responsibility for meetings and exchange of information was vested equally in all the agencies. Beginning with this meeting, the chairmanship will be rotated among all the agencies operating in the South. Another chairman will be selected at the end of each meeting to function for the next meeting.

I. SECURITY

This item was placed on the agenda for the purpose of alerting all to the problems which some human relations agencies in the South are now facing, and which others may face in the future. There was discussion of the Highlander Folk School incident, the disruption of a non-segregated meeting in Birmingham of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the request for state funds by the Georgia Education Commission for wire tapping, "bugging", and telephoto camera equipment.

On the question of how the press may be handled in regard to meetings, the following suggestions were made:

1. The occasion determines the relationship with the press. A policy decision should be made for each meeting as to whether it is a public meeting or a closed executive session, and such decision should be made known to all participants. The press is usually admitted to public meetings, but not to executive sessions.

2. If the press is admitted, it is usually with the understanding that they may report the proceedings in toto and take photographs. Occasionally there may be "off the record" remarks by one or another participant, but this must not be abused if it is to be respected at all.

3. Prepared press releases may be handed out after closed meetings.

4. In reaching a policy decision, it is well to keep in mind that barring the press may carry with it the suggestion of clandestine activity.

The problem of the "communist-smear" technique was fully discussed. It was generally agreed that it is easier to control attendance at meetings than to try to limit the activities of persons who attend. Northern offices of Southern-staffed agencies can furnish information about current communist activities and techniques for purposes of alerting and counteraction. All reasonable precautions must be taken by each agency to make all agencies least susceptible to the "communist-smear" techniques utilized by segregationist groups.

II. JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

It was pointed out that there is need for a current body of facts to be used in dealing with the Civil Rights Commission, as well as in other instances. Representatives of the NAACP, the ADL, the AFSC, and the SRC stated that they were equipped to gather facts in certain areas of voting discrimination statistics, individual cases of voting discrimination, violations of civil liberties, and the individuals and organizations in the resistance movement. Subcommittees were appointed to discuss specifics of the fact-finding project, and inter-religious cooperation.

Southern Interagency Meeting continued:

1. Report of the sub-committee on fact-finding project:

a) Legal Aid Service - a letter is to be sent to the Executive Committee of CCD as a follow-up to the plan for legal aid suggested in Washington, D.C. A copy of the letter drafted by Tartt Bell and approved by the meeting is attached.

b) Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisal - it was suggested that a report be prepared of cases of violence, intimidation, and reprisal growing out of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, with the objective of demonstrating that a punitive climate exists in the South. A primary source for fact gathering would be the newspaper and other files of the Southern Education Reporting Service. The NAACP, ADL, SRC, and AFSC would serve as a steering committee and one person would be employed to carry out the project. A prospectus is to be drawn up by the steering committee and circulated to agencies operating in the South extending an invitation to join in pro-rata financing of the project. Participating agencies will have the opportunity to co-sponsor public release of the prepared report if they so desire. The cost of the project was estimated to be between $3,000 and $4,000.

c) Registration and Voting Discrimination - the NAACP plans a more intensive approach to this problem through its voter registration program, for which it may hire additional staff. There is need for drawing together documentation of official intent to circumscribe civil rights laws (declarations by officials, etc.), supported by individual cases of disenfranchisement. It was suggested that the "Fellowship of the Concerned" might be useful in local communities as spotters and witnesses.

d) Employment Discrimination - the general pattern of discrimination, as well as specific cases, needs to be documented for representation to the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Agencies which have such information (NAACP, Urban League, ADL, SRC, AFSC) are requested to send this material to Tartt Bell, and the AFSC will serve as the repository of such information until further decision as to its compilation and usage is made. It was suggested that an interagency representation might be made directly to the President's Committee on Government Contracts in Washington when the information has been assembled. Agencies were also reminded that the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy has stated that segregation is a violation of federal employment policy, and facts concerning violations should be called to the Committee's attention.

2. Report of the sub-committee on Inter-Religious Cooperation:

A civic meeting of religiously-motivated persons was proposed to discuss "What can religious forces do in the civic field toward desegregation?" It was decided that an exploratory meeting of the Religious Life Committee of CCD (including southern staff) would be held in the South in the near future to discuss the calling of such a conference, and also the possibility of a similar conference for young people. The sub-committee was thinking in terms of inter-faith delegations from ten or twelve southern cities. The matter of handling expenses was discussed, with no decision being reached. It was announced that the Mass Media Committee of CCD was concerning itself with the publication of some appropriate material for the use of young people's groups in the area of race relations.

Southern Interagency Meeting continued:

III. UTILIZATION OF POSITIVE STATEMENTS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

There was discussion of the statements issued by Atlanta and Dallas ministers and a New York Times article on Kasper. Two methods of handling reprinting of such materials were suggested:

1. If any individual agency reprints an item, 100 copies should be sent to Arnold Aronson, Secretary of CCD, for circulation to other agencies. It would be desirable to have additional quantities available at cost for distribution by other agencies on request.

2. Where an agency feels that reprinting an item is desirable, but cannot do so alone, a request can be submitted to Harry Fleischman, Secretary of the CCD Mass Media Committee, c/o National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York. The Mass Media Committee will then decide about reprinting, determine costs, and circulate agencies as to the number of copies each can use.

IV. CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

There was discussion concerning an article in "Business Week" magazine about the effect of resistance to desegregation on industry moving South. The consensus was that industrialist opinion in the North presently does not consider continued segregation and resistance to desegregation important factors in relocating plants. The public relations problem seems to be one of reaching both national spokesmen for industry and the national press. Southern agency representatives and national offices of agencies operating in the South were asked to give special attention to this problem.

V. COMMUNITY COORDINATION PROJECT

The Texas Council on Human Relations is presently concentrating its efforts in Dallas, with the help of an advisory steering committee consisting of professional staff of agencies operating in the state. It was suggested that all agencies contact their staff persons or constituency in Texas with the request to cooperate with the work in Dallas. If an agency has no staff person in Texas, it is requested to notify SRC of any available resources. Church groups are requested to alert their local people for cooperation through the Texas Council of Churches, which is one of the steering committee groups for this project.

Work is being done in Norfolk and Arlington, Virginia, but there may be need for outside help. Agencies are asked to let John Marion or John Hope know of available resources in these cities as soon as possible.

The current Knoxville situation was discussed, and Galen Martin reported that the date for hearing of the pending school case would probably be set by December 3rd. He felt that the federal judge will probably rule for some desegregation and that this ruling will be delivered by May. Martin is to discuss the community coordination plan with Knoxville people to determine if they feel such a project would be helpful.

A progress report on the Miami community coordination project was read. Seymour Samet is coordinator, and the continued cooperation of agencies is requested.

VI. INTER-AGENCY COORDINATION

It was decided that the next meeting will be held in Atlanta on February 25-26. Mrs. Ruby Hurley was selected as chairman.

COPY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main Street
High Point
North Carolina

November 25, 1957

Executive Committee
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

The developing patterns in the South indicate there is now an urgent need among human relations agencies for additional, supplementary legal counsel and services. The variety and scope of problems with important legal facets being encountered by individuals, groups and agencies on the desegregation front are far beyond the legal resources now available.

The southern field staff of C.C.D. agencies, in session in Atlanta, November 5-6, feel this need can effectively be met by an inter-agency directed legal aid staff. The organization of this service should be established on essentially the following lines:

I. Staff -

(a) To consist of one or two experienced and able attorneys with adequate secretarial help.
(b) To be based in Atlanta.
(c) For purposes of staff supervision, office space, etc., to be attached to Atlanta office of one of the agencies.

II. Committee direction -

(a) A five-man policy committee consisting of representatives of Atlanta agencies.
(b) This committee to establish policies, priorities for staff time and energies.

III. Regional coverage -

(a) This should be a regional service.
(b) Available to all agencies on basis of need and relative importance of the legal and other issues involved.

IV. Inter-agency coordination -

Staff to work in collaboration with existing legal resources of all the agencies but will be clearly independent of them.

V. Term of appointment -

The operation of this project should be not less than two years.

VI. Costs -

As seen now, this would be approximately $30-35,000 annual operation.

VII. Types of services -

(a) Interpret and analyze legislation and proposals.
(b) Act in advisory capacity; assist in securing local legal counsel
(c) Function as consultant for agencies; e.g., how an agency office should handle seizure of records.
(d) Help formulate legal strategy; e.g., the implications of the Birmingham situation.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

(Signed) B. Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h

ROSTER

INTERAGENCY MEETING
November 5-6, 1957

1. Y.M.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Rilling

2. American Friends Service Committee
High Point, North Carolina

Tartt Bell
Mrs. Charles Herbin

American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Miss Jean Fairfax

3. Presbyterian Church - U.S.A.
Greenville, Tennessee

Mrs. Ben Russell

4. American Jewish Committee
Atlanta, Georgia

Samuel Lubin

5. Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur J. Levin

6. Unitarian Service Committee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Galen Martin

7. National Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

Will D. Campbell

8. Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

9. Congregational Christian Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Miss Dorothy Hampton

10. Women's Society of Christian Service, Maryville, Tennessee

Mrs. Robert Wilcox

11. National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, N.Y.

Roy McCorkle

12. Y.W.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Florence Harris

13. Consultative Conference on Desegregation, New York, N.Y.

Arnold Aronson

14. Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming
John Hope, II

15. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Southeastern Region
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby Hurley

16. Southern Area Council - Y.W.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Thomas B. Hargrave

17. Presbyterian Church - U.S.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Malcolm Calhoun

18. Georgia Council of Churches
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Edward Driscoll

January 10, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I'm delighted to hear that Barrington has worked out, and proud to have had a small seed-planting part to play in the recruitment. We will be looking forward to working with him.

Don't feel too penitent about unfulfilled intentions. I'm way behind, too, seeing as how I'm just getting around to sending out the proposal for a joint interagency fact-finding effort on violence, intimidation, and reprisal. You should be getting your copy soon, and I hope you will find it possible to participate as one of the four guiding agency staffers.

We'll also be sending out in a day or two notices of the February 25 - 26 meeting. See you then, if not before.

Good luck in Washington, and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

Jan 7th

Dear Harold :

I'll dance at your wedding, bub . Mille gracias for the suggestion of Clyde Barrington. He has accepted an appointment as Mayes Behrman's suggesor and will be on beginning February 1. He's a good man.

The wekeks have slid by since our grand intentions of clobbering Dick Nixon et.al. and nothing has been done. I think I can get around to prodding our crew within the next few days to see if we can't get some information and a plan of action together. We'll have a well-planted representation at the Washington confab next week on motivating minority youth. Maybe suggestions will come back with them. Snowing here today and my gal didn't get in - hence this messy letter. Again many thanks.

Lowell

February 6, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Here are the letter and proposal to the Chace Fund. As you will see, on the strength of our earlier conversation about this, we took the liberty of saying that you would write. A word of support from you would be deeply appreciated.

I don't have to say that we would welcome an opportunity to reciprocate at any time.

I am looking forward to seeing you on the 24th.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Ck. rec'd check Fund

VIA AIR MAIL February 20, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Your letter to Harold Evans was pure poetry. Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 2/13/58

THERMOFAX COPIES OF THIS LTR. SENT TO: DABBS, MAW, FRANK LOESCHER

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

February 12, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
The Anna M. and Elizabeth Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council was thoughtful enough to send me a copy of the appeal which the Council has made to the Chace Fund for support over a period of the next three years. I appreciate this opportunity to recommend the Southern Regional Council for your consideration.

First, may I say that I earnestly hope that the Chace Fund is interested in strengthening indigenous forces in the South which now struggle to find constructive answers to the multitude of problems we face as the old patterns in race relations undergo rapid and fundamental changes. The regional, national, and international implications are of the utmost importance. The next few months will be a crucial time. In this period it is absolutely essential that we marshall enough resources to keep a sense of movement toward desegregation. The opposition to desegregation must not be allowed to create the impression that no further progress is in sight.

Second, the Southern Regional Council is, in a sense, the very core of the progressive race relations movement in the South. It has sparked - and will continue to do so if it receives the necessary financial support - many a creative and intelligent response to local and regional racial tensions. The SRC is a most important resource for thousands of thoughtful Southerners who need desperately its leadership in this situation. Down through the years it has presented an unusual combination of educational and action projects. If the Fund is at all interested in this problem of human relations in the South, the Southern Regional Council would certainly be an excellent choice of a channel through which to express its concern.

Third, on the basis of the experience of the American Friends Service Committee, I would strongly support the request of the Council that financial support extend for a three-year period. This greatly facilitates intelligent budgeting and program planning; furthermore, it enables the Council to continue this whole process of building the local financial resources so necessary to its long-range objectives.

If there is any way in which I can facilitate your consideration of the Council's appeal, please feel free to call on me.

Warm personal regards to you and Sylvia.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

cc: Harold C. Fleming

February 24, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Tartt Bell

From: Emory Via

Tartt, one other thing regarding the interagency employment meeting.

I think it would be a good idea to make some reference to the fact that each of the agencies has had some hand in the meeting, that the planning was loosely coordinated, and therefore communications had been received by agency people and by the President's Committee from a variety of persons. This indicated no cross-purposes but just the "mutuality" of the effort. For example, the President's Committee people heard from AFSC and SRC and had at least some contact with the Urban League to my knowledge.

I think a word along these lines might ease the Committee personnel as well as the other agency representatives.

March 20, 1958

B. Tartt Bell
AFSC

Dear Tartt:

It's far too dark down here for you to go shooting into it. Your man Walker is not to be found in Atlanta and perhaps not in Harvard. The response to my query was, " Who would go to Harvard for social ethics?" (HCF please note).

Since when did AFSC decide on a $5,000.00 cash value for its spiritual attractiveness.

I understand that you can find Walker at Union Seminary. Or that G, McLeod Bryan, Dept. pf Philosophy, Wake Forrest could tell you his whereabouts.

Lammar Clement of the Atlanta Christian Council is my informant; he is afriend of Walkers and past schoolmate.

It goes without saying that my secretary is absent from the office.

Trust you find your man. Best personalwishes.

Emory F. Via

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date March 18, 1958

To: Emory F. Via

From: B. Tartt Bell

Subject: Laurice Walker

I understand this young man is finishing a Ph.D. in Social Ethics at Harvard by doing a piece of field work in Atlanta for the Atlanta Protestant Council. Could you check on this for me and let me know how to write him. We understand he is interested in a race relations job in the Southeast and want to give him consideration for our School Desegregation Program. Incidentally, if you want to compete for him, you'd better start your job offers somewhere in the neighborhood of $10,000.00.

Warm regares.

BTB:cs

Union Seminary

Lamar Element

G. McBurgan

Wake Forest

Dept of Philosophy

March 24, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Since I last talked with you, Art, Sam, Ruby, and I have put our heads together and agreed on a beginning of the Joint Fact-Finding Project. We assumed we had your proxy, but that doesn't prevent you from expressing dissent if anything about the arrangement seems questionable to you.

We agreed to ask Margaret Price to serve as the temporary project person. (I believe you and I talked about her qualifications on the telephone.) Since she will be working away from home base, we agreed on remuneration of $27 per day, plus an expense per diem of $8.00 per day. We estimate that this will comfortably allow for approximately 40 working days, within the limitations of our budget. Margaret has indicated her willingness to serve and will be ready to start right after Easter.

On another matter, I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Bob Hughes to Malin or Watts of ACLU. This is disturbing evidence that ACLU is not operating its Southern program with

the efficiency and zeal that Watts indicated at the interagency meeting. I am hoping to discuss this with the ACLUers in New York this week, my limited time there permitting.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Bob Hughes Ltr. to ACLU, dtd. March 18, 1958)

C O P Y

C O P Y

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Ala.
March 18, 1958

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Attn: Mr. Malin or Mr. Watts

Gentlemen:

On February 14th I wrote your office inquiring if the American Civil Liberties Union was interested at this time in the legal problem confronting the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. I asked for a reply at an early date in order that I could attempt to solicit the interest of some other organization in this lingering problem, in the event that the ACLU is unable to work on the case. This is the fourth letter that I have written since late November attempting to determine first, the progress on and secondly the interest in our case, and the only reply that we have ever received was one from either Mr. Watts' or Mr. Malin's secretary in late December stating that the person that we had written to at that time was out of the office and that our letter would be brought to his attention upon his return. Upon your departure from our office in November we understood that David Vann of the law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All & Rose was informally committed to researching our case as soon as he could be released by his firm to do this work. This release or permission was to have been secured by your office, presumably in December. As of Friday, March 14th, Mr. Vann had heard nothing on this matter.

For momentarily I feared interference with our mail, but it seems incredible that the powers that be in this state could be so efficient as to intercept all of my letters to you, as well as any letters you may have sent to us. The only conclusion I can come to at this late date, as I stated in my letter of February 14th, is that the American Civil Liberties Union has deemed it unwise to take an active interest in this case. In the event that we do not hear from you by Monday, March 24th, to the contrary, we will of necessity have to put out feelers to other organizations in the hopes of eventually obtaining relief. Frankly I do not know of any other course to take at this juncture, and I am sure that you can understand our position.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ ROBERT E. HUGHES, ecr

REH:ecr

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director

cc: Harold Fleming
Allan Knight Chalmers
Mrs. Arthur Tomisek
Mr. Ernest Angell

April 23, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I have read the draft of "Lift Every Voice" and think it is a very persuasive and eloquent document. This does not surprise me when I look over the list of those composing the working party.

I could only wish that there were some way to shorten the statement. Every part of it is relevant and good, but I am afraid the overall length will limit the readership. I have made no effort to figure out how this could be done, if at all, but perhaps your editorial skills could suggest ways in which it could be condensed or pruned in this way or that.

In any case, certainly we will want to have some copies, the number dependent on what we can scrap up by way of payment.

Although I read the manuscript carefully, I could find almost nothing to disagree with. I did make a fly speck on page I - No. 2, where there is mention of "5 so-called hard core states" pledged to maintain segregation.

Although we do refer commonly to the five deepest Southern states as the hard core, there are seven (7) states with such a public policy. I realize that the two you have omitted - Virginia and Florida - are not nearly as monolithic as the others. But there is a slight problem arising out of the wording of your statement.

One other fly-speck. On Page III - No. 7, it occured to me that, modesty nothwithstanding, the Service Committee should be mentioned as one of the organizations carrying on major race relations work in the South. We are, of course, pleased and flattered that SRC is included in so brief an honor roll. It's not important, but it would be more accurate to say that we work in 12 Southern states rather than the Southeast.

Do keep me posted on publication plans and the date of availability of the pamphlet.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 30, 1958

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks so much for your prompt reply to my request for information regarding Bob Hughes' voting situation in Birmingham.

It is my understanding that Bob will make another approach to the Registrar at a proper time when a full discussion can be had. Again, my appreciation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

June 17, 1958

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

In all likelihood you have not gotten the word. However, as you will note from the last page of the enclosed minutes, you were selected - after your departure - as chairman of the next Interagency meeting.

Morals: If there are dubious honors to be passed out - never leave a meeting early!

We will be in correspondence with you about a month ahead of time concerning the agenda and like matters.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

July 1, 1958

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
c/o C. R. Bell
1341 Leighton Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

Dear Tartt:

I gathered from Barbara Moffett's memorandum that we were in for some possible difficulty on the question of sponsorship. I very much hope that this can be resolved in favor of the original plan.

It would be fine if you could pay us a visit on your way back to High Point. I will be out of the office, at the Fisk Institute on Race Relations, on Tuesday and Wednesday, July 8th and 9th. Otherwise, I will be here until July 17th and would welcome a chance to talk with you.

The various suggested revisions are nearing completion, and we should be able to produce a revised manuscript on very short notice.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

June 25, 1958

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I regret to report there are rumblings in Philadelphia which indicate the Board may want to take our fact-finding document under its wing. Translated, this means that the Southeastern Regional Office will not be in position to act independently in responding to the request of the agencies to publish the fact-finding document. It also probably means considerable delay in a final answer. All of this is a headache and I still have some hope we might be able to avoid it.

For the next couple of weeks I'll be down for a visit with my parents and can be reached in care of C. R. Bell, 1431 Leighton Avenue, Anniston. I'll get in touch with you as soon as I hear further from Philadelphia. It might be a good idea for me to come over for a confab with you and others. We'll need to talk about a foreword and to check on what's been done with the suggested revisions.

Warm regards.

Cordially yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

August 27, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Could you please send me Stewart Mecham's address?

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

November 19, 1958

Miss Corinne Shore
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Miss Shore:

We have received the ten copies of the minutes of the last Interagency Conference. However, there is some doubt in our minds as to what has been done or is planned in mailing these to other members of the Conference.

Have the other agencies received these minutes or was it Tartt's intention that we send them? Or, was it Tartt's idea that we would summarize these minutes and send out a shorter version containing less confidential information? Incidentally, if we are to mail these out to the other agencies, would it be possible for us to have ten to twenty additional copies.

The minutes are excellent and, by our standards, not particularly late. We are old hands at stretching deadlines!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date November 18, 1958

To: Harold Fleming

From: Corinne Shore CS (Secretary to Tartt Bell)

Subject: SIC Minutes

Enclosed are ten copies of the minutes of the Southern Interagency Conference. Tartt Bell left this morning for his annual trip to Tryon, North Carolina. We are sorry to be so late in getting them out. Tartt said he was afraid it was obvious that the minutes were written up from "cold notes".

File

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date January 23, 1959

To: Harold Fleming

From: Tartt Bell

Subject: Ben Smith

A lengthy conversation with Mr. Smith yesterday afternoon reveals that he is busy with numerous educational ventures and is planning a European jaunt in the late spring. However, he will be glad to give serious consideration to an invitation from Atlanta. He says he's not really sure that "anybody can help those folks down there in Georgia".

Unless I miss my guess, this is an instance in which the size of the honorarium will have a good bit to do with his reception of the invitation.

BTB:cs

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date February 4, 1959

To: Harold Fleming

From: Tartt Bell

Subject: Mary Douglas Finch
Louisburg College
Louisburg, N. C.

I have just had a letter from Mary Finch indicating a deep interest in remaining in the Southeast to work in race relations. She taught in a Methodist girls' school in Japan for a number of years, was at Paine College for two years and can either return to Paine or go to Bethlehem Center. She would much prefer to be working in and for integrated race relations. She sounds like a person with excellent motivation and experience.

We are asking her to fill in a personnel experience record and I can soon tell you a bit more about her. Meanwhile here apparently is a person who might fill an appropriate agency opening. Pass this information on in any ways which seem useful.

BTB:cs

March 30, 1959

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I did find the time - and the energy - to read the Annual Report of the American Friends Service Committee. It made very good reading, too. Thanks for sending it to me.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 12, 1959

Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir.
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I hope you can somehow find the time--and energy--to read the enclosed annual report.

Will look forward to seeing you in Atlanta at the inter-agency session on April 28-29.

Warm regards,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

Enclosure: Annual Report

March 30, 1959

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks for your memorandum of March 27. My cubby hole is the brighter for it.

I am thoroughly delighted to learn of your offer of a two-year appointment to the UN team. This sounds like a fine opportunity and should do both you and the international situation a world of good. I think you should do everything possible to find a replacement, as hard as that is, and I will be glad to do anything I can to help. The names that occur to us are all thoroughly familiar to you, but I will pass them on just the same.

Alvin Gaines of Atlanta, Carl Bennett of Macon, and MacBrian of Wake Forest have all, I believe, had some relationship to AFSC. Is it possible that one of them could hold the fort for two years? Fred suggests that you might want to consider Emerson Smith, who headed the Race Relations Department of the Virginia Council of Churches for some years and now pastors the Presbyterian Church in Folly, Alabama. As an off-beat suggestion, have you

thought of propositioning Ben Sissel?

In addition to these random suggestions I am enclosing a letter we received from a young Episcopalian minister of Burlington, North Carolina. He obviously wouldn't be suitable for a top-level job, but I thought you should know about his interest in the field.

All the best untill I see you next month.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date March 27, 1959
(dictated March 26, 1959)

To: Harold Fleming

From: Tartt Bell

Subject: Publication of Fact-Finding Document

The news that galley proofs are on the way is wonderful. We bow low to you,oh pale face who sits in cubby hole called office!

I am checking now with Jean to make sure that we won't need more than the 500 copies which is our allotment. You will hear from us on this pronto.

I assume that our forthcoming session will be adequate time in which to discuss the need for funds for postage, promotion, etc.

Thanks very much for the audit of the books on this project. You're a wise man Brother Fleming and wise men don't go around with their books closed.

Marion was here yesterday for the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Commission hearing. It turned out to be a rather dull and discouraging affair. We made an abortive effort to get together an agency group for a strategy session but ran into all kinds of headaches. The principal ingredient missing in yesterday's session was some really responsible agency reporting. The next session of the Commission is tentatively scheduled for the first Saturday in May in Durham. Indications are we can do much better next time. This will give the AFSC an opportunity for adequate clearance with our executive committee. We were terribly anxious to report yesterday afternoon but did not feel we had cleared the proper channels and probably made a wise decision in postponing a presentation until such time as this is a solid foundation underneath us. I haven't yet seen the newspaper play on the afternoon sessions yesterday but the press was fairly well represented.

While I have you on the cylinder, may I bend your ear on a most important matter. You have perhaps heard via the grape vine that the Service Committee has offered me a two-year appointment in our team at the United Nations. This is an opening which specializes in the economic and social matters of general concern to Friends and to the AFSC in particular. It is a rather exciting prospect and I very much want to do it. The leave of absence granted by our executive committee here is contingent upon working out a satisfactory arrangement to hold the fort while I am away. I definitely want to and plan to return and would like to think of the probability of at least another year or two in the AFSC saddle here. The AFSC always seems to be taking on some ridiculous personnel problems and this isn't going to be the easiest one in the world to solve. Not because Bell is the ~~replaceable man by an~~ irreplaceable man by any means

but because the combination of the two-year appointment plus the other factors which go into the job do comprise a rather formidable difficulty. In some ways--in fact in many ways--Emory would have been an ideal person for this if we could have caught him before his return to the academic world. In any event, may I add to your considerable burdens by asking you to give this some thought. Do you think of anyone from the academic world or the pulpit who is about to be shaken loose? Your help will be most appreciated. Time is becoming an important factor because the personnel committee of the UN Program cannot wait forever to make sure they can count on me. Technically I am supposed to report at the end of July.

Warm regards. I will look forward to seeing you next month.

BTB:cs

May 12, 1959

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

Thanks for your good letter. One of the things I had wanted to do at the interagency meeting was to get updated on your situation. So your news is doubly welcome.

I know how tough it is to find a replacement-- even a temporary one -- for an important spot like yours. In order to fill Fred's role as field director, we are having to work a cruel hardship on one of our progeny -- that is, the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Paul Rilling will come with us effective July 1. So the order of the day is to find another director for Virginia.

I have passed on the name of Heslip Lee to Paul Rilling. If you have any additional information about him, or if you know of other possible candidates, I know Paul will appreciate hearing from you.

I can't say I'm tall in the saddle, but I have recovered my usual slouch and am functioning

normally (for me) again.

The very best to you as you struggle with New York housing and prepare for your important new duties.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 8, 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We really missed you last week at the conference. It was too bad that you were under the weather and I especially appreciated your dragging in that bag of bones on Wednesday morning for the session.

Heslip Lee who is now director of religious activities at Mercer, is "on the way out" and I understand is open to agency propositions. Though I don't know him personally he is known to some members of our staff who say he is an awful good guy. He apparently was a farm boy who went to college rather late. He is 37 years old has four children, has a BA degree from Mercer and a BD from Colgate--Rochester in 1957. His present address is 1640 Adams Street Macon, Georgia.

Would you please pass this on to a few key agencies to see if anyone wants to pick it up.

There is no news yet on an appointment for an interim secretary here. We are taking a leap of faith by making definite plans to go on to New York in July. I am already discouraged about housing possibilities. When we really get down to house hunting I am sure we will wonder "who ever thought up this dreadful idea anyway."

I hope by now you are "riding tall in the saddle" again. Let me hear from you on publication plans for the document. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/jr

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

June 18, 1959

Irving Mariash
Counselor At Law
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Mariash:

We could not agree with you more that a serious effort should be made now to secure the same measure of justice for the four Negroes who are waiting execution in Florida for rape as obtained with the four whites convicted of rape of the coed at Tallahassee. I feel sure that a campaign of this kind would receive considerable national support but I am strongly of the opinion that it should originate in Florida. It seems to me this is something which might most helpfully be handled by the Florida NAACP or the Florida Council On Human Relations, a state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. I hope one of them will be in position to take this on immediately and therefore be able to use your generous offer of $100.00 contribution for this purpose.

Please feel free to make other suggestions as they occur to you.

Yours truly,

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/jr

cc: Ruby Hurley
NAACP= 895½ Hunter St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Sent list + memo 7/17/59

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

July 14, 1959

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 15 1959

Dear Harold:

Copies of the report have now gone with a covering letter to about 15 North Carolina editors. No word yet from Jean on whether she will be able to handle the personal presentations in Washington.

How would you like to be faced in August with a major distribution and promotion job? This is what we will be up against when we receive word from University of Oklahoma Press that our "Race and Conscience in America" is available. In view of your long experience I wonder if I might ask your counsel on this. Would you jot down for me the essential steps which in your experience are necessary for the effective use of a document like that we will be having in our hands. Presumably our office here will be responsible for all use of the booklet in this region. Is it cricket to ask if you could let me have a list of the newspapers and other mass media which you regularly try to reach in a case of this kind? If you have had to establish restrictive policies in handling requests of this kind for key lists, don't feel any undue pressure to make an exception this time. On the other hand if you could run us off a list of this kind it would be most appreciated.

I am pushing madly to get out of here on Sunday for three weeks in New York. In case you are in the big city please be sure to give me a ring at the office, 345 E. 46th St., Murray Hill 2-2745. I'll look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

B. Tartt Bell P.R.

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:pr
cc: Jean Fairfax

August 18, 1959

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

I had seen the ACLU's financial appeal featuring the Howard case and -- while I always flinch a bit at the use of such incidents for institutional fund-raising -- it didn't seem especially surprising to me. As far as I know, the description of the ACLU's role in the case, as it appears in the fund-raising appeal itself, is accurate. (I'm returning the mailing, enclosed.) As you will have noted, the claim is not very large -- merely that ACLU called on the Justice Department to investigate, publicized the incident, and is prepared to aid in an appeal if the case is appealable.

Seems to me it boils down to whether one feels this kind of fund appeal is proper and in good taste. Assuming that, I don't feel the ACLU is any more culpable than anybody else who employs the technique. It is true that Howard has had few champions, and ACLU is one of the very, very few organizations publicly going to bat on the principle of the case.

On another note, I hope it's going to be possible for you, as well as Jean, to attend the

next interagency meeting, September 15 and 16. We'll put you on the agenda for a (temporary) farewell address.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

cc: Miss Jean Fairfax

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

August 17, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 18 1959

Confidential

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Have you seen the enclosed financial appeal of the American Civil Liberties Union which features the Bessemer situation? Does it not astonish you that the ACLU would use its participation in the Bessemer affair as a basis for a financial appeal? Maybe they have been a great deal more active and helpful than I know about. Could you let me know what actual work the ACLU did in this case.

I'll be here until about the first week in September and will look forward to hearing from you. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:mh
Enc.

cc: Jean Fairfax

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Robert H. Frazier, *Chairman*
Rufus White, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

December 9, 1954

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

First, I would like to express my sincere appreciation for your invitation to luncheon on November 22 while there in Atlanta. I enjoyed very much the wonderful opportunity to discuss with you the practical problems as well as the few successes that have come about in new employment opportunities there in Atlanta.

I have received the bulletin "Training of Negroes in the Skilled Trades" and I wish to thank you for it. As yet, I have not had the opportunity to meet council persons in the city that I listed while there, but I certainly plan to do so.

Let me thank you again for your thoughtfulness of us here at AFSC.

Respectfully,

Henry L. Catchings

Henry L. Catchings
Associate Director

MERIT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

HLC/swh

March 12, 1957

Mr. Henry L. Catchings
Associate Director
Merit Employment Program
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Catchings:

This is to supplement my secretary's answer to your recent letter, which arrived while I was out of the city for an extended period.

Hammer and Company did undertake a fact-finding project for us to determine the details of industrialization of the South during the post-war decade. The survey attempted to discover county by county the number of new industries, classified by number of employees and type of manufacturing, that had located in the South between 1945 and 1955. Our purpose in having the survey done was to obtain better understanding of the industrialization going on in the South and its implications for race relations. We haven't put the findings into any form that would permit distribution, largely because a large national organization has approached us about the possibility of supplementing the research and spelling out some of the implications in greater detail than we would now be able to do. The resulting delay has been unfortunate, but it may be in the long run well worth waiting for.

As soon as these matters have been worked out and we have the findings in a form that I can send you, you will be hearing from me.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

February 25, 1957

Mr. Henry L. Catchings
Associate Director
Merit Employment Program
American Friends Service Committee
Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Catchings:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 19th. Mr. Fleming is away at present and is expected to return to the office on Monday, March 4th.

Meanwhile, I have checked with persons here in the office who know of the status of the voting survey about which you inquired. They tell me that it is not yet ready for distribution. I feel certain that when it is ready a copy will be sent you.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

eab/

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

February 19, 1957

Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

We have been informed that you have contacted Phil Hammer, a research specialist, to do a study of the location of industry in the southeast.

We are of the opinion that such a study will have extremely valuable information for us in our attempts to open Job Opportunities for Negroes in the southeast.

If it is possible to get a copy of these findings, please let us have one.

With best wishes, I am

Henry L. Catchings

Henry L. Catchings
Associate Director
Merit Employment Program

HLC/ras

File

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

~~617 West Market St~~ 1818 So. Main Street ~~Greensboro, N. C.~~ High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
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TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 14, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter of March 12, explaining the continued fact finding research in southern industrialization. I appreciate very much your letting us know about this, and that we may have the benefit of the final results. Such information will be of tremendous value to us in our Merit Employment Program here.

If there is any service that we can give the council in any way, please let us know.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Henry L. Catchings

Henry L. Catchings

HLC:sb

June 17, 1957

Mr. Henry Catchings
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Henry:

Enclosed are two copies each of letters and materials relating to Union Staff Training Seminar which we are conducting in conjunction with Fisk Institute on Race Relations.

Good to have seen you week before last; I saw Mayes in Charlotte.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:nm

February 12, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean Fairfax:

The arrangements for the meeting of the 24th are in order. It would be more convenient and perhaps more comfortable to have the day-time meetings in the Southern Regional Council's conference room. A good sandwich lunch could be brought in. You are so invited, and we will plan on that basis unless we hear otherwise from you.

The evening meeting for dinner with Phil Hammer will be at Atlanta University. I trust that these arrangements suit: but don't hesitate to request a change.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

P.S. Overnight reservations for the 24th have been made for three men and three women.

EFV:fcl

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

February 6, 1958

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory Via:

Jacob Seidenberg has informed us that he will not be available to meet with the interagency group in Atlanta on Tuesday morning, February 25th. Perhaps Tartt Bell has called you or Harold Fleming to discuss various alternatives: that we meet later in March with Jacob Seidenberg; that we go ahead with a session, as scheduled, on the President's Committee with George Butler who would be available. Perhaps by now Harold and Tartt have made a decision.

Whatever you decide to do, we will go ahead with our consultation on AFSC Merit Employment Programs in the South on Monday, February 24th. We are now conferring with our staff in Baton Rouge and in North Carolina and will send you an agenda for our sessions after we have gathered their ideas. I hope you have been able to reserve facilities at Atlanta University for us. We should like to begin with a session Monday morning at 10:00 a.m. and continue in the afternoon with another meeting. Following the arrangements which you have made, we will have a supper meeting with Phillip Hammer. If you have decided not to have the Tuesday morning session on the President's Committee, we shall continue our discussions on AFSC and finish by lunch.

6
4

Atlanta University may wish to have the following information now: There will be six AFSC representatives (of whom 3 are women) and there is a possibility that there will be two additional men. To that number, add John Hope, Harold Fleming Phillip Hammer and yourself. We will want to have lunch and dinner on the 24th and breakfast and lunch on the 25th. When I write you next week, I will let you know how many of us will be staying on for the interagency meeting.

Thank you so much for handling these arrangements.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax b.

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF/fy
cc: Harold Fleming
Barbara Moffett

March 5, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean Fairfax:

Here is an interesting and, I think, useful memo by Bonita Valien on our recent consultation in Dallas. It seemed to me the least we could do was share it with you.

I'm sorry we had so little opportunity to talk last week, but very glad that Fred and John Hope had a better chance.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Valien Memo - dtd. 2/21/58)

March 10, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thank you for your good letter of March 6th which has just arrived in the office. We, at SRC, were happy to be able to assist the American Friends Service Committee in evaluating its merit employment project. We believe this to be one of the more significant programs now being carried on in the South.

Emory Via is considerably better. As a matter of fact, the doctor discovered that he did not have pneumonia, but that the liquid in his lungs had been pumped in by another doctor for x-ray purposes about a year ago and that it had not yet been absorbed by his system. This, of course, was a great relief to all of us. I will turn your letter over to him so that he will know of your wish to have him visit the Baton Rouge office.

We are all impressed with your staff in the South and believe that in a unique way they are contributing to the growth of a democratic society in our region. Economic democracy is as essential as political democracy. The right to earn a living is inherent in the Constitution of the United States.

With all good wishes for the continuing success of your work.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl
bc: Emory F. Via

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

March 6, 1958

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you so much for your participation in our consultation last week on AFSC merit employment work.

I have just been preparing the minutes of our sessions and know that all of us in Philadelphia and in the field who are concerned about making our work more effective will have many occasions to refer to the very helpful suggestions which we received from you and from John Hope.

Philip Hammer makes the South sound so very exciting; after an evening with him other parts of the country seem terribly static and uninteresting! Within this fascinating drama there is certainly an important role for people with our concerns. With more careful attention to techniques I hope we can make this role more effective.

We appreciate the help of the Southern Regional Council in making the arrangements for our meeting and hope you will express our gratitude to everyone who was involved. I hope Emory Via is better. Tell him that I am making available to our staff the information which he gave me over the telephone and hope that he will be able to visit our Baton Rouge office this spring to advise Wade Mackie about contacts with unions there.

I shall write you later about the personnel needs which we have and hope to work out with you a systematic way of informing various persons and educational centers about job openings.

Best wishes and again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:lw

cc: Barbara Moffett
Tartt Bell

June 4, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Harold and Emory have told me of your query about a person in the white community of Tuskegee whom a "reconciliation team" might contact.

I have talked with Bob Hughes about this and he suggests Mr. Allen Parker, vice-president of the Merchants National Bank (Tuskegee). He is a good and decent person with a concern in our area of interest.

As to a team who might seek to bring about reconciliation, I have no specific suggestions. However, the obvious qualifications for such persons are:

(1) Religiously motivated concern for all people; (2) mature and stable personality; (3) ease of developing rapport with Southern whites; (4) a person with no axe to grind.

But you and AFSC know more of these things than I. I suggest you contact Bob Hughes; Room

1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama.

Sorry to have missed you at the Interagency meeting - all good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Fairfax, Jean
American Friends Ser. Committee

REGARDING:

Confidential report on Houston, Texas.

DATE

October 31, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Consultant Service Program - "Houston, Texas"

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 25, 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Burns Chalmers, the AFSC Secretary for Education whose office is in Washington, made the appointment for me to see William Carr of the National Educational Association and accompanied me. The appointment had been made through Carr's secretary when he was out of town. I discovered when I arrived in Washington that Carr had called Burns in an attempt to cancel the interview, suggesting that "Miss Fairfax might not find it worth her while" since he is just a staff person subject to the policies of his organization. But Burns insisted and we had a half hour with Carr.

We indicated that we came to discuss two questions: 1) whether NEA had considered studying communities where schools had been desegregated, especially Washington, pointing out the need for objective reports from reputable educators; 2) whether NEA was concerned to study the issues growing out of the closing of schools.

Carr told us that a resolution was brought to the convention last summer which would have given NEA a mandate to study desegregation. It was discussed a long time but action was prevented because there was no longer a quorum when the issue had been thrashed over. He stated that he had no more professional competency than any other citizen to say whether the Supreme Court's decision was right, that he might have real reason to hesitate advocating the immediate implementation of the decision if he knew that the wholesale firing of all Negro teachers in a community would result from integration and that he could not give a professional judgment whether integration is good for all children. So far as a study of Washington is concerned, he thought a study by a private southern university was the best suggestion.

The closing of public schools presents new issues, he admitted, which directly affect teachers as professionals. At the October meeting of his board, the matter was not officially discussed (since the schools had been closed just a few weeks!) but there was considerable informal talk. If the problem persists, NEA may feel the need to take some action.

Burns asked whether NEA could make any suggestions to the President about the handling of integration and wondered whether NEA would consider urging the appointment of a national commission which could function as a non-partisan body similar to the private commission which had just released its report on Race and Housing. Carr welcomed the suggestion and made a note of it but was lukewarm to my idea of a presidential representative on desegregation, similar to Stassen's appointment in the field of disarmament. I got the feeling that he much preferred suggestions which NEA could make to someone else than those directing NEA to take action. I asked whether NEA could put us in touch with white teachers in the South who are in favor of desegregation but this brought only a discussion of the segregated pattern of the teachers' associations and no offer of names or contacts.

It is hard to evaluate the visit or to estimate what might come out of it. He was very starchy and official at first, probably thinking we had come to clobber him on the head, but became very cordial when he realized that we had come to express concern which has grown out of our work. There ought to be some follow up but I am not sure what it should be.

We had an excellent visit with Erwin Knoll who said his series of articles on the Washington schools should be in the Post by early December.

Today I received a clipping from Burns which indicates that Arthur Flemming's office will make a report assessing damage already suffered by children whose schools are closed.

Burns has written to the president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers to find out whether that body is planning to take any action on the school closings.

So much for us which does not add up to much in view of what we want to bring about. I hope you have more concrete results to report from our decision at the last interagency meeting to get Washington agency representatives together to plan some joint activities.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:ab

cc: Tartt Bell
Barbara Moffett
William Bagwell

December 4, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative of Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

There is little new information on the Birmingham situation. A recent letter from Bob Hughes indicated that the bus protest has fizzled. It never really got off the ground because of the factors which we discussed by phone.

Regarding Shuttlesworth's being held incommunicado without counsel for five days, I think the following information may be useful. Bob Hughes talked with the lawyer involved; he indicated that he had been present at the booking, which was on a Thursday or Friday; that he had attempted to see Shuttlesworth at noon on the following Saturday and had been denied admittance, but that he was present for the hearing which was held on the following Tuesday (I believe this was the right day). Although there are no grounds evident to me why the lawyer should have been denied a chance to visit his client on Saturday, it seems that this was the only attempt made to see Shuttlesworth, and I know of no specific protest because of the denial. There were real reasons due to travel schedule, etc., why the lawyer did not attempt to see Shuttlesworth on other occasions. I would certainly be most interested in any response which you get from the inquiries made to officials in Alabama. Certainly the arrests of the three ministers was something which could be protested. However, I personally do not feel that the issues of denial of counsel and being held incommunicado are clear enough to warrant any widespread protest.

I am enclosing copies of a very rough statement prepared as an orientation piece to be used by Bob Hughes with denominational representatives who come into Birmingham to work with their constituents. Also is a copy of a rundown on intimidation and violence in Birmingham which would be used for further orientation and as a piece to be distributed to constituents; this

is not a complete listing, the other items were to be supplied by Bob Hughes. Several denominational representatives have gone into Birmingham. Any other person with constituency or good leads into the community would be most welcome. The efforts of the denominational people have been aimed primarily at whites in Birmingham. It is felt that this effort is needed whether or not a bus protest materializes. It is none too soon to have some constructive attention paid to this situation.

I leave the Council officially at the beginning of next week. However, I undoubtedly will be around closing out loose ends for another couple of weeks. Since I did not hear further from you regarding a trip into Louisiana and Texas, I assume that there was no particular reason for a visit into that territory. I will have a very limited amount of time between now and December 26 when I depart for Madison, but if I can be of service to you or to the AFSC I would be glad to do so.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosures

Paul Anthony - If you can help Jean Fairfax on this, please do so. J.M.D.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 S. 12th Street Phila. 7, Pa.

M E M O R A N D U M U R G E N T

TO: AFSC REGIONAL OFFICES AND SPECIAL CONTACTS

FROM: PERSONNEL OFFICE

SUBJECT: PERSONNEL FOR AN AFSC COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM IN LITTLE ROCK

Can you help us find staff for a special one-year project in Little Rock, Arkansas?

In spite of continuing uncertainties in the situation in Little Rock recent events indicate a readiness in important segments in the community to abandon the disastrous road of massive resistance to desegregation. In May a successful campaign removed extreme segregationists from the School Board. In June a Federal Court ruled unconstitutional the laws on the basis of which Governor Faubus closed schools and ordered the Board to proceed with desegregation. The School Board has indicated its intention to comply and has now started registration for the fall term. The picture is by no means rosy, however. Regardless of whether public high schools open, private segregated schools will continue to operate, to attract a sizeable number of students and to be a symbol of resistance to integration. How extensive desegregation will be and how willing the Board will be to make it increasingly more inclusive is unknown. Furthermore, it is not clear whether positive efforts will be made to create an atmosphere in integrated schools which will discourage incidents and the harassment of Negro pupils. However, although Governor Faubus can still delay the process of desegregation by appealing the Court's order and by pushing through the legislature more anti-integration laws, the responsible leadership of Little Rock, including the Chamber of Commerce, is committed to opening the high schools with whatever desegregation is necessary to satisfy the Courts.

Throughout the crisis the Little Rock Friends Meeting, the Southwest Regional AFSC Office and the National Community Relations Program have been consulting together about a possible AFSC Community Relations Program in Little Rock. Following recent visits by AFSC representatives it is our united judgment that the present situation offers a challenging opportunity to us. A one-year program under the auspices of our Southwest Regional Office (Austin, Texas) has been approved, to begin as soon as possible. Special funds are now being sought.

For a community in the process of recovery and adjustment from a major crisis which has been political, legal and moral we cannot outline specifically what the nature of an AFSC program will be. It is our judgment that the needs of the youth are so great that a program might well begin with a focus on young people. Students have been the injured group and we are concerned to help counteract the effects on youth of a disrupted education and of intensive segregationist propaganda and activity. AFSC staff may undertake to sponsor interracial activities for teen-agers: discussion groups, seminars, work camps, etc. Whether strictly academic projects would be sponsored would depend on what the schools provide to help the Negro students especially to overcome the loss of a year of education. Our staff may wish to organize intensive tutoring or study groups and may discover the need for vocational and academic counseling.

The planning and sponsoring of activities for young people and a concern about the total situation in the community would open up, we hope, opportunities for consultation with school administrators, teachers, community leaders and parents and could lead in turn to occasions when discussion with adults of the basic issues involved would be appropriate. We anticipate, therefore, not only a program of youth activities but work with adults in which we would draw upon AFSC's experience in school desegregation programs in Washington and North Carolina, as well as our national High School Program and the Community Peace Education Program. Seminars for teachers, informal meetings with parents, institutes, the providing of special consultants and other program ideas might be fruitfully used in Little Rock. We do not underestimate the difficulties in this situation but if there exists now a new openness to consider the basis on which good human relations can be established, we feel challenged to respond with a constructive program.

PERSONNEL NEEDS We are looking for a man, woman or couple who could be available for one year, to begin as soon as possible. Background and experience in education (teaching, administration or guidance), in intergroup relations or in community organization would be extremely valuable, but the personal qualifications are more important than the professional ones. We need someone qualified by commitment, temperament and experience to do a skillful community relations job. It should be someone who understands young people and relates easily to them but who knows how to work with adults, how to inspire their confidence, how to help them discover and overcome their barriers to communication and relationships across racial lines. He should know how to work with others to develop effective techniques for social action. He should be knowledgeable in race relations and have enough background on national developments to be a good channel, not only for the communication of AFSC experience elsewhere in the country but for the interpretation to AFSC of the significance of events in Little Rock. We need a good, perceptive reporter. He should be imaginative, resourceful, energetic and not easily discouraged and one who sees possibilities in difficult situations.

We can proceed with a program in Little Rock only if we have top personnel. If you can suggest someone to us, will you contact immediately:

Personnel Office
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

JF:mt

July 22, 1959

Jean Fairfax

August 19, 1959

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thank you for your help and guidance on the Houston situation. I dug as deeply into things as I could during my brief stay there. I was able to see most of the key factors in the situation. I could not contact Mr. Plummer, Dr. Knowles and Dr. Noland were not in Houston at the time.

As you can tell from this enclosed report we are going ahead to provide some slight assistance to the Houston Council on Human Relations. You will note that Irwin Glatstein recommended this action and that the direction of the Committee for Peaceful Desegregation has changed in such a way that Dr. Bayles has withdrawn from active involvement with that group.

This is one of the most confusing situations that I have yet seen. I hope that we can compare notes at the interagency meeting in September. Perhaps sometime when we both are going to Houston we can plan overlapping visits to our mutual benefit.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl
Encls. - 1.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

Sept. 13

Dear Paul,

Could you and Harold save some time to talk with me Thursday morning about some plans we have for a special project in Louisiana - Mississippi this year? Also, would you call the Y.W.C.A and ask Florence Harris and Frances Moser whether they would have time for a conference with me Wednesday afternoon? Thanks. See you Tuesday. I may have a friend with me, Rev. John Youngblut, who may be taking on an assignment with AFSC.

Sincerely, Jean

PR-
Ans. 11/4/59 S.M.
F.Y.I. + action on names to Yungblut.
H.
PA-
For addition to Youngblut to appropriate lists.
L.

October 26, 1959

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thanks for taking time out from your lotus-eating vacation to write about John Yungblut. We will send him such names as we have and also put him on the mailing list.

Incidentally, Harry Meserve, whom I saw recently, speaks of Yungblut in the most enthusiastic terms.

Allan Knight Chalmers' Southern activities are indeed interesting. I have heard enough vague reports to lead me to suppose he is the potent potentiary that Thurgood speaks of. I'd be happy to join in a meeting with him, if we can work it out. There is some chance - by no means certain - that I will be in New York November 16 or 17. Otherwise, I will be tied up November 1st through 11th, the 18th, and the 25th. If you arrange something for some date other than these, I'll do my best to make it.

Hope you'll be bright-eyed and refreshed when you see this.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HOTEL

Mafolie AND APARTMENTS

CABLE MAF

Exclusive Beach Facilities Available to Guests

ST. THOMAS, VIRGIN ISLANDS, U. S. A.

October 21, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 22 1959

Dear Harold,

I had meant to forget all about work on my vacation and the Virgin Islands is a good place to be irresponsible. Something in the atmosphere leads one away from major issues and involvement in them. However, I intended to write you before I left for NAIRO to tell you that AFSC has appointed John Yungblut to direct the special project for isolated liberals this year. His headquarters will be in Baton Rouge in the office with Wade Mackie.

Would you please send him names and addresses of your contacts in Louisiana and Mississippi? The address is: AFSC, 1608 Government Street, Baton Rouge, La.

You will be interested to know that we have heard from Allan Knight Chalmers who reported that he has several "high level" groups going in Mississippi at the present time. I am terribly curious to know more about what he is doing and look forward to a good session with him later this fall. If he is willing to take us into his confidence, I would like to suggest that we three meet in New York at some convenient time in November. He may feel that no one should know what he is doing or with whom he is in contact. But he would surely share some general observations about the mind-set of present leadership. I will let you know whether I can work something out. Meanwhile, you might send word to me in Philadelphia about your November schedule and any possible New York trips which you will have next month.

Sincerely,

Jean

(UNLESS YOUR REPLY IS SENT VIA AIRMAIL THERE WILL BE A DELAY OF AT LEAST ONE MONTH)

Sent to Gingblut by Rilling 10/4/59

SRC Board Members

Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
Bishop - The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Miss.

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Miss.

Miss Florence Sytz
School of Social Work
Tulane University
New Orleans, La.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Mr. J. L. Reddix, President
Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.

Father Alexander Sigur
P. O. Box 532
S.L.I. Station
Lafayette, La.

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

From Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work here.

Mrs. Paul Arrington
1735 Piedmont Street
Jackson, Miss.

Dr. Finger, President
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss.

Mrs. ? Kirby
(with the Christian Advocate)
Jackson, Miss.

Mrs. ? Weathersby
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Others

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Rabbi E. W. Leipziger
4238 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Milton P. Adler
61 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Father Fichter
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Forrest LaViolette
Tulane University
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Sherard, Miss. (former chairman, Miss. Council on Human Relations)

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley
P.O. Box 307
Greenwood, Miss.

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
1116 Montgomery Avenue
Jackson, Miss.
(formerly Exec. Director, Miss. Council on Human Relations.)

* with apologies. Some of these addresses are quite old.

Harold Fleming

Sanford file

October 30, 1959

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

Dear Paul:

November 19 or 20 would be convenient for me. I shall plan to arrange other business in the area. I think we will need most of a day. What about 10:00 a. m. - 4:00 p. m. Thursday, November 19? Should we involve anyone else besides the three of us or would it be less complicated to meet alone this time and consult with others as we need to later?

As I recall the discussion at the Interagency Conference, we have been asked to produce some concrete proposals for meeting the type of crisis caused by the closing of schools or the abandonment of public education as a reprisal against Negroes who are pressing for desegregation. Our task is to present to our agencies a plan for providing temporary educational assistance to children who are affected. In the discussion we were urged to think beyond just stop-gap arrangements for tutoring and to find ways in which these crises could be used as opportunities for imaginative projects and, hopefully, for new interracial experiences.

As background for our session, it would be helpful to have as much information as possible about communities which have faced this crisis. If you will be responsible for information on last year and this year in Virginia, I will ask our North Carolina staff for the latest report on Burnsville. Perhaps Ruby could write Mrs. Bates in Little Rock for a report on what happened last year and her ideas on what should have been done.

It would be helpful if we can have some information on resources to which we can turn in the future. Could the Southern Regional Council produce a list, for instance, of secondary schools in the border states which are integrated? I am thinking of private schools which we might ask to take in refugees. I have mentioned

the high school department of Berea College, for instance, and wonder whether there are others. Some Quakers in the New York area have had a project of bringing southern teen-agers into northern communities for education. I do not see this as a project which can be useful in dealing with an emergency which involves large numbers of children and I have some questions about the wisdom of the project but I shall get a report to see whether the experience this fall has produced some few findings which we should consider.

A major part of our responsibility will be to draw up a plan for raising emergency funds and for disbursing them during these crises. There is now some thinking around AFSC that we should set up a special committee rather than use the Rights of Conscience Program. In preparation for our meeting I will have further discussions with the appropriate AFSC persons. One meeting will be November 17 so I will not be able to get anything to you in advance.

Let me know if you have further thought about advance preparations for our session.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Ruby Hurley
Barbara Moffett
Wil Hartaler
Harold Fleming

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

November 6, 1959

RECEIVED NOV 9 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been having some difficulty in finding a mutually convenient time to see Allan Knight Chalmers. It now seems that I will have to go to Boston because he would not be free for a New York appointment for several weeks. We have tentatively agreed on next Saturday. Since your plans are indefinite and since a week-end would be involved, I don't think you should make the special effort to go that far for a short session. I will be in Atlanta the following week on Thursday and Friday, November 19 and 20, meeting with Ruby Hurley and Paul Rilling and with the Atlanta Friends Meeting. If you plan to be in Atlanta then, let's plan to get together to talk about Mississippi.

Do you still plan to be in New York November 16 and 17? If so, could you spend Tuesday evening, November 17, here? We have our Community Relations Program Committee from 5:30 - 8:30 p.m. and will be discussing AFSC's role in the interagency effort to provide emergency assistance to children who are out of school as the result of desegregation crises.

Would you tell Les Dunbar that I would like to talk with him while I am in Atlanta about helping us gather some current information about industrial development in the Atlanta area. We are trying to raise some money for a merit employment program in Atlanta and need some facts on the economy to strengthen our appeals to foundations.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative of
Southern Programs

JF:bs

cc: Barbara Moffett

C
O
P
Y

Harold Fleming

PR ✓
MF

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

January 29, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I am glad to know that preliminary reactions to the Southern ~~Interagency Conference to the~~ idea of a national fund-raising campaign ~~in~~ behalf of closed schools seems worthy of further exploration. Since the NAACP is not in the school-operating business, I do not see an important conflict but rather a supporting effort. On the other hand, I am sure the only way to get fully before us how the NAACP would feel about it is to arrange a conference with Roy Wilkins and talk the whole matter out before any significant steps are taken. I would be glad to share such a conference with you and any other persons who should be included.

I think you make a good point about the program of raising money in anticipation of crises. It seems to me that if we had an appropriate organization, we could build fund-raising efforts around actual situations, such as is now in existence in Prince Edward County, in the manner similar to the way the Red Cross had to do in terms of national disaster situations which cannot be taken care of out of their regular fund-raising efforts. If this were done, then should our anticipation that there will be several instances of this kind not materialize, of course we would not be in the position of even trying to raise money for non-existent causes. It will be a pleasure to discuss this with Harold Fleming whenever he is this way.

I will be in New York Friday. Unfortunately, I have a luncheon engagement. Otherwise, I will be free for further chat on this at your convenience. Why not call when you arrive. With regards.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Pat

F. D. Patterson
President

Called 4/1/60

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

March 28, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In the course of trying to discover a useful national role for the American Friends Service Committee in the furthering of the goals of the sit-down demonstrations, we have been asked to consider visits to top management. This was first suggested by Jim Lawson who stated that at least so far as Nashville is concerned students have the vigor and leadership to continue the job which has to be done locally but they need to be supported by efforts at the national level. It is his opinion that more decisions are being made nationally than seems to be apparent.

I talked with Julius Thomas of the National Urban League. He has been in contact with the national vice-presidents in charge of public relations who are "good guys" but very conservative and unwilling to take national action contrary to local custom. Probably the only advice they are giving now to local managers is to take out seats or close the food service entirely. He has been considering inviting these men to a closed meeting and believes they would come. Meanwhile, his Board has met to consider what advice and guidance can be given to local Urban Leagues in communities where this may be an issue.

In a recent talk with a friend at the National YWCA I was told that one of their Board members from Greensboro who was in New York recently and who tried to contact national management of chain stores to present a liberal southern viewpoint was refused appointments.

We have consulted with our two southern regional offices and they are both eager for us to explore the feasibility of national visits. The general feeling is that we should send a team of three or four, preferably interracial and primarily southern. What do you think of the idea? Is it important at this time to present the concern of the liberal South to management? Is there any reason to believe such visits could have positive results? Are other organizations working at this now?

Would the Southern Regional Council be willing to work with us in finding the best possible team? We see no particular reason why it should necessarily be an AFSC or a Quaker team although we might be able to recommend persons who have been connected with one of our southern programs. We have thought of such persons as: Marion Wright, John Wheeler, Byron Haworth (Quaker, municipal judge in High Point), Robert Childers (Methodist layman, businessman, Houston), Benjamin Mays. In general we have thought of southerners in business or law, rather than clergymen or college teachers but there would certainly be many good people in these fields.

Let us know whether you think the idea is worth exploring, whether you would want to arrange these visits jointly with us and what your ideas would be for team members.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Wil Hartzler
Garnet Guild
Barbara W. Moffett

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date April 8, 1960

To: Max Heirich

From: Jean Fairfax

Subject: HIGHLANDER WORKSHOP

The Delta Democrat Times had an Associated Press news release on April 4 about a college workshop which Highlander Folk School has sponsored in which an interracial group of students from seven states and seventeen participated. Can you tell me about this workshop? I think it had something to do with the sit-in demonstrations. If you have not heard about it, can you find out and let me know what the purpose was, who attended and what they accomplished?

JF:lw

cc: Wil Hartzler
Paul Rilling

HCF

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 13, 1960

Dear Harold,

Enclosed is a copy of the agenda for the interagency meeting next week. There are two items on the agenda which we would like you to discuss: the White House Conference and New Civil Rights Legislation. There has been so much skepticism expressed about the usefulness of the law which will probably be passed so far as increasing the number of Negro registered voters is concerned, it would be helpful if you could point out its value. Does it open up new opportunities for agency work?

I was all ready to go to Prince Edward County this week but Griffin called the trip off. He was here last Friday and several of us had a good chance to talk with him about our proposal for a program. We are waiting on pins and needles for a report from the Stern Family Fund and hope to have word by the end of the week. The Lord works in mysterious ways. Dan Bowers told me on the phone yesterday that PECCA's centers are pretty sad. It may well be that the time for an outside group to come in is now - rather than earlier - when the local folk have tried to do something, have tested their own resources and are beginning to face the meaning of an indefinite emergency.

See you next week.

Sincerely,

Jean

Harold Fleming File

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Penn Community Center St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

April 21 - 22, 1960

AGENDA

Jean Fairfax, Chairman Paul Rilling, Secretary

I. REPORTS

A. The January Conference of Religious Workers
B. The White House Conference: Implications for Human Relations Concerns
C. Consultation on Louisiana and Mississippi

II. NEW PROJECTS

A. World Peace Foundation
B. AFSC Merit Employment Program, Houston
C. Consultation on Human Relations Work in Rural South Carolina

III. SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS AND BOYCOTTS
(Significance and long-range impact of, implications for strategy, agency involvement, reports on related conferences and projects)

IV. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS

A. The Problem of Tokenism
Little Rock
North Carolina

B. Agency Programing where Schools are Closed
Prince Edward County

C. ANTICIPATED NEW DEVELOPMENTS
Atlanta
Texas: Houston and Dallas
Tennessee: Knoxville, Kingsport
New Orleans

V. ANTI - SEMITISM: Implications of the Gadsen Bombing Incident

VI. NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: Implications for strategy

VII. NEXT MEETING: Date, Place, Chairman

May 30, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I was sorry to see the unencouraging correspondence with Allan Chalmers. This leaves me, as evidently it does you, just about bankrupt of ideas. The few sources I know of either have been exposed to the need already or are pre-empted by other needs of AFSC and/or SRC.

One I know little about is the Committee for Rural Schools, or whatever it is called, which Judge J. Waties Waring is connected with. Perhaps you know, or could find out, whether this is a possibility.

If I get any brainstorms I'll let you know, but meanwhile I can do little but commiserate.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

May 21, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Allan Knight Chalmers was not able to raise money to continue John Yungblut on a part-time program in Mississippi. I am enclosing copies of the exchange of correspondence which we had this month. I am not clear from his letter whether we can count on his doing very much when he returns. I doubt it.

As you will note in my letter to him, I suggested a budget of $4000 for one-third staff, travel and secretarial services. I think this is a minimum budget and there is no allowance for special projects, conferences or other features which would enrich the program.

Where should we go from here? What suggestions do you have for possible financial support? It is the kind of effort which might appeal to an individual donor. Would you have any in mind? We would suggest that we could try to make up a kitty but AFSC is in a very tight financial pinch at the present time and could not make any commitments now.

The Atlanta Friends Center needs a director. The Meeting is interested in John Yungblut but is not in a position to take on a full-time person. This could be a very happy arrangement all around. I have suggested that the Atlanta Friends postpone talking with John until we make some further explorations for financial support for the Mississippi program.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:ej
enclosures - 2
cc: Barbara Moffett

BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Professor of Preaching and Applied Christianity
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston 15, Massachusetts

May 15, 1960

Miss JeanFairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I was pleased to get your long letter about the possible project for John Yungblut. I'm afraid the time is too short before I start off next week on this world trip for me to work out anything definite on this scheme. It does not look like the kind of plan that we could get into partly because of our own work is so intensive and of such emergency basis. I was mainly hoping to keep him in the area and on the job until we could see whether it would be possible to work out with some organization his continuing usefulness in the area.

Do not let this seemingly negative response, however, keep you from planning to go ahead with some kind of a scheme. He is as you suggest worth saving for the work and when I return probably your plans will be somewhat more along the way and I would do everything I could to co-operate with them. In other words I've already said the most discouraging thing I feel about the larger scheme that you are now proposing but am hopeful that we can in some way co-operate because I do like the way in which I have seen him working in the areas and have liked the type of report he has brought back from his conference with many people in the Mississippi area in particular.

I'm sorry that time was so short for us to try to work out any temporary scheme but maybe in the meantime knowing there may be some hope of a better scheme in the future you will be able to keep him taken care of and available for some future plans.

It's exciting to be starting off on this trip.....

As ever,

Allan

May 5, 1960

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Boston University School of Theology
755 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Allan:

After talking with you Tuesday, I called Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council to find out what SRC's present thinking is regarding work in Mississippi. Also, I have talked with Barbara Moffett, head of AFSC's Community Relations Program, for further clarification of the decision of the Southwest Regional Office concerning the termination of o our special project on June 30, 1960.

That was in fact a personnel decision, a termination of John Yungblut's relationship to that Office, which was made for the personal reasons of which you are aware and which, I am afraid, is final. The availability of funds to carry on the program under his leadership would probably not bring a reconsideration of that decision.

SRC is very eager to have work done in Mississippi but would not be in a position to take on the sponsorship of John's work without considerable consultation. In general they prefer to maintain their pattern of working through independent state organizations rather than to sponsor workers directly from headquarters. Then, Eugene Cox, who has been with a southern rural life program of the National Council of Churches and who wants to concentrate on Mississippi now that his work is coming to an end, has been discussing possible SRC sponsorship for some time. Harold believes there is plenty of room for both men; they work differently and complement each other in many ways. But SRC's long relationship to Gene would probably prevent an early decision on John.

The problem, then, is one of sponsorship. There is no question about the quality of John's work or his dedication to the job. In a way his naivete and lack of background in social and political analysis has been an asset, has made him genuinely open to people whom others might have written off. I am sure he has the qualities which move people along toward commitment and action.

As we have talked here about the possibility of helping John get located so that he can continue this important work, a suggestion was made which

I would like to share with you. During this past year the Atlanta Friends Meeting, small but very courageous, has acquired a Center. We have been very close to this group and helped them make a national appeal for funds because we saw the possibility of a vigorous program in this important southern city. They need a director and have some funds to cover salary and program but not enough for a full-time person. Some of the members of the Meeting have met John and think well of him. Should the Meeting be interested in John as a director and if the financial arrangements could be worked out, what would you think of continuing him in Mississippi on a part-time basis?

What we would suggest would be a two-thirds - - one-third arrangement. One-third devoted to Mississippi might mean an average of a week of travel a month plus the necessary time for correspondence, consultation with other agencies in Atlanta (a real advantage) and perhaps some occasional conferences. On a salary of $6,000 a year:

Salary of 1/3 staff	$2000
Secretarial services and postage	1000
Travel	1000
	$4000

Do you think you could raise $4000 a year for one or two years? The Atlanta Friends might feel that they should be able to make a two-year commitment unless John were willing to accept a one-year arrangement.

If your friends were willing to provide funds for John, then we could get together and work out an arrangement for the supervision and guidance of this part of his work. The Southern Interagency Conference which is a gathering of representatives of human relations agencies working in the South meets three or four times a year, usually in Atlanta. We could form a committee of the Conference to which John could report and which might include: NAACP, SRC, AFSC, YWCA, United Church Women or any other combination of groups. A staff person in this kind of situation needs a sounding-board, needs to have his observations and insights challenged by persons whose perspective is broader. It would be wonderful to have you meet with such a committee but if your heavy schedule would not permit it, we would have to work out some way of reporting regularly to you.

It may be difficult to get all of the parties involved to make final decisions before you leave for Asia. With an assurance of funds or a conditional grant made subject to a satisfactory working out of details, those of us who are concerned to keep the Mississippi program going could take the time necessary for thoughtful consultation.

I look forward to your reaction. If you get a favorable response from your board, I would be glad to talk with you before you leave the country. I could see you in Boston later this month. Thursday, May 26 might be a good day.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

file Fairfax I

Separate mailing to Irene Osborne:

School Desegregation: The First Six Years
If the Schools are Closed...
Hansen & Carmichael Transcripts
Background Report on School Desegregation
"L" Reports #3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, ~~&~~ 11, 13, 15 - 17.

Note from HCF Mailed to I. Osborne 6/16/60 mt

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 14, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is just a quick note to let you know that the American Friends Service Committee will be launching the Prince Edward County Program this month with Irene Osborne serving as special consultant for the summer. She will be in the County for six to eight weeks beginning June 24. Her first assignment will be to help the community make a self-survey which we hope will provide the kind of information which is needed to do an effective program.

Irene and I were in Prince Edward over the week end and stopped for a good session with Dan Bowers Sunday evening. Dan has promised to take Irene to Farmville and introduce her to his contacts there and in nearby communities.

Now for a favor. Irene feels somewhat out of touch with school desegregation developments in the South in the last three years. Could someone on your staff draw together some materials which she could use for her own information as well as for interpretation as opportunities arise in the community? We will give her stuff from our files but I am sure you have more material than we do.

I wish I had time to write you in detail about my visit to Prince Edward. Things are stewing but I am not sure whether the concoction is going to be edible or not.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Barbara W. Moffett

Irene Osborne, 1737 P Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.
Address until June 23.

Note from HCF 6/16/60
hcf

September 13, 1960

Miss Marie Turner
Secretary to Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Turner:

Since I am responsible for the Interagency notices, Harold Fleming has asked that I answer your letter of the 9th.

The notices of the change of date did go out on August 25. I feel reasonably sure that Jean received a copy since she authomatically receives all such material. Though, of course, in such matters there is always an element of doubt. A copy of the original is enclosed.

Regrettably the dates are in conflict with those mentioned in your letter. I do hope that something can be worked out and that Jean will still find it possible to be with us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

September 9, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

In the absence of Jean Fairfax I am writing you about dates for the interagency meetings. Have the notices gone out? We have been in the throes, in this office, of moving 50 children from Prince Edward County to 10 northern communities. To my knowledge we have not received the notice of the meeting but I wish to be sure it has not been misplaced.

Our Community Relations Committee will be meeting on September 20; it is hoped you have avoided this date.

The Prince Edward County Placement Project has been moving along fine - not without some adjustments - but on the whole it has been a great experience for everyone involved. We have been amazed at the wonderful response we have had across the country. There are children in Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. We have purposely avoided publicity, but Jean will be giving you the details.

Sincerely,

Marie Turner

Marie Turner
Secretary to Jean Fairfax

mt

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 22, 1960

TO: STAFF

FROM: MF

Information received from Jean Fairfax's office:

On or about October 1, 1960 the new address of the Philadelphia AFSC will be as follows:

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Telephone number remains the same: LOcust 3-9372

Thelma Babbitt will leave the Little Rock AFSC operation around December 1, 1960.

John Yungblut is no longer in the AFSC office in Baton Rouge (you will remember that he was to begin work with the Atlanta Friends on Sept. 1.)

HCF	PR	MET
PA	SM	PP
LWD	JC	WF
MM	LEC	
MA	BC	
EW	RHA	

October 4, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

We are still awaiting word on whether or not any Rights of Conscience funds might be available to help in the Hughes case. Total legal costs it now appears will be in excess of $5,000. So far, the only response from other groups has been a small grant from the National Council of Churches.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 7, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
So. Forsyth Street, No. West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Sorry for the delay in getting word to you about the possibility of a grant from the Rights of Conscience Fund for Bob Hughes' legal fees. We were caught in a change in national administration of this program. Although there is not much money left, I hope we can make a modest contribution, perhaps $500 and will get word to you in a few days. Should the money go directly to Bob?

Some of the money which remains in the kitty is earmarked. For example, we set aside $2000 for the Burnsville case. When we heard about the judge's decision, we thought that the matter was happily settled and that we would have some unanticipated funds for other cases. Bill Bagwell reports, however, that the matter is still unsettled, that an appeal may be made and that some persons have been fired from their jobs. So we may want to consider making some suffering grants.

I hope we can find some new money for this program. Any ideas?

Good news! We have appointed a worker for Prince Edward County. Helen Baker, a Virginian who has had considerable experience in educational work, community organization, labor education and youth work, has consented to direct our program and will start work shortly. More later after she and I visit the County Sunday and Monday. We are terribly pleased.

You will be interested to know that AFSC is exploring the emergency in Louisiana which was created by the withdrawal of 23,000 children from relief rolls. We have just sent in two top social workers who are familiar with our overseas experience in direct relief programs and await their recommendations. If we undertake a project, I hope it will be administered by our International Services Division and not by Community Relations although we will want to keep close to developments. We'll let you know our decision.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs

JF:mt

October 12, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

We were delighted to get the good word that you could probably arrange a grant from the Rights of Conscience Fund for Bob Hughes. $500 will be a big help. $1,000 would be twice as much help.

The money should be sent to the president of the Alabama Council, Father Albert Foley, Department of Sociology, Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama. The check can be made out to the Alabama Council, which insures the proper tax handling.

Congratulations on obtaining a worker for Prince Edward County. I do not know Helen Baker, but clearly this fills a continuing need.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

October 27, 1961

Dear Jean:

Many, many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Mr. Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service
Committee, Inc
160 N. Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

SEA FOAM BOND

3/26

PR ✓
PA ✓
JM ✓
ML
MJ - file

March 16, 1962

ANNOUNCEMENT

To: THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

From: Jean Fairfax

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is pleased to announce the appointment of Harry Boyte as Director of AFSC's Community Relations Program in Prince Edward County, Virginia. Harry Boyte is a native of Charlotte, North Carolina, and attended Elon College and American University. He has had extensive experience with the American Red Cross, most recently as Manager of the Greater Atlanta Chapter. He has been active in many citizen's efforts to promote better human relations, served on the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League and was the first Chairman of HOPE. In 1958 he was appointed by the Mayor of Atlanta to serve as Chairman of the Housing Relocation Committee of the Atlanta Citizen's Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal. Harry Boyte was the Chairman of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations in 1960 and its first director, a position which he held as a member of the field staff of the Department of Community Services of the Unitarian Service Committee.

Harry Boyte can be reached:

P. O. Box 278 or
Miller Building
100 Madison Street
Farmville, Virginia
EXport 2-5296

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Community Relations Division
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Southeast Regional Office
1816 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

TRV
JM
MJ-file

March 30, 1962

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 South Forsyth Street, No. W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA

Dear Les:

Sorry you couldn't get back to our 5:00 p.m. session with Ribicoff. You missed the fireworks. Obviously one of the reasons he wanted us to return was to announce that he had the Okay from upstairs (it came down around 6:30 p.m.) to close in on the communities which are providing segregated schools for children of military personnel. The "plum" was to have been the decision that the definition of "suitable" education offered by communities receiving aid under the Impacted Areas program will now include "non-segregated." Unfortunately, as we were applauding, he said that the order will not go into effect until the fall of 1963. Thud. Arnie pointed out the negative aspects of delay. Ribicoff got on the defensive. Then Clarence Mitchell took over and the gathering disintegrated into a battle between him and Ribicoff, with the good Secretary ending up being terribly crushed about how ungrateful they are when you do anything for them.

What a day! Fortunately, I spent the afternoon at the Phillips Gallery which has an excellent collection of modern art.

I'll be in Atlanta from Tuesday until Friday evening. We are bringing our southern merit employment staff together for a consultation which begins Tuesday with supper and runs through Wednesday. I'll call you to find a convenient time when we can get together. Thursday lunch might be a possibility. I think I might have more time after the interagency meetings are over on Friday; I shall be free until my 8:00 p.m. flight to Houston.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

via air mail

June 3, 1963

Mr. Donald Smith
Office of the Commissioner
U. S. Commissioner of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have asked Mr. Benjamin Muse to represent the Southern Regional Council at the meeting on June 6 regarding Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PA

Talked w/ Jean re suggestion with Alan Smith in the Commissioner's Office, told him I couldn't come, but would like SRC to be represented. He said fine.

Will you please arrange for SRC representation?

[illegible] Donald [illegible]
[illegible]
U. S. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] BM [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Cor Ed. [illegible]
[illegible]

Les, 21136

U. S.

The secretary of Mr. Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. just called me to pass along an invitation to you to attend a meeting in Mr. Keppel's office on June 6 at 3:00 pm, Room ~~&&&~~ 4-A017, 400 Maryland Avenue, N. W. She says that they're hoping to convene about 14 or 15 people ~~in&&the&&interests&&of&&the&American&&Friends&&Service&&Committee&&prop~~& at the request of the American Friends Service Committee to talk about Prince Edward County, Virginia.

I told the lady that I could not say, at the moment, whether you'd be able to attend but that I'd check with you and ~~ga~~ we'd get a letter off as soon as possible saying ~~what&&you&&would&&&would&&all~~ whether you could or could not accept the invitation.

MMJ

Dorothy Smith

HEW

W03-1110

Transcribe from dictation

1

Rec'd 6/3/63

VJ - fyi ✓
MJ - file

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 1, 1963

Dear Les,

If I sounded foggy on the phone yesterday, it was because I was. Gone are the days when my heart was young and gay and when I could stay up all night and bounce around all day. Perhaps the dose of "The Negro Mood" that I gave the council of the United Church Women of Tenn. was too strong for even me. Anyway I had a few hours with Will and the Kelly Miller Smiths plus Father Clancy from New Orleans. Will has been running the Mayor's office and feels pretty heady these days.

Thanks so much for calling me re the meeting with Keppel next Thursday. I need all the support I can get because K. is calling this meeting reluctantly. I am sure I am his least favorite pressure group at the present time, having gone over his head twice in the last month - first to "persuade" him to tell me what was going on since I had found out a lot anyway and then to get him to convene a meeting of Federal and private agency reps. to discuss what is being explored. K. would like to wait until everything is sewed up and then tell us (I see Lisle Carter's hand here; Lisle has not recovered from that dreadful session we had last year with Ribicoff and has communicated his apprehensions about the value of meeting with tiresome types like us). In view of the general pessimism about the reopening of schools in Prince Edward this year, the scope of the explorations under K. and Burke M. is really very commendable. Among other things, a very experimental reading project has been okayed and a 12-year school is being discussed (this latter very hush-hush). I have been trying to convince K. that a few citizens from P.E. ought to participate in the planning and that he should seek the advice of the intergroup rel. persons most concerned about this crisis. The approval for one major project involving almost 2½ million dollars over 5 years was given without any visits to the County or consultation with persons there. Meanwhile, not knowing what's coming local people are knocking themselves out making plans for various volunteer efforts this summer. I think it is unfair to let them exhaust themselves and their resources when something far bigger and more adequate may be offered shortly.

I did not mean to seem negative about Ben Muse. I know you and Paul should look at this meeting from the standpoint of your own priorities and the Alabama situation certainly has far more immediacy. As I thought of it later, it occurred to me that Ben Muse could make an important contribution by interpreting the climate in Virginia. Some of the Feds. are very nervous about the Governor and about the possible negative reception of a Federally sponsored project in PEC. I don't know that his point of view is, but I'm sure Ben Muse is not as anxiety-ridden as my HEW pals about direct Fed. involvement in the County. Anyway he could give them some helpful advice about how to handle the state authorities.

Had I known that I could have relieved you of one little worry, I would have reported back that we went to work immediately on your suggestion that Bruce McDuffie might be available. Types around here who remembered him were most enthusiastic. I don't know whether something will work out since he doesn't have the whole summer,

but be assured that every effort will be made by AFSC to find a place for him.

Sincerely,

Jean

Memorandum AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

To: Les Dunbar

Date: June 7, 1963

From: Jean Fairfax

Subject: The McDuffies

Winifred McDuffie called the office yesterday while I was in Washington and left word that their family plans have changed. New developments, apparently connected with Bruce's involvement in CORE in Binghamton, will make their availability unlikely for one of AFSC's southern programs this summer. We're sorry to miss having a good man but are glad to be in touch with him again.

June 20, 1963

Miss Jean Fairfax
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Paul and I have discussed the question you asked about in your letter of June 11 regarding suggestions for Jackson staff. I don't have to tell you that you need very able people for this spot, and to come up with suggestions is not easy. Paul and I will continue to give it thought, and will let you know any suggestions we have.

I think you need somebody there who is experienced, and I would even put to you the thought (I know this is hard) that you might find that you would have to move one of your people from one of your other offices in order to get the kind of experience and competence you need.

Do you know Elbert Jean? I am not sure you could interest Elbert, and even if you could I am not sure that he would be the kind of man you needed, but you might think about it.

I was very much pleased to get Paul's report that you and he and Dr. Beittel are thinking about

possible cooperative services between your new project and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Anything which can be suitably done along this line is all to the good.

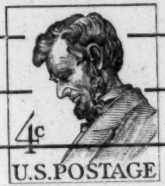
All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Leslie Dunbar
Atlanta, Ga.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Jean Fairfax
COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

P.A. lite
Dunbar

June 11, 1963

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee has authorized special priorities funds for a 3-year community relations program to be based in Jackson, Mississippi. The desegregation of public schools, interfaith action within the framework of the National Conference on Religion and Race and the facilitation of interracial communication will be the immediate concerns of this program.

We plan to appoint an interracial staff of two persons and hope to open our office by early fall. Needless to say, this assignment will require unusually wise and imaginative personnel. On the basis of our experience elsewhere we do not feel that we need to confine our personnel search to southerners. However, we feel that recent experience in the South and involvement in community work in race relations is essential.

Can you recommend persons whom we should contact about their possible interest in and availability for an AFSC assignment in Mississippi? Please let me hear from you if you have any suggestions.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

File: Amer. Friends Service Committee

April 21, 1968

Miss Jean Fairfax
c/o Haughton
1051 Deer Park
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Jean:

Crab grass is the most victorious of all grasses. Be a crab grass root with elan.

We'll provide consultants as youaand Paul see the need, and as Paul, with your help, can find them. As I underaand it, these will include SOS-type women and other type consultants as indicated by need. Sometime also, during the summer, Ben Muse will come to Mississippi for awhile. Moreover, we are beginning to dicker with Kenneth Morland about a summer assignment with SRC; if this is successful he would be available for as much work in Mississippi as would be worthwhile.

We have done a round-up of the school situation, as you know. Paul disagrees with me, but I do not see clearly the point of putting it out at a time when the Prince Edward and the Atlanta cases are pending in the Supreme Court, with decision expected almost any moment, and when the Tuskegee case is before a federal court in Alabama with an early decision probable. To bring out, even for limited distribution, a report now with these great decisions hovering in the very immediate future, seems to me a little hasty. Your opinion? The report is done in rough. Nevertheless, from the time we decide to bring it out until it gets out would probably be at least two weeks, and more likely three. So give us a deadline and we will meet it.

We have also now in galleys our New South issue with the lengthy article on tuition grants. We are working, with a high degree of priority, on another publication co-sponsored with ADL, which will be on the economic cost of defiance. And sometime this year, probably too late to be of any program use to you in Mississippi, we shall have what may be our chief publication of the year, a piece about Black Belt county education, done by some Emory University people; professors are a sorry lot, so you can never predict quality. But I have high hopes.

So what more can we do?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

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Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

c/o Haughton
1051 Deer Park
Jackson, Mississippi
April 18, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

It is a pleasure to send you greetings on the anniversary of Paul Revere's ride especially since we decided not to ride in Jackson. I arrived here from Atlanta last night and dropped into a specially called mass meeting just in time to hear the announcement of the boycott. The meeting had been called by the leaders of the Jackson Movement because of the restlessness in the community following the announcement of the hung jury in the Beckwith case. The long hot summer has begun!

Now that I have become a grass root (crab grass variety), I am poking around for nourishment. Paul Anthony can bring you up to date on some of the ideas we have discussed concerning resources for the crisis areas. Power Hearn, a retired Jackson businessman, is prepared to work on his own during the coming months (with AFSC picking up the tab for out-of-pocket expenses) and I would like to let him know soon what kinds of resources we can put at his disposal. He will be working with a leadership group in the white community primarily in Jackson although some state-wide activities are being discussed, too.

Specifically, I should like to know what SRC can provide so far as materials and consultants are concerned. Paul and I have discussed the value of having a southern educator prepare a memorandum of the hastily thrown together private schools in Macon County and elsewhere. We thought we had something from the retired president of Peabody but it turned out to be very inadequate. We also talked about having something done on the New Orleans private schools although I would settle for the brief study of the Macon County situation since I think we can get some speakers on the Louisiana grant-in-aid fiasco. We want to make some consultants available to Chamber of Commerce types from communities such as Little Rock. I am working with the group of women who almost had a save-the-schools project here and would like to pull in some of their successful counterparts from Little Rock, Atlanta, Mobile, etc. What can we count on from SRC re underwriting the cost of bringing in consultants and of getting the educator to do a quick study of the Macon schools?

Since we don't know what the summer will bring, we want to do the basic job of preparation in the next six weeks. Can you let me know soon if SRC can help?

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

Memorandum AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

To: Leslie

Date:

From: Jean

Subject:

I decided to type it with my hot little fingers.

PA, let's discuss

File: U.S. Govt. Dept. of Health, Ed. + Welfare

cc. ref.

Jean Fairfax
Amer. Friends Ser. Committee

file

June 9, 1964

Francis Keppel
Commissioner of Education
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Dear Friend:

Since our telephone conversation several months ago I have become even more concerned about private segregated schools supported by tuition grants and attended by white pupils who are boycotting desegregated schools. The fact that the Supreme Court in its Prince Edward decision did not rule on the constitutionality of tuition grants has encouraged die-hard segregationists to pursue this avenue of resistance to integration.

I am writing from Mississippi where I am on a special assignment for the American Friends Service Committee, concentrating in those communities which are facing court orders to begin school desegregation this year. A package of bills recently introduced into the Mississippi Legislature would authorize public funds for private schools in a plan which is far more extensive than the systems which have been operating in Virginia and Louisiana. If the Governor calls the Legislature back into a special session, it is very likely that these bills will be passed.

The AFSC representative in Prince Edward County reports intensive efforts to keep white children in the private schools. Staff members who have been working in other Southside Virginia counties have discovered that segregated private schools are being organized with the expectation that public funds will be available through tuition grants. I have heard that South Carolina's tuition grant program may be used for the first time this year.

Eventually the courts will resolve this issue. Recalling how long it took to get the Prince Edward decision and how many children suffered in the meantime, I do not think it would be wise to wait until we get a definitive ruling from the Supreme Court. It seems to me that we need a strategy which would be a combination of legal moves, local community action and efforts by national and southern educators.

I would welcome your thoughts on what should be done to forestall

the expansion of this movement which is weakening our public schools. Are the nation's leading educators aware that public education is being threatened and that large areas of the country may be affected? I am sure that you know the educators who are concerned about this problem. We who are working on this crisis as a community relations problem would appreciate being in touch with these educators and discussing how we can work together.

Would you be willing to bring us together? I have in mind an exploratory meeting of a few persons representing the agencies which are concerned about the educational, the civil rights and the legal aspects of this issue. I am sure that Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and Mr. Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund would be glad to cooperate with you in such an effort. Since the Justice Department is already involved in litigation where tuition grants are an issue, I would hope that Mr. Burke Marshall would be available for a consultation on this subject.

If you think that such a meeting could serve a useful purpose and should be held soon, would Friday, June 19th be convenient? I plan to be in the East next week. I know that Dr. Dunbar will be in Washington on other business on the nineteenth and might be available for a late afternoon meeting. If it is more convenient for you to call this meeting at a later time, I know that Barbara Moffett of AFSC will see that we are represented.

Please reply to my office in Philadelphia. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax

For your information:
Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Jack Greenberg, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York

Memorandum AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

To: Leslie Dunbar

From: Jean Fairfax Jean

Subject:

PAV
ESV
MJ-file

Date: June 22, 1964

Since we ended Friday on such a note of TOGETHERNESS IN THE COMMON CAUSE, I do not want our buddies to get any idea that the Surry decision alters the job to be done or takes them off the hook. Hence the enclosed.

Had a long session with Bagdikian who was sorry to miss you. He's very much interested in the idea of an article. Needs some stuff which I have asked Connie to send him pronto. Also, I have urged him to press for an article this summer as an effort to convince the masses of bewildered southern whites that the handwriting is on the wall.

Thanks so much for attending the meeting. You were terrific! I never could have handled it alone. And I got the feeling they believed you.

We really need to keep in close touch with Keppel since his office will have enlarged duties and powers not only with the civil rights bill but the poverty bill and other new Federal programs. Any ideas about how we can keep our warm relationship warm?

File
Amer. Friends Ser. Ctee
Jean Fairfax

cc. ref. Govt
U.S. Govt
Dept of Health, Ed. & Welfare

LES DUNBAR

June 22, 1964

Francis Keppel
Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Friend:

Our meeting Friday could not have been more timely. While we were conferring, Federal Judge John Butzner issued a sweeping ruling in the Surry County case. He not only ordered the school board to reopen public schools on a totally desegregated basis but enjoined the use of tuition grants in any school that discriminates on the basis of race. The order will be appealed and will not be directly applicable to other school districts but it will certainly have an impact throughout the South. We now have a clear ruling on tuition grants by a Federal judge who, I believe, will eventually be upheld by the Supreme Court.

As we now try to find allies among southern educators, businessmen and citizens, we are in a better legal position than we were. When the Supreme Court omitted reference to tuition grants in the Prince Edward decision, there was the presumption that it was not prepared to rule on this issue. Southerners who acclaimed this feature of the Prince Edward ruling must at least be in doubt about the constitutionality of tuition grants even though they continue to advocate them.

Unfortunately, I do not think that this ruling will stop present efforts to establish private segregated schools in communities in the Deep South. Tuition grants will be authorized and used until they are specifically forbidden. This may require legal action in many school districts. Also, as Leslie Dunbar predicted, new private schools will be organized even though they may be denied public funds later. They will end up as schools for the rich who will no longer be concerned about the quality of public education for the masses. The long-run threat to public schools is still with us.

In a way this ruling should give us a new sense of urgency. If we can get to the more reasonable elements in the South soon, we may be able to convince them that frantic efforts to create new private schools that are entirely dependent on public funds will be just another southern exercise in futility.

I have given more thought to your concern to find a positive approach to state superintendents of education in southern states when you bring them together to discuss the titles in the new civil rights bill which directly affect them. Certainly, you cannot avoid the punative aspects of the bill. However, I hope they will see this meeting as an opportunity to face together and frankly the way that their efforts as public school men are being undermined by the private school movement. Also, it will be important for them to feel your support as they are caught between the requirements of the new Federal law which will be firmly enforced and the wrath of the local citizenry.

If the emphasis of the meeting could be on helping these men meet the demands of the new situation as professionals, this might be a way of getting their support. One of the demands will be to deal honestly with citizens who are being forced to adjust to new patterns of race relations in schools and who will be tempted to try wild schemes of resistance which are bound to be costly and fruitless. If the professional educators are equipped with facts and know-how about school desegregation, they can provide leadership. No group of citizens needs this leadership more than public school teachers. If state school superintendents could be convinced that they have a professional responsibility to prepare their teachers to meet the challenge of school desegregation as educators, a major hurdle would be overcome.

I shall be following closely the legislative developments in Mississippi and shall keep you informed. Meanwhile, I am asking Derrick Bell of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund to share with us his agency's analysis of the probable impact of the Surry decision.

I had a good talk with Ben Bagdikian and will see that he gets materials which will help the SATURDAY EVENING POST decide whether to publish an article soon on tuition grants and the new private schools movement in the South.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your personal concern and for the leadership which you are giving to the solution of educational problems which have a civil rights dimension. I read the NEW YORK TIMES article on your recent speech at the 25th anniversary convocation of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund. It made mighty good reading in Jackson, Mississippi!

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:bs

Memorandum file

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

To: Leslie

Date: June 25, 1964

From: Jean Jean

Subject: OPTIMISM VS PESSIMISM

Good friend! It seems to me that one can exhaust himself hopelessly on the subject of whether one should view the Mississippi situation with optimism or pessimism. That is, if you have decided to work there. The " vs " question cannot be answered. The question which can be batted around is: What are valid agency objectives for a given period and what is the rationale for them.

I think it makes sense for the agencies concerned (in this case AFSC, the Catholics and the Presbys) to promote this summer the organization of a Gulf Coast Council on Human Relations which would be primarily concerned to find ways to promote peaceful school desegregation and compliance to the public accommodations title of the new bill.

Rationale?

1. I think we should be doing what we can to help the Miss. Council grow in tangible ways, i.e. adding new members, taking on projects especially during this period when it has no staff;
2. I have been impressed by the quality of the people we have met on the Gulf Coast who are interested in working interracially;
3. Catholic leadership is with us; we have found some excellent Catholic laymen;
4. In Biloxi there seems to be no talk of private schools. The community is terrified of any proposal which would interfere with financial support from the Air Force Base. I think that Biloxi is beyond the save-the schools type of movement as an agency objective (what locals want to to is their business). With some potential leverage from the Defense Dept (we saw some very good guys last time) I think our aim should be as much desegregation as possible.

Any possibility for success????? Who knows? I think the idea is worth working on.

PA talked on phone. Jean that I think all this is great. Only warned her against over-optimism

VJ

ES

MJ-file

Rec'd 7/1/64

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 30, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter to Keppel was excellent and gave me an inferiority complex from which I shall not recover! I shall not send you copies of my letters anymore.

I have just read the TIMES-PICAYUNE story on the suit which was filed Monday in the Fifth Circuit challenging Louisiana's financial assistance program. I am eager to know what bearing the suit could have on Mississippi especially since it was filed in the Circuit Court and not in a district court.

Discussions in the special session of the Mississippi Legislature have taken a curious turn. There is a big hassle now over the sectarian issue with the Senate trying to hold out for the stipulation of "non-sectarian" in the bill. Predictions are that this difference will prolong the consideration. Latent anti-Catholicism is playing a role. Some observers think that the sectarian issue is a smoke-screen which some legislators have thrown up to hide their real reasons for opposing the bill.

I had a lively session today with some of my Catholic buddies at the Chancery when I pressed them about what advice the Church will give to parents with children in parochial schools if the bill is passed with a provision for grants to children regardless of the nature of the school. They believe in public support to parochial schools but are wary of the segregationist trap here. We joked about the possibility of a strategy which would involve desegregating the Catholic schools and then having all Catholic kids apply for tuition grants - about 7 million dollars worth!

Father Law is very discouraged - says things are worse now than at any other time since he has lived in Mississippi. The Justice Dept. is sending in 8 lawyers. A Catholic priest told me that the sheriff in Neshoba County has killed 8 Negroes since he has been in office. This is the county which adjoins Leake County where I've been doing some work in preparation for school desegregation.

Clarksdale has been ordered to desegregate and to present its plan by July 30. More fun!

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

Rec'd 12/18/64

VJ
PA
LF
SW. file

Good stuff here Leslie Dunbar

Barbara Moffett

Jean Fairfax

December 17, 1964

YOUR MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT HUMPHREY

On the assumption that meaningful implementation of the Civil Rights Act will depend on a clear commitment and vigorous enforcement by Federal officials plus grass roots initiatives and in recognition of the deep skepticism among Negroes that there will be vigorous enforcement and the belief that Negroes will not understand what they need to do at the local level; we should express the following concerns:

1. Concern about blocks to vigorous enforcement at the Executive level. Even though policy may be clear, there is need to scrutinize how the implementing decisions get made. We get the impression at times that decisions are made by departmental legal counsel on the basis of narrow legal opinions about what is possible or by Washington officials who have no concept of the real potential for progress even in some Deep South communities. The Title VI regulations re school desegregation plans are so general that a timid or naive administrator could open the way for evasion.

   e.g. Houston County, Georgia. Before the new regulations were issued, HEW approved funds for the 1964-65 school year on the basis of a school desegregation plan which was less than plans approved by Federal courts for other Georgia communities and considerably less than what the County had been led to expect would be required. Although there was considerable evidence that there would not be good faith compliance, the plan was accepted. No desegregation will occur this year, partly because of this ridiculous plan and partly because the Negro community was confused and intimidated.

2. Concern about the structures through which the Federal Government reaches the people in the South. What assurances are there, for example, that there will be a complete reorganization of the Department of Agriculture's agencies, especially the Extension Service and the Department of Labor's Employment Service so that these segregated structures will be abolished.

3. Concern about the Federal Government's relationships to local Negro leaders. The considerable publicity about the White House's contacts with top national Negro leaders is in sharp contrast with the apparent unwillingness on the part of Federal officials to establish relationships with legitimate Negro leadership and bona fide community relations organizations at the community level. Often officials go into communities as if their only concern is to relate to the white authorities and power structures. Federal officials need instructions about their obligation to work with Negro leaders and also need help in discovering who they are.

   e.g. Federal officials going to Houston County, Georgia, have not contacted local NAACP leadership. Communications from the Georgia Council on Human Relations to HEW have been unanswered.

4. Concern about how the Federal Government interprets to citizens what is available to them and what their rights are. For the success of many programs Federal representatives are going to have to go to the crossroads of the nation to convince Negroes that the Government means business, to interpret, to recruit. The Government needs a realistic program for interpreting its opportunities. The job-training program which was conceived to meet the needs of hard-core youth of Southside

Virginia has failed because officials were unwilling to do what was required to inform Negroes of this opportunity.

Also, most Negroes have no idea of the extent, the nature and the identification of local programs and institutions which receive Federal funds, now subject to be withdrawn under Title VI. The Government should publish periodically the list of recipients of Federal funds. This list should be posted publicly and circulated widely.

5. Concern about the unwillingness on the part of Federal agencies to use private agencies to help get the job done where local and state officials are uninterested in a problem or unwilling to abide by Federal standards.

   e.g. Prince Edward County. AFSC's unsuccessful negotiations for a project under the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. AFSC's readiness to undertake a vocational guidance and job placement project in cooperation with the Southside Virginia job-training project was ignored by state officials.

6. Negro leaders and community relations organizations working in the South want to be dealt with honestly. The tendency in the past has been that Federal officials either (1) issue grand, but vague promises, often unfulfilled, about what they will do, or (2) deliver themselves of unwelcome homilies on our Federal-state form of government which we already know about as reasons for not doing anything. A clear understanding about what workers and community leaders can expect, even though this will be minimal, is better than vague promises of glory. We need to know what we can definitely count on.

7. Concern about Federal officials who, often out of a misunderstanding of what conciliation is, make deals with southern authorities and compromise Negro rights. We suspect that a Federal representative made a deal with white leadership in Prince Edward County on the basis of his promise that he could get Negroes to withdraw their suit against tuition grants and then tried to pressure Negro leaders into this compromise. The Federal role in the implementation of the Civil Rights Act should be to get compliance and not to conciliate away rights.

8. Some Federal officials are so success-oriented that they shy away from the real problems which are not going to be solved by noisy public relations but by grubby work. Recently an official in one of the new poverty programs told an AFSC representative that so far as his program is concerned, southern rural Negroes had been written off. The score, in his words, is that his office is not "bleeding over southern rural Negroes."

9. Importance of symbolic situations. The Government will undoubtedly be faced soon with some highly symbolic situations, possibly relating to Title VI. It will be important to withdraw funds if necessary in order to prove that the Government means business.

10. Personnel. We cannot overestimate the importance of Negroes in top positions, especially those involved in dealings with southern officials.

11. Concern about the lack of coordination of Federal agency efforts: lack of coordination among Federal agencies in dealings with a particular community or problem and lack of coordination of Federal and private agency efforts even when goals are shared.

12. In the past the impression has often been created that the Federal Government is afraid of the South so much so that many Federal officials have been unwilling to use the prestige and the power of their office and influence even where the informal use thereof could have been very persuasive. (How much farther we would have been in communities like Biloxi if base commanders had used their persuasive powers). Now that President Johnson has received an enormous national mandate and in view of the shift by some southern Democrats to extremist Republicanism, there is no longer any justification for dealing delicately with southern intransigence.

I am enclosing a copy of the new regulation for the effectuation of Title VI.

JF:mt

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Louis Schneider

Sam Adams

file: Amer. Friends Ser. Cttee; "Joan Fairfax"

Cr. ref: U.S. Govt. v. A.E.W.

August 12, 1965

Honorable Francis Keppel
United States Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Friend:

Last January representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the Georgia Council on Human Relations conferred with you about your plans for the desegregation of public schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Since then AFSC and the Fund have been co-sponsoring a School Desegregation Task Force which has been working in communities in seven southern states. In Georgia our efforts are coordinated with those of the Georgia Council.

At our meeting you expressed two concerns to us. One was that your actions as an official of the Executive Branch should not conflict with the Federal Courts and possibly create confusion and a disrespect for law. I am sure you have been heartened and strengthened by recent rulings of judges in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals who have not only welcomed your guidelines but have incorporated them into their decisions. You were also concerned to know whether Negroes were really interested in a nonsegregated education and would take advantage of Federal initiatives to guarantee it. AFSC representatives are discovering this year a greater desire for genuine integration of schools than in all of the previous fifteen years of our program experience in this area of civil rights work.

Yet in spite of the fact that you have a mandate from Congress and support from the Judiciary, thousands of Negro families who genuinely desire a nonsegregated education will not secure it this year, not because of lack of commitment on your part or lack of dedicated, hard-working staff members in your program but because of flaws in the system which the Office of Education has set up for the implementation of Title VI. Some of your staff members with whom I have consulted are aware of these inadequacies and are thinking about what can be done next year to improve the system. I am writing to you at this time because I believe that corrective action can and <u>must</u> be taken now so that more Negroes will receive this year the rights to which they are entitled, which they earnestly desire and which you are in position to guarantee. One full year has passed since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became the law of the land. Every effort should be made now to prevent further delays.

I am listing below the kinds of problems which our representatives are encountering which are sufficiently serious to call to your attention and which we believe are not just confined to the specific examples which we could document from our experience. Most of the following comments refer to non-compliance in the implementation of freedom of choice plans. I am not interested at this time in discussing whether you should or should not have accepted freedom of choice plans, granted their history as efforts to restrict desegregation in the South. As a vehicle with limited effectiveness for securing system-wide desegregation of public schools, freedom of choice plans can work only if Negro parents are fully informed of their rights, understand clearly the choices to which they are entitled and the procedures they must follow and are in fact uninhibited in the exercise of their choices. To my knowledge the Office of Education has undertaken no program to inform Negro parents directly of their rights under Title VI and has no provision at the present time for on-the-spot policing of implementation. Under your system you are relying on the good faith compliance of southern school officials, most of whom are interested only in sufficient token desegregation to qualify for Federal funds, and on the work of private agencies whose resources are too modest to provide the kind of information and watch-dog service which would reach all school districts. Since you have no machinery for on-the-spot investigation of compliance, you must rely on information provided by school officials or on the complaints even though this process has had limited success in other Federal agencies with responsibilities for implementation of nondiscrimination.

1. <u>Inadequate notice about school desegregation plans</u>.

   In general Negro leaders in the South have not been consulted as school desegregation plans have been drafted and have had difficulties in getting information about details of plans submitted to your office. Transfer periods have been held in some communities without adequate public notice. Concerned Negro citizens have reported repeated efforts to get information only to find out finally that a transfer period has been held. There have been some remarkable exceptions, sometimes in unexpected places, but in some school districts the only public notice has been a small announcement in the legal notice section of a weekly newspaper which is not read by the majority of Negroes. In many cases there has not been sufficient time between the public notice and the transfer period to allow Negro leaders to organize an action program. The greatest difficulties have been in school districts which had their transfer periods before their plans were

accepted. In many cases individual notices are not sent directly to Negro parents. If the main source of information and transfer forms is the Negro school, this is indeed very inadequate.

2. Plans as published often do not include all of the requirements of your guidelines.

For example, many of the plans do not mention anything about steps being taken toward the nonracial assignment of teachers. Also, I have yet to see a plan which specifically states that a student may transfer to take a course not available in the school to which he has been assigned on the basis of race even though this provision would be very important to Negro pupils in school districts desegregating fewer than twelve grades. When questioned, some of your staff members have stated that school officials are not being required to publish their complete plans and may have made commitments to your office which are not in the public notices. Since your system relies on school officials to channel information to the community, how are concerned citizens to know whether their district plan is in full compliance? The system places an unreasonable burden on the Negro parent who must find out somehow what your guidelines require, then compare the announced plan of his district against your minimum requirements and then try to find out on his own whether other commitments were made to your office. The lack of a publicly announced policy on the nonracial assignment of teachers has increased the insecurity of Negro teachers and the likelihood that they and others will work against desegregation.

There has been lack of clarity about the rights of a pupil whose first transfer request has been rejected. In some cases it is not clear whether he has a right to a second choice and also a right to a hearing, if necessary. Considerable confusion has developed in some communities about whether, in the event of the overcrowding of the desegregated school, preference will be strictly on the basis of residence as required by your guidelines. Apparently some communities are guaranteeing assignments and even giving preference to white children already enrolled regardless of their residence.

3. Deficiencies in the implementation of plans:

a. During the transfer period.

- It has been reported to us that some school officials have sent out transfer forms earlier to white families than to Negro families, undoubtedly in an effort to fill the school first with white children.

- Negro parents have encountered difficulties in getting transfer forms, especially where they have not been mailed directly to them. Sometimes they have not been available until days after the beginning of the transfer period. Or Negro school officials who were supposed to provide forms have closed their offices or have just not been available.

- Where a transfer period has been held prior to your acceptance of the desegregation plan, Negroes have often not considered this to be a bonafide transfer period and have anticipated (partly on the basis of information given out at the Atlanta Title VI conference) that an additional opportunity to transfer would be provided when a plan was officially accepted. Your staff members have recently informed us that you are not necessarily requiring school officials to provide opportunities for registration once you have accepted their plans. This is a big disappointment.

- We have information about freedom of choice forms sent to Negro parents which had the name of the Negro school written in.

- In some communities Negro children and their parents have been subjected to questioning about their reasons for seeking a desegregated education before they could get forms.

- Negro children have been required to take tests.

- We know of instances where transfer forms had to be notarized or where they had to be accompanied by gtranscripts.

- In at least one school district with a zoing plan Negro pupils have been automatically assigned out of their school attendance area to the all-Negro school.

b. Delays, sometimes of several months, in notification to Negro parents about the decisions of the school board re transfers has been demoralizing; the uncertainty has led some parents to withdraw their requests.

c. Where no choice has been expressed by Negro parents, it has come to our attention that Negro children in some communities are being automatically assigned to the Negro schools and not necessarily to the nearest school.

d. Meetings of school officials with Negro pupils after they have been assigned to formerly all-white schools have sometimes been frightening experiences which have caused the students to change their minds. In one case the superintendent told a group of Negro pupils that half of them would fail and that school officials could not protect them from incidents and warned the Negro boys about any friendly associations with white girls. Announcements from officials that sports and other activities would not be open to them has caused some Negro students to consider returning to segregated schools. Apparently the return to the Negro school is made easy even after an assignment has been made.

4. Intimidation and reprisals.

We have already noted some kinds of intimidation by school officials, white and Negro: the interview, the lecture which anticipates problems and incidents and which promises no help or protection, etc. There are other examples such as direct efforts by Negro school principals at PTA meetings and elsewhere to discourage transfers and by a school board chairman to counsel Negroes to "go slow this year." In one particularly noteworthy example Negro leaders who went to confer with the superintendent were also confronted by the sheriff, the judge and the clerk of the court and were subjected to intimidation. Negroes who have sought a desegregated education for their children have been subjected to threats, economic reprisals, loss of employment, etc. Where there is a clear case of intimidation or reprisals by a school official, we know that your office is prepared to take action. However, many cases of intimidation are subtle and indirect. Furthermore, your office is powerless to deal with reprisals by persons who are not school officials. However, your guidelines do require a commitment on the part of school officials that they will undertake to prepare the community. We have seen very little evidence of the kind of vigorous affirmative action by school officials which might improve the community climate and lessen reprisals.

5. Pupils are still being sent out of their district to be educated.

Even though your guidelines specifically prohibit a pupil being

required to attend a school outside his district in order to maintain segregation, we are discovering confusion on this point in freedom of choice plans and in their implementation. It is understandable that some Negro children may desire to complete their education in a segregated school in another district to which they have been assigned in the past. However, we question in several cases whether they are really being given a clear choice. Furthermore, in school districts which have only four-grade desegregation plans, it is not clear whether the pupils in the remaining grades should be required to attend a segregated school in another district. If pupils in all grades must be given freedom to choose to be educated in their home district, then no school district with this history should be permitted to have a freedom of choice plan with fewer than 12 grades.

6. Discrimination in school affiliated services and activities.

Inability to get clear information about transportation rights and plans has deterred Negro parents in some communities from seeking a desegregated education for their children. Announcement by school officials, as noted above, that Negroes would not be eligible for sports has also been a deterrent.

7. The rights of Negro children in school districts with split sessions are unclear.

We have had reports especially from Mississippi communities that the rights of children to transfer out of a Negro school if they already enrolled in the split session before desegregation plans were accepted have not been clarified.

8. Long-range building plans which may contribute to segregation.

In some communities long-range construction programs need to be reviewed this year to see whether provisional arrangements which you may agree to this year are in fact locking Negro pupils into a segregated situation from which it will be increasingly difficult for them to escape later.

I believe that there are three steps which you can take immediately which would increase the likelihood that more Negroes who genuinely desire a desegregated education would receive it this year:

1. Scrutinize plans (even those which have already been accepted) from all school districts which have not yet had their transfer periods to cut down on the kinds of noncompliance indicated above.

2. Require each school district which had its registration and transfer period prior to the acceptance of its school desegregation plan to grant new opportunities for transfers prior to the opening of school this year.

3. Assign investigators or compliance officers immediately to all of the southern states whose job it would be to ascertain whether the spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as well as the specific provisions of your guidelines are being complied with in good faith. They should contact not only school officials but Negro leaders and parents and concerned community relations and civil rights agencies. Where non-compliance is discovered, specific corrective actions should be indicated and required prior to the transmittal of funds for the 1965-66 school year. This could mean that some school districts would have to provide additional opportunities for Negroes to enroll in previously all-white schools even after the opening of school.

I would welcome an opportunity to talk with members of your staff about these concerns.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: James Quigley
David Seeley
Harry L. Wright
Wiley Branton
John Doar
Peter Libassi

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

VOLUME V Number 6 February 12, 1960

1970 WITHOUT ARMS The Friends Coordinating Committee for Peace has called on Friends to take "bold and imaginative action" to help achieve by 1970 a totally disarmed world protected by world law. The statement was made at a meeting Feb. 3-5 at Pendle Hill. Attending were representatives of the Board of Peace and Social Concerns of the Five Years Meeting of Friends, the Peace and Social Order Committee of Friends General Conference, the Friends Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the AFSC, and the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

The call said: "This is the time in history for a supreme effort by all Friends. In accord with our central testimony, we are called to share humbly God's process of creation by working to develop the will to peace and to shape institutions of law, government, and disarmament on a world scale in the decade ahead.

"While strengthening our sense of responsibility in local, state, and national affairs, a program for the abolition of war would call for building a sense of world citizenship, enlarging our loyalties to encompass the world community and the whole human race."

There is the task, it said, "of developing the United Nations so that it will have the moral and political authority to settle disputes without resort to violence, and to achieve world disarmament coupled with enforcement provisions reaching down to the individual under world law."

The group asks all, whether of draft age or beyond, to "be faithful to the spiritual roots of our witness for a warless world and to refrain from participation in war or support it."

It urged that young people be given opportunity to volunteer a year or more of sacrificial service as an affirmation of their faith. Friends Meetings could join in special projects such as that of the Urbana-Champaign Meeting in which some Friends contributed one per cent of their gross income to the U.N. The FCCP asked for expanded and sacrificial support for the work of the AFSC, the FCNL, and other Friends agencies working for peace and justice.

It was proposed that "this year an act of corporate witness be undertaken simultaneously by all members of our Religious Society, that will both reaffirm the historic declaration of our testimony and publicly acknowledge its claim upon our lives."

The FCCP will announce later a detailed plan for the latter proposal. Printed copies of the statement will be prepared and sent to AFSC regional offices and will be available for general distribution.

ON THE BRINK Harold Snyder reviews On the Brink (Lyle Stuart, $2.95) in the Feb. 6 issue of SATURDAY REVIEW. The book is by Jerome Davis and Hugh B. Hester. Harold Snyder says the authors have "vigorously and eloquently" presented their solution to the problem of controlling thermonuclear and biochemical warfare. He also says:

> A book so comprehensive, yet so brief, frustrates author, reader, and reviewer alike. It must of necessity oversimplify, generalize, omit much evidence needed to support even its most defensible conclusions. Largely for this reason, many sincere peace seekers will disagree with or be left unconvinced by some of the analyses and recommendations. For example, the charge of recent American economic imperialism demands more proof and greater attention to the vast United States aid programs. And can economic competition be seriously viewed as a major cause of modern war? The generally hopeful interpretation of recent Soviet policy would only be strengthened by frank recognition of the Hungary incident and solid reasons for apprehension over mainland China's behavior. Reading Kennan, Noel-Baker, Warburg, King-Hall, Bowles, and Cousins will fill in the many other gaps.
>
> However, Davis and Hester have shown that even a short book can illuminate usefully a vast subject.

AFSC AIRLIFTS BLANKETS TO TUNISIA In recent weeks the AFSC has airlifted 7,000 blankets to Tunisia for distribution among Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. Included in that number is a recent shipment of 1,000 blankets requested by Louise Wood. Nearly 50,000 blankets have been sent to Tunisia by the AFSC in the past few months.

Last week the Committee doubled to $1,000,000 its program goal for Algerian refugee relief. The decision was made after hearing reports from Dr. Rita Morgan, who for the past seven months had been directing the AFSC relief program in Tunisia.

JANE ADDAMS CENTENNIAL The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is sponsoring this year the 100th anniversary of the birth of Jane Addams, its first president. Lucy Carner, a member of the WIL board and the AFSC board, spoke of Jane Addams and the celebration at the annual AFSC meeting in January. Her statement is published in an article, "Jane Addams and the Society of Friends," in the Feb. 8 issue of THE AMERICAN FRIEND.

Jane Addams had a close relationship to the AFSC and in 1919 traveled in Germany investigating conditions. She later went about the United States reporting on what she saw and raising money for the AFSC relief programs. Lucy Carner said:

> If Jane Addams had lived a generation later, I feel sure she would have been asked by the AFSC to head up a work camp. She too believed that "we pacifists must know from experience what we are talking about." She longed for the church to help young people to "cast their experiences in a larger mold." She might have written a letter of appeal to college students saying, "We are under obligation in choosing our experiences, since the result of these experiences may ultimately determine our understanding of life."

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Colin Bell said Maria Comberti of Florence, Italy, would give her impressions of the American way of life as seen by an Italian. But she didn't. She decided that we knew about the American way of life, and, therefore, she told us sidelights of Italian life that differed from our ways. She said:

"There is very little sense of social responsibility in Italy... People do not wear working clothes on the street... The Italian woman is always dependent on her family or husband." (Maria was an exception. She traveled by herself. Instead of being envious of her freedom, an Italian woman remarked, "It must be awful to have a husband who trusts you so much. How can you tell that he loves you?")

She quoted an Italian woman who observed in a Quaker meeting, "We love Americans because they don't talk love, they make love."

Dan Murrow and Tom Hubbard spoke of their work as members of the Friends Neighborhood Group in East Harlem, N. Y. Dan Murrow mentioned that among the Puerto Ricans there is "a great surplus of poverty and of warmth." Since the formation of the East Harlem Youth Council there has been peace among the teen-age gangs for seven months.

HENRY CADBURY JOINS FORT DETRICK VIGIL Henry J. Cadbury, honorary chairman of the AFSC, participated last month in the vigil at Fort Detrick in protest of the germ warfare preparation. Donald Bremner, who worked with the AFSC in Korea and is now a staff member of the BALTIMORE SUN, built his story around the fact that Henry Cadbury again had donned borrowed clothes for an important event. He referred to the occasion when, in preparation for the trip abroad to get the Nobel Prize, Henry Cadbury got a dress suit from the AFSC warehouse. At the vigil he used, for protection against the freezing weather, clothes which will eventually be distributed as relief.

A colleague in the line was Dr. Norman Gottwald of Andover Newton Theological Seminary.

Asked if the vigil was a "negative approach," Henry Cadbury agreed that it was. "But I don't despise negatives. After all, the Ten Commandments began with negatives. I think sometimes we ought to say 'no' including 'no' to the government.

"The American Friends Service Committee is known for its positive efforts, but the positive needs to be supplemented with a negative. When you have spent years trying to help those who suffered from war, you have a right to supplement that with this kind of step."

STRATEGY CONFERENCE AT DETRICK FEB. 20 A conference on strategy against germ warfare will be held Saturday, February 20, at Frederick, Md., by the Appeal and Vigil at Fort Detrick. The conference opens at 9 a. m. with a progress report on the vigil, legislative action, and analysis of the method. A session at 2 p. m. will discuss plans for the future. An open session at 7 p. m. will have as resource leaders Albert Bigelow, Charles Walker, George Willoughby, Stewart Meacham, Robert Gilmore, and other members of the Committee.

WORLD AFFAIRS BOOK FAIR The World Affairs Center for the United States has published a catalog of the combined book exhibit on display at its offices, First Avenue at 47th Street, New York. It is an important list of books on subjects related to AFSC concerns.

DIRECT ACTION BY SIT-IN AND STAND-IN: SPECIAL REPORT That which follows is based on reports from several sources including FOCUS "correspondents" on the payroll of such news agencies as THE NEW YORK TIMES, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Direct action projects in North Carolina have been a surprise in at least six North Carolina cities where Negro students, with some white students cooperating, are protesting segregated lunch counters at variety stores. Reaction of the stores has been to close the counters or the entire store.

As this is written, the demonstrations have been staged in Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Fayetteville, and Raleigh. It was expected that students would take similar action in High Point. Each of the six cities mentioned has one or more Negro colleges. Most also have a white college. Negro colleges are also located at Elizabeth City and Salisbury in North Carolina.

No major incidents have been reported in any of the cities although considerable tenseness has been evident in the demonstrations. One news report commended the orderly manner and good grooming of the students in the demonstrations.

It seems evident that the demonstrations have been initiated locally; however, a representative of the Congress for Racial Equality was invited to North Carolina to assist the students. CORE has negotiated with store officials at the New York headquarters of the Woolworth and Kress chains, the principal objects of the demonstrations.

The protests started in Greensboro, where students of A. and T. College and Greensboro College, with some cooperation from white students in two other colleges, conducted a week-long sit-in at variety store counters in two stores. On the sixth day both stores closed. The Greensboro students later agreed to a two-week suspension of the project to permit negotiations with management and community leaders.

Eight stores were affected by the protest in Charlotte. A student leader there explained to a reporter: "I have no malice, no jealousy, no hatred, no envy. All I want is to come in and place my order and be served and leave a tip if I feel like it."

In Raleigh criminal action was threatened against students who requested service at a drugstore in the city's largest hotel. The students left.

The mayor of Raleigh deplored the effects of the demonstration on the city's reputation and said the students were "seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but destined to fail."

Greensboro's mayor took a more hopeful position and seemed to recognize the possibility of change in the long-standing custom, as the city had recognized three years earlier in desegregating its schools. Raleigh has refused to admit Negro students to classes. Greensboro's mayor called on both sides to negotiate the issue, and the students promptly agreed to a two-week truce. Alex Morisey

LATE ITEM Lunch counter protest spread Thursday to Hampton, Va., where students from Hampton Institute sought service at a Woolworth store, were refused, and the store closed its counter.

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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MONDAY STAFF MEETING: REPORT ON CENTERS CONFERENCE William Maier, Elaine Bell, and Stewart Meacham reported on the conference on aims and priorities of Center work held in Oosterbeek, Holland, last month. Jim Bristol and Lou Schneider also attended the conference.

Stewart Meacham outlined (at Oosterbeek) the dimensions of the problem faced by Friends as they try to work through international Centers to "rebuild the world as a city of God." These dimensions he said were: (1) The magnitude of destructive power. (2) The new helplessness of the totally armed and the totally deterred. (3) The new role of the military men and their industrial agencies in determining national policy.

These dimensions pose specific problems of getting, evaluating, and disseminating information, encouraging morally responsible understanding, deciding what to do, and doing it.

He told the conference that Quakers must replace outworn assumptions and reaffirm the following new ones. (1) That what Quakers have always called moral is now prudent as well. (2) That there is still a need for individuals to assume personal responsibility for public issues. (3) That power in history is like a chemical reaction rather than a mass accumulation. (4) That it is God's will to save the world.

Three program suggestions for Centers were approved by the conference:

1. That Centers organize gatherings over week ends, or at other times, where people would discuss these "new dimensions" in depth, considering how their own lives are affected by them, and what their responsibilities with respect to them may be. It was suggested that such discussions could be initiated by resource people but that the emphasis should be on group participation rather than the formal presentation of a body of facts and analysis by experts.

2. That representatives of significant occupation groups (diplomats, scientists, journalists, teachers, etc.) be invited to meet from time to time, according to their professional or vocational grouping, to discuss the responsibilities which they have as members of their profession to deal creatively with the problems of war and peace.

3. That the Center program staffs seek opportunities to raise with individuals the question of what they may do as individuals, in their own family, neighborhood, or community life, to counteract the forces which make for division and war, and to encourage a spirit of seeking peaceful solutions and building trust. It was suggested that Centers can develop a "clientele" of friends who find in the Center a means of relating themselves to responsible and relevant action.

(continued on page 2)

While in Europe Stewart Meacham attended the third East-West Round Table Conference on Disarmament in London. Representatives of 16 different nations of Europe and North America attended. The conference adopted a statement which urged:

1. That all proposals for disarmament and effective control should be considered as soon as possible by the committee of ten appointed by the United Nations, by the Summit Conference, and by an international conference including China.

2. That as soon as a general agreement on disarmament is concluded, an effective system of control should be enforced by all necessary means.

3. That the U.S., U.K., and the U.S.S.R. negotiators at Geneva quickly agree to a treaty banning all nuclear tests with adequate inspection.

4. That world opinion in the coming crucial months should be to facilitate the negotiations.

5. That the enormous accumulation of outstanding and urgent international problems requires a continuous series of conferences, negotiations, and discussions at all levels.

ALGERIAN REFUGEE RELIEF: PROGRESS REPORT Frank Hunt, director of overseas refugee programs, left this week for a month in Tunisia and Morocco. While there he will work with the new staff appointees to the Algerian Refugee Relief Program.

Lola and Orville Wolford have arrived in Tunisia to direct the program there, while Eleanor and Melvin Knight are the appointees in Morocco.

In the last two weeks the AFSC has filled emergency demands for 15,000 blankets to be distributed among the Algerian refugees. Of the total, 8,000 were purchased in England and 3,000 in this country at a cost of about $27,000. The remainder of the number sent from this country were contributed.

"ON THE BEACH" FLYER PUBLISHED Who Would Ever Think is the title of a new four-page folder published by the AFSC peace education program for distribution in connection with showings of the movie, On the Beach. The title is taken from a speech by one of the actors in the movie who said, "Who would ever think...human beings would be stupid enough to blow themselves off the face of the earth?...The war started when people accepted the idiotic idea that peace could be maintained by arranging to defend themselves with weapons they couldn't possibly use without committing suicide." The folder suggests we demand that governments stop the arms race. This can be done by mobilizing support for peace organizations and by writing to our elected representatives in Washington.

A-BOMB EXPLOSION IN THE SAHARA The protest against the French nuclear test in North Africa may get results, THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY says. An editorial in the Feb. 10 issue reports observations made by A. J. Muste in Chicago at a dinner, co-sponsored by the AFSC, celebrating his 75th birthday. The editorial says that the pacifist may, "through the Sahara protest, teach Africans how to maintain their self-respect and to resist injustice by nonviolent means. Once learned, the lesson could have far-reaching and salutary effects among those newly aroused millions."

STUDENT LUNCH COUNTER PROTESTS REFLECT UNREST Claude Sitton, southern correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, wrote in an article Feb. 15 that the student demonstrations against segregated eating places showed that "much more might be involved than the matter of the Negro's right to sit at a lunch counter for a coffee break."

Observers contend that the movement reflects the growing dissatisfaction with the pace of desegregation in schools and other public places. The writer observed that "across the state (north carolina) there were indications that the Negro had weighed token desegregation and found it wanting."

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala., spoke recently at an NAACP meeting in Greensboro. The TIMES quoted him as saying, "We don't want token freedom. We want full freedom. What would a token dollar be worth? You educated us. You taught us to look up, white man. And we're looking up!"

A recent unofficial count indicates protests have been made in nine cities of North Carolina and in four other states--Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee.

The CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, Feb. 10, laid the protest question squarely in the laps of the individual stores involved. It said, "In the absence of laws on the subject, proprietors of private eating establishments in North Carolina are free to serve or not to serve anyone who presents himself."

The newspaper's editorial said that that proprietor who is willing to serve Negroes meals provided they stand at the lunch counter "invites a race issue when he denies them the right to sit at the counter." The editorial concluded, "Each store will have to work out its policy as it chooses, with due regard to the tinkle of the cash register."

An ill-fated boycott in Rock Hill, S. C., created an awkward situation for its sponsors. Small slips of paper were being passed out which said, "Please do not make a purchase in this store until further notice." The boycott was intended to protest the closing of the lunch counters to white persons but was being misconstrued as favoring the Negro students. The white sponsors quickly retired to reprint their appeals.

The protests picked up significant support. The North Carolina chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice said, "We believe that the Negroes are acting from religious conviction, and are conducting themselves with dignity. We hope that the managers of the businesses involved will resolve this problem in a way based upon their highest religious convictions, a way that will ensure equal treatment of all our citizens."

A statement from the North Carolina Council on Human Relations called the demonstrations "manifestations of a new spirit and attitude" among Negroes since the school desegregation decision of 1954.

That decision, and statements by several major churches, the council said, "have given Negroes a new sense of dignity and a new determination to achieve first class citizenship." The council said it would be a mistake to assume that the demonstra-

(continued on page 4)

tions will quickly subside or that most Negroes don't sympathize with them. It called on leaders to recognize the serious and far-reaching nature of the protests and to "move quickly toward...peaceful and honorable solutions.

"The American tradition of decency and fair play would seem to demand that downtown dining facilities should be available to anyone who needs them and can pay for them."

Kays Gary, a columnist in the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, commented on Feb. 11 about the student lunch counter protest in an interesting way. He said that while one of the stores was thwarting Negro students by removing luncheon counter seats a record player gave forth the strains of "God Bless America."

C.O. HANDBOOK AVAILABLE A revised edition of the C.O. Handbook has just been published by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. The volume contains regulations regarding conscientious objection and, for the first time, a bibliography of materials on conscientious objection. Copies may be secured from AFSC offices or from the CCCO, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

EDUCATION COSTS: AIR ACADEMY APPROPRIATION VS. QUAKER COLLEGE COSTS Peter Leppmann of Dallas sent in an interesting statistic which he thought might interest FOCUS readers: "In case you are not up on this statistic--the $138,000,000 now appropriated by Congress for construction of the 2,600-cadet Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colo., is more than four times total plant cost of the following Friends colleges: Bryn Mawr, Earlham, Friends University, George Fox, Guilford, Haverford, Swarthmore, Whittier, William Penn, and Wilmington."

COURSE IN PACIFISM PLANNED FOR SUMMER The AFSC is planning a seminar on pacifism at the Putney Graduate School, Putney, Vt., from June 16 to July 28. It is hoped that 15 students will participate in "an academic exploration of pacifism." Morris Mitchell, a Quaker and a leader in experimental education, will direct the seminar. The cost of the seminar is $150. Inquiries should be addressed to: Seminar on Pacifism, AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES A recent news dispatch from Washington by UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL discusses the religious affiliations of the six possible presidential candidates. The writer concluded that Senator Stuart Symington is "the only prospective candidate besides Kennedy whose church affiliation can be given in a single word. Symington is unequivocally an Episcopalian."

Adlai Stevenson has been a Unitarian most of his life but has frequently attended Presbyterian churches in recent years. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson was baptized into the Disciples of Christ deonomination but attends an Episcopal church in Washington. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey is listed as a member of a Congregational church but attends a Methodist church in Washington.

The UPI story says that Vice-President Nixon is "usually described as a Quaker." The writer says, "Nixon has made it clear that he is by no means a pacifist. In fact, there is some question whether Nixon should now be described as a Quaker or a Methodist. Although he is still listed as a member in good standing of the Friends Meeting of East Whittier, Calif., Nixon and his family regularly attend the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Church in Washington."

Alex Morrison

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
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AFSC URGED TO CONTINUE REPUDIATION OF VIOLENCE The New England Regional Office sent a concern to the Representative Council urging the AFSC to "continue to develop and proclaim vigorously its fundamental repudiation of violence." Its appeal included a copy of a letter from W. H. Ferry, vice-president of the Fund for the Republic, which was published in the Jan. 13 issue of the SANTA BARBARA NEWS-PRESS. The writer takes the position that the alternatives to the arms race are drastic, but thinkable. These are excerpts:

> Suppose we were to junk all of our weapons of whatever kind? Suppose we were to tell the world that we are doing so because we are convinced that it is the only practical way out of the fateful dilemma in which all are caught?
>
> The best possible result of such a decision is that it would give us the unquestioned moral leadership of an apprehensive world, that Russia would follow our example because of its declared eagerness to compete and surpass on grounds other than armed might, and that all could turn to the solution of humanity's pressing problems.
>
> The worst possible result is that Russia would instantly take advantage of our defenselessness to bomb the U.S. into radioactive rubble. In this case we would not be worse off than if we had engaged in a two-way war. All that would be lacking would be a regret among survivors that we had not had vengeance on our attackers. But the result seems wholly unlikely. It may be better supposed that Russia does not desire the extinction of the U.S. but its submission as a nation and great production center to Communism.
>
> Another and more possible result then is that this country would be taken over by the Reds, commissars replacing our managers and mayors, legislators and union officials, broadcasters and publishers. This is a desperate and repellent vision; and while I do not believe that this would be the outcome, it is necessary to accept it as a possibility if one is willing to argue that unilateral disarmament is the only practical policy for this country to adopt. Red domination of this and other free nations is at least "thinkable." We can at least imagine it in all its hateful and dismal aspects, while we find the consequences of a nuclear, germ, and gas war unthinkable and unimaginable. We would survive as a nation with the greatest of traditions and with the unquenchable intention of demonstrating by argument and peaceable resistance the power of freedom and justice as man's best and only proper organizing principles.
>
> It might well take years or decades to regenerate freedom and justice. But we would have the chance to do so, a chance that by common agreement would not be vouchsafed us in the case of an all-out war which no nation could win. Should war come the task would not be resisting or throwing off the hand of an oppressor by reasonable means; it would be the task of rebuilding civilization from barbarism and chaos.

COMMENT: WHAT CAN HAPPEN TO AN IDEA An article in the Feb. 20 issue of THE NATION discusses the "rigged" world and domestic economy which permits one segment of mankind to live in relative affluence while the others barely exist. Madison Avenue must share a large part of the blame for the situation, says the author, Roy Bongartz. There is now some "agonizing self-appraisal" he says. A paragraph in the article may be relevant in the AFSC, where ideas often get the committee treatment.

> "We're loaded with creative people," says Anthony C. Chevins, senior vice-president of Cunningham & Walsh. "Today everybody in advertising is creative. Every time a helpless little idea gets born, this battalion of creative experts pounces on it like a group of starving men in a lifeboat going after a careless sea gull. Never before have so many created so little. Never before have so many created so little that looks so much alike." Chevins adds that "the more creative people you put into a conference room the fewer good ideas are apt to come out. Meetings are for meatheads." As for brainstorming sessions: "A tempest in a think-pot."

WHERE IS ABEL, YOUR BROTHER? On March 19, 9:30-10:30 p.m. (New York time), NBC television will present a program providing a careful examination of the refugee problem in connection with World Refugee Year. "Where is Abel, Your Brother?" will be narrated by Madeleine Carroll. The report was filmed in four camps in Italy and discusses in particular the "hard core refugee."

OF CONQUEST Though governments can originally have no other rise than that beforementioned, nor polities be founded on anything but the consent of the people, yet such has been the disorders ambition has filled the world with, that, in the noise of war, which makes so great a part of the history of mankind, this consent is little taken notice of; and therefore many have mistaken the force of arms for the consent of the people, and reckon conquest as one of the originals of government. But conquest is as far from setting up any government as demolishing a house is from building a new one in the place. Indeed, it often makes way for a new frame of a commonwealth, by destroying the former; but, without consent of the people, can never erect a new one. (From "Of Conquest" by John Locke)

ROTC REVISITED The ROTC program, one of the oldest and most direct relationships between higher education and the federal government, is examined in a book recently released by the Princeton University Press. This study, Education and Military Leadership, (Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland, $5.00), surveys the past and present and makes proposals for the future of the Officer Corps. The authors feel that with the increasing complexities of our international commitments, a body of highly trained professional career officers is a necessity and that a revaluation of the ROTC is an urgent matter. "At every level of responsibility," the authors conclude, "from the college campus to the educational associations, to the military departments to the Department of Defense, the real need is to begin to think of the ROTC in terms of the changing nature of our military manpower requirements." (LOOKING AHEAD, a publication of the National Planning Association.)

CANADA DEBATING ON DEATH PENALTY A nationwide debate on abolition of the death penalty in Canada has been stirred by a private member's bill now under discussion in Parliament. It would replace hanging with life imprisonment. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker said during the second day of discussion on the bill that in his 20 years' experience in the House of Commons he could not recall "the same degree of interest" in any other matter. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 2-28)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Dick Smith discussed the Friends Refugee Resettlement Program, in which the AFSC cooperates with Church World Service and the World Council of Churches in helping refugees settle in the United States. The AFSC program in the last year has been helping bring to this country Dutch Indonesians from Holland. He said a total of 130 Friends Meetings have cooperated in sponsoring the resettlement of 445 individuals. Several regional offices have responded, including for the first time Dayton, San Francisco, and Cambridge, he said.

Lou Schneider reported on a recent three-week trip to Moscow in company with Paul Johnson and John Seybold. During the visit they explored the possibility of holding seminars in Russia, the participation of Russians in diplomats' conferences, School Affiliation Service projects, work camps, and other types of exchanges.

One of his most impressive experiences was hearing a Russian sculptor's comments after he had received an award. The sculptor spoke in accepting the award of the evidence that others in the world want disarmament and urged that the Soviet Union should work for peace.

Lou Schneider described the difficulty in conducting conversations with Russian officials and private citizens whose reactions seemed to follow a "static line." He asserted that this was indicative of the need for the kinds of seminars the AFSC wanted to sponsor with Russian participation.

He expressed the conviction that the AFSC should not diminish its work toward disarmament but should find the basis for common cause in something other than the initiative of the Russians. The most successful communication, he said, was with those Russians who had in some manner been previously in contact with AFSC staff and programs.

Agreement was reached, Lou Schneider said, for the Soviet Committee on Youth Organizations to hold a seminar this summer in Leningrad in which 12 U.S. students would participate. In 1960 the AFSC would conduct a similar seminar in this country with 12 Russian students participating. In 1958 two Russian students attended the international student seminar in Vermont.

THE FRENCH BOMB "Perhaps France may have served the cause of peace by underlining the urgency of an agreement to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and immediately to prohibit further nuclear tests. Now that he has his bomb, conceivably President de Gaulle will be willing to join the other nuclear Powers in a search for nuclear stability. He must know that France cannot join in a nuclear arms race; now that his pride is satisfied, he may be glad to see the race canceled." (From an article in the Feb. 18 MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY)

EUROPEAN TOUR FOR TEENS Former AFSC staff members, Peter and Peggy Leppmann of Dallas, Texas, will lead a group of teen-agers (ages 16-19) through seven European countries this summer. The group will spend three weeks traveling through England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany. Three weeks will be spent in a German camp, sharing recreation, work, and discussion with European young people. Registration is limited to 20 persons interested in world affairs. Write: Tour for Teens, 4806 Hopkins St., Dallas 9, Texas.

DR. YOUNGDAHL REPORTS ON VISIT TO SIBERIA Back from a visit to Siberia, Dr. Reuben K. Youngdahl, pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, Minn., said the Russians there showed a lively interest in foreign affairs and in world peace. He said he felt "much more hopeful for world peace than on any of my other nine trips abroad" following his 35,000-mile, 16-nation journey. The visit to Siberia was his first to that area. (RNS, 2-15)

NOTES FROM COMMUNITY RELATIONS ROUNDUP Searching questions and assertions were made by Ira Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Haverford College, at the first session of the Community Relations Roundup this week. Immediately after he finished, staff and Committee members began throwing questions back at him. Dr. Reid left with the promise to come back on Friday, the last roundup day, for a wrap-up session.

Dr. Reid said at the outset that a major problem is that of a world which has committed itself to reach goals beyond its present grasp. The question then is how can the grasp be increased? "Can our programs do it?" he asked. Next he wondered if "we are equipped to do it, and if not, why not, or if so, how can it be done."

He said that AFSC programs operate mostly in a "twilight zone" between what we want and what we have. Programs must always be impermanent, he said.

Suggesting the kind of persons he thinks are needed for the tasks in community relations, Dr. Reid said he would want those with creative intelligence, a well-formed heart, high-flown hopes, and a dynamic message. Also important, he said, was the courage to take a calculated risk.

He concluded that, to succeed, all programs "must have the backing of the good people in the community" where they operate.

Thelma Babbitt told the roundup at one of its sessions of the "freeze" which effectively prevents discussion and examination of the deep issues involved in the school desegregation dispute in Little Rock. In the white community any consideration of the issues among the top leadership is discouraged. It affects members of the Negro community, almost all of whom feel vulnerable to economic pressures. There is no opportunity whatever to work with teachers, she said.

An interracial committee of six persons, working with Thelma, planned a conference on community unity which was held last week. A list of 270 concerned individuals was assembled by the committee and invited to attend the conference. Of the number, 98 attended and 49 others expressed their regret because of other commitments. A third of those attending were Negroes. Nineteen young people participated.

A roundup discussion of public witness projects such as the current lunch counter demonstrations in the South resulted in the Southeastern Regional Office's being encouraged to give whatever support it can to the movement. Staff from the region reported that invitations to counsel, conduct workshops on nonviolence, and otherwise relate to the demonstrations have already been received from student leaders.

Commentary on Albert Schweitzer: McLeod Bryan of Wake Forest College spoke on "Race Relations and World Perspective" at the roundup. His address was based on his observations of racism in Africa, where he traveled recently under the U.S.-South Africa Leadership Exchange. Illustrating the point that racism pervades virtually all that happens in the continent, one of his stories involved Schweitzer, whom he quoted as having said to an African: "Yes, you're my brother. But remember, son, you're my younger brother."

Alex Morrison

FOCUS on PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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COMMENTARY BY ALBERT CAMUS All I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that, we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers themselves or the accomplices of murderers, and those who refuse to do so with all their force and being. Since this terrible dividing line does actually exist, it will be a gain if it be clearly marked. Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion, a struggle in which, granted, the former has a thousand times the chances of success than that of the latter. But I have always held that, if he who bases his hopes on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the face of circumstances is a coward. And henceforth, the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble: that words are more powerful than munitions. (From an article by Albert Camus published in the July-August, 1947, issue of POLITICS. It was reprinted in the February, 1960, issue of LIBERATION.)

COMMENT ON FRANCE JOINING THE NUCLEAR CLUB In the March 5 issue of SATURDAY REVIEW Cleveland Amory speaks of February as not only a short month but a short-tempered one which featured blowups by Jack Paar on TV and President Eisenhower at a press conference. Continuing to speak about Paar, the writer had the following paragraph:

> Somehow, way down on the bottom of the page the day the earth-shaking news came about Jack Paar, we did manage to note that France had joined the Nuclear Club. Well, that's what happens when you let the bars down. You take in one country, and the next thing you know they bring their friends. And you end up, of course, with no society at all, just a society for the prevention of any future society.

MUTUAL DISTRUST OF ENEMIES The terrible thing about the mutual distrust of enemies is that it is justified. Some enemies are untrustworthy to begin with, but all become so eventually. Enemies cannot trust each other because each is forced to act in such a way as to justify the other's misgivings. This is an example of what the sociologist Robert K. Merton has termed the "self-fulfilling prophecy." (Dr. Jerome Frank, quoted in MANAS, Feb. 17)

WORLD REFUGEE YEAR STAMP The four-cent World Refugee Year commemorative stamp, to be first placed on sale April 7, 1960, in Washington, D.C., will be dramatic in its approach, featuring a family group facing down a long dark corridor towards a bright exit--thereby symbolizing escape from the darknesses of want and oppression into the brightness of a new life.

Printing will be in a gray-black, with issuance in sheets of 50 subjects. Across the top of the stamp, in open Roman lettering, is "WORLD REFUGEE YEAR." In the extreme lower right, also in open faced Roman, is the value "4¢," preceded by "UNITED STATES POSTAGE" in solid Roman lettering. An initial printing order for 120,000,000 has been placed. Ervine Metzl, of New York, was the designer. (Post Office Department, 2-20)

RHODESIAN LEADER STRESSES CHURCH'S ROLE IN AFRICA The Christian Church will play a key role in the future development of race relations in Africa because it teaches the white man that all men are equal before God, Dr. R. S. Garfield Todd, former prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, said in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Todd, who headed the government of Southern Rhodesia from 1953 to 1957, and is now leader of the opposition party, spent 26 years as a missionary of the Disciples of Christ in that land before entering the government. He is first vice-president of the World Convention of Churches of Christ (Disciples).

"The Bible teaches us that we are all sons of God and therefore brothers," said the soft-spoken missionary educator in a talk which opened his American tour. He was in this country to address church groups and colleges in several cities.

"When the white man came to Africa, the black man was so far below him in education, culture, and talent that it was easy to be a missionary and to assume a paternal role," he pointed out. "Now, however, the role must be transformed to a fraternal one, a relationship between equals, and this is a very hard adjustment for the white man to make.

"In Southern Rhodesia we have 200,000 white residents and a Negro population that has increased from an estimated 500,000 to over 2,000,000 in just 60 years," Dr. Todd said. "The relationship has been a simple one of master and servant, but this now must change, and there is a great deal of resistance to the change.

"Nearly all our white settlers are Christians," said Dr. Todd, "and the church is the only agency that can help them meet this crisis. Its message of human brotherhood is the only one which is relevant to the situation and that points a way out for both black man and white." (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 2-24)

STRANGE NOISES REGARDING THE CHESSMAN CASE The March 5 issue of THE NATION has an editorial, "Strange Noises," which makes some observations regarding the changing opinion about capital punishment. This is the final paragraph:

> What Governor Brown's purblind critics do not recognize is that world opinion is one of the unmistakable realities of the modern age. Why shouldn't citizens of a world becoming increasingly interdependent voice their concern about a case that is everywhere regarded as a symbol of the new interest in the abolition of the death penalty? Americans are themselves among the busiest wire-senders and petition-circulators; millions of us, literally, have protested executions and prison sentences in almost every land on earth. There is nothing "sinister" in the world interest shown in the Chessman case; on the contrary, it is a hopeful omen that the impending enactment of an obscene and barbarous ritual can arouse this much concern among millions of people. What is sinister is the attempt to interpret this interest as a plot inspired by the Kremlin.

JEWISH GROUP ASKS END TO DEATH PENALTY Governors of the 41 states still retaining capital punishment were urged by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York to "eradicate the process which has embarrassed the United States throughout the world in the Chessman case." (RNS, 2-28)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Douglas and Dorothy Steere reported on their recent travels for the AFSC to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. During the past ten years they have been using one semester in each two years to travel abroad visiting AFSC programs, meeting Friends, and exploring opportunities for new programs. Douglas Steere is professor of philosophy at Haverford College.

Dorothy Steere emphasized the "encounter" aspect of the travels. On the last trip, for example, they had talks with leaders of the Friends Service Council, attended Germany Yearly Meeting, observed at the Vienna Youth Festival, talked with leaders of other peace churches, and had many contacts with peoples of other religions.

She made several generalizations about AFSC programs and personnel. The importance of approaching an assignment or contact with open minds and hearts should be clear, she said. It is not necessary, she declared, to change one's point of view in encounters with others, but there is the need to listen, ask questions, and evaluate impressions.

She stressed the importance of being objective in difficult situations while admitting the difficulty of "being objective about something that is wrong." She expressed the conviction that "increasingly AFSC workers must have the capacity to see both sides."

Human relations was listed as a requirement with comparable importance as technical training. "Unless there is good human relations, all the technical skills will not help. They must have the capacity to be sensitive. The people we send should represent clearly the point of view of Friends," she said.

Dorothy Steere spoke strongly, and was later supported by Douglas Steere, that more continuity must be achieved in staffing of overseas programs. The AFSC, she said, must arrange to appoint persons for long-term work in Centers and other posts.

Another point of emphasis was the need for effective communications between the AFSC, local Friends, indigenous groups, as well as internal units of the Committee.

She concluded with a plea that the AFSC refrain from committing itself to more projects than it has personnel to manage. "We must use every possibility to keep from saying 'yes' because we feel flattered at being asked to do something."

QUAKER HUMOR

Douglas Steere began by suggesting that we not underestimate our opposition and told the story of a Quaker trying to buy a parrot at an auction. After rather spirited bidding the bird was purchased for $50, and the Quaker, reflecting on what he had done, wondered aloud: "Now that I've got him I don't know if the wretch can speak." Came the reply from the parrot: "Say, Friend, who does thee think was bidding against thee?"

He expressed the fear that we may get "too high an opinion of the level at which we work and miss the ground swell of the mass of common people so important for reconciliation and peace. Perhaps we should fear this more than the possibility of underestimating the forces of evil. The spirit in the peoples of the world is far ahead of the political apparatus. We must be in that stream and sensitive to that voice as it is in the world today."

Douglas Steere talked about the need for a Quaker International Affairs Representative in Germany--"a most critical area." He quoted a German who asked, "Does war have to come again before we can get a Quaker over?" (The Personnel Department is seeking a well-qualified German-speaking candidate for the post.) He suggested a more flexible program for QIAR's that might permit them to spend some time each year in the United States, especially in Washington, reporting on their findings and experiences.

NOTES ON THE NORTH CAROLINA SCENE Fifty-nine white and Negro ministers in Raleigh, N.C., have issued a joint public statement asking for open doors of opportunity for all races and for a solution of racial problems, including current lunch counter demonstrations, on the basis of Christian principles.

"We urge that steps be taken which give opportunity and service to persons as persons in all community relationships such as worship, education, business and employment, regardless of race, creed, or color. The issue of discriminatory service at lunch counters is only a symbol of the many problems which need to be faced openly and frankly."

The Rev. Oscar B. Woolridge, coordinator of religious affairs at North Carolina State College, a leader in the group, released a letter signed by 45 ministers and mailed to New York headquarters officials of F. W. Woolworth Co. and S. H. Kress and Company. The letter promised support if the firms opened their counters on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Negro leaders in North Carolina met in Durham and mapped plans to step up peaceful demonstrations in all public places.

The Negro leaders agreed to use "nonviolent resistance as our primary method of protest and persuasion to win converts to the causes of equality of opportunity, freedom of assembly, and freedom of speech on a nondiscriminatory basis in every avenue of life.

"We shall actively explore, study, and use whatever and whenever practicable--picketing, boycotting, and other lawful and peaceful means of protest, notwithstanding the threats of arrests, imprisonment, or other harrassment and punishment," the ministers' statement said.

Meanwhile the North Carolina Council of Churches' Human Relations Committee, meeting in Raleigh, adopted a statement urging all citizens to support Negroes in their demand for "equal service" at lunch counters.

Three groups in Greensboro have gone on record in support of the demonstrations. The Greensboro Council of Church Women said in a statement that "these times should not be viewed as times of trouble but of opportunity for the whole community."

The Greensboro Methodist Ministers Fellowship urged a "pattern of intergroup relations in the light of our accepted basic moral and spiritual values."

The Greensboro Ministers Fellowship called for "equal treatment of all customers by businesses serving members of both races."

The student legislature at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem has asked the trustees to "take a positive stand" against racial discrimination in the school's admission policy. Student groups at Davidson College have asked their trustees to look into the matter of the admission of Negroes.

Alex Mooney

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VOLUME V Number 11 March 18, 1960

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Steve Cary reported on the recent meeting of Representative Council. One of its chief concerns, he said, was to increase opportunities for young people to give year-round service to the AFSC. The Council recommended exploration of the subject and appropriated funds for that purpose.

Discussion of AFSC responsibilities in peace education went on throughout the week, Steve said. There was a strong feeling that the efforts toward disarmament should be linked with emphasis on the need for positive programs which are essential if disarmament efforts are to be successful.

The Council felt that the AFSC should challenge reliance on violence and urge unilateral actions toward disarmament.

Examination of AFSC roundups resulted in agreement that they should not be held automatically but determined on a "sense of the meeting" basis. If held it will be expected that each office will participate.

Barbara Moffett and other staff members of the Community Relations Program reported on their recent roundup. There were fewer outside resources this year and more dependence upon members of the AFSC family. Ira Reid made the principal address and emphasized the "in-betweenness" of AFSC programs which must work for what we want in the framework of reality. Steve Cary spoke on the relationship of the Society of Friends and the AFSC. Charles Darlington led the session considering the role of committees. Colin Bell spoke on the spiritual resources needed for program work. Another resource person was McLeod Bryan of Wake Forest College, who spoke on Africa and racism.

Also adding to the total resources of the roundup were eight regional office secretaries and committee members from seven regional offices.

Tillie Walker said the Indian program staff gave considerable time to a discussion of length of programs, role of committees, and examination of legislation. Staff felt that opportunities should be given for more young people to participate in Indian programs.

Jean Fairfax said the roundup sessions tried to get a better understanding of the white southerners' willingness to change. One of the problems is that those most likely to change are not in contact with the Negro community. Another aspect of the problem is the widespread hope in the white community that Negroes will be discouraged with the possibilities for desegregation and not take the necessary steps.

The roundup considered the current protest demonstrations in the South which reflect Negro frustration at the rate of desegregation, exasperation at not being consulted,

(continued on next page)

and a determination to have a greater role in determining their future. The protests have been remarkable for their nonviolence and discipline, she said.

Roundup staff considered the role the AFSC can have in the protests and decided that it could interpret the meaning of the demonstrations to white and Negro communities and to national offices of firms which are the target of student protests. Workshops and other meetings to emphasize nonviolence could be held. Another possibility is to relate the demonstrations to the other programs of the AFSC.

Dick Taylor said the housing group's discussions were related to the initial challenge by Ira Reid, who asked if AFSC techniques were those of the market place or the socially committed. It was felt that we may have not given enough thought to the market place techniques. One staff member is taking courses in real estate, Dick reported.

ROUNDUP MINUTES Three minutes were prepared at the Community Relations Roundup. Two of them related to southern programs and the third to work among American Indians. (1) The roundup recommended that a goal of two families be set for each AFSC family camp and summer institute as a means of providing "an interracial living experience" for both white and Negro families.

Another minute (2) emphasized the need to give southern high school youth interracial experiences outside the South. It was recommended that the High School Seminar Program be "substantially expanded."

Indian program staff members expressed (3) concern to have young people be given opportunities for service in Community Relations programs.

ACCIDENT OR AGGRESSION Rep. Charles O. Porter has an article in the March 5 issue of THE NATION with the title, "Accident or Aggression." In the article he poses a problem to which he says no one has been able to provide a solution. He suggests that in the event of a "mystery" atomic explosion which could not be identified as an act of aggression or as an accidental or unauthorized explosion, our forces would immediately go into their highest condition of alert. Almost immediately the Soviet Union would go on top alert. Here is the problem--as yet unanswered:

> Our planes are making for the Soviet Union; theirs are headed towards us. Our missiles are made ready for immediate dispatch; so are theirs. I remind you that we cannot look to the gaping hole and its lethal radioactivity to tell us who caused the explosion and for what reason. There is no wreckage to examine and there are no witnesses to interrogate.

SECOND "FRIENDLY" GENERATION One of the more interesting aspects of the seminars which Quaker United Nations Program arranges at the United Nations is that a second "Friendly" generation is beginning to make its appearance. At a recent seminar, participants from Scattergood School were: Robert (son of Ed Duckles, AFSC, Mexico City); Eric (son of Russell Jorgensen, AFSC, San Francisco); Michael (son of Dan Wilson, Pendle Hill); Douglas (son of Mike Yarrow, AFSC, Des Moines); Helen (daughter of Sam Levering, FCNL); Judy (daughter of Howard McKinney, formerly with AFSC, Des Moines). (Georgia Paine Heldt, QUNP)

NOTES ON THE SOUTHERN PROTESTS As unrest continued across the South and Negroes protested segregation, there was slight evidence of a crack in the stubborn wall of resistance. Reports from Winston-Salem and Salisbury in North Carolina indicated that at least one business firm in each of those cities was abandoning the custom of discrimination. Negro students were served at lunch counters in both cities in the past two weeks.

Ministerial and church support increased. In Fayetteville, N.C., separate white and Negro ministerial groups issued a joint petition urging owners and managers of stores with lunch counters to "revise their policy so that just and Christian treatment may be given to all regardless of race or color." A Negro ministerial alliance in Durham, N.C., called on Negroes to boycott stores with segregated lunch counters.

In Winston-Salem the interracial Forsyth Ministers Fellowship endorsed a statement by the local Unitarian Fellowship expressing "sympathy and admiration" for Negro demonstrators. The minister who made the motion observed it would be "very helpful to the spirit of Jesus Christ for us to agree with the Unitarians on something."

National staff members of the Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church pledged moral and financial support to students involved in sit-in demonstrations in 41 southern communities. They personally contributed a fund for the students "to be used wherever the courts must protest rights."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., asked President Eisenhower to intervene in the tense Montgomery, Ala., situation. Dr. King said a "reign of terror has broken out in Montgomery."

Oberlin College students opened a drive to raise $2,000 to aid 142 Negro students arrested during sit-in campaign in Nashville, Tenn. Earlier the students had asked for a permit to conduct a protest parade in Cleveland, Ohio, but it was denied by the police chief.

Norman Thomas commented on the turmoil in the South in an article published March 12 in the Philadelphia BULLETIN. These are some excerpts:

> What our white fellow citizens forget to their own hurt and their country's is one of the plainest lessons of history. Any race, group, or class having made some progress against great odds is bound to come to a time and strength when it will not tolerate tortuous delay in winning fuller justice.
>
> Their (Negroes') patience has been extraordinary. But as was inevitable they are arousing out of apathy or despair and doing what we praise in all our schoolbooks: struggling for their own legitimate rights. Thank God they are choosing nonviolence, not sabotage, or open or furtive violence."

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, Feb. 29, commented on the Senate filibuster and the lunch counter protests saying that the revolt of Negro students is more important than the fight in Congress. It said the spreading revolts "may make the Congressional battle a white man's sideshow."

NORMAN COUSINS MARKS AN ANNIVERSARY In the March 5 issue of SATURDAY REVIEW, Norman Cousins looks backward over 20 years as editor of the magazine. In doing so he recalls a story involving the magazine owner, a Texas patriotic organization, and Quakers. Mr. Cousins was scheduled to speak on peace in Dallas for the Quakers. A telephone protest to Mr. Cousins from a patriotic organization said the meeting would be picketed and it might be embarrassing to the owner, who lived in the town. The caller was told that the owner, E. DeGolyer, would have to say that himself. As Mr. Cousins suggested, Mr. DeGolyer was contacted and he told the man to "jump in the lake." The owner telephoned the Quakers and asked whether he could join the sponsors of the meeting and volunteered to introduce Mr. Cousins. The opposition collapsed and the meeting drew an overflow crowd.

The story was nostalgic to Olcutt Sanders. He arranged the meeting while executive secretary of the Southwest Regional Office.

DOCUMENTARY FILM SHOWN My Own Yard To Play In, winner of a first prize in the social subjects division at the 1959 Venice Film Festival, was shown at staff meeting this week. The excellent six-minute film documents children playing in a large city through a series of unconnected kaleidoscopic shots and a track of the actual sounds of children talking, singing, and playing. The Venice citation praised the film "for its lyricism, so rarely found in a documentary, and the truth with which it evokes the aspirations of children in a great modern city."

TWO PER CENT OF NATIONAL INCOME URGED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE At least two per cent of this country's national income should be devoted to economic assistance programs for underdeveloped countries, a national church leader told the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington.

Dr. Ray Gibbons of New York, executive director of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, declared, "It is intolerable for us to enjoy such wealth and advantage as we do in the United States without making every effort to help other peoples lift themselves out of their poverty, overcome their illiteracy, and improve their health." (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 3-14)

QUAKER COLLEGE TO AID AFRICAN PROJECT Earlham College, a Quaker institution, will administrate a cooperative three-year program to develop a rural high school and teacher training college at Kaimosi in Kenya, British East Africa.

The International Cooperation Administration of the U.S. is providing $310,000 in funds for the three-year period. Earlham will furnish six staff members. Also cooperating in the project are African groups in Kenya and the Friends African Mission as well as the Kenya government. (RNS, 3-10)

LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH COLLEGE PROTESTS LOYALTY OATH The student council of Augsburg College, Lutheran Free Church institution in Minneapolis, has protested the loyalty oath and disclaimer affidavit provision of the National Defense Education Act. A resolution adopted by the council asked Augsburg's president, Dr. B. M. Christensen, to inform the federal government that the college accepts such loans under protest.

More than 15 universities and colleges have protested the provisions and a few have turned down the money as well. (RNS, 3-10)

Alex Morrison

FOCUS ON PEACE
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VOLUME V Number 13 April 1, 1960

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Steve Cary reported on a recent three-day meeting of 16 leaders in university circles who are worried about our reliance on military power. The meeting was held at Bear Mountain, N. Y., and sponsored by AFSC offices in Chicago, Cambridge, and New York City.

The principal attention was given to the Rand Corporation studies which conclude that the Soviet Union is determined to dominate the world and the United States must, therefore, concentrate on deterrent power. The Rand posture assumes that we must convince the Soviets that we will use the power we have. It is considered necessary to educate Americans that nuclear war is "thinkable" and that half of a ten million dollar increase in the military budget must be used for bomb shelters.

Steve said the group attending the Bear Mountain conference agreed that reliance on military power must be rejected. They feel, he said, that the nation would be as safe with no power as it would be if caught in a missile race. They formulated a strong statement rejecting reliance on military power.

The group will continue an informal association as a "committee of correspondence" without relationship to the AFSC. They hope to stimulate in university circles deeper thinking about defense and to emphasize the idea that each individual holds responsibility for the push button which can start nuclear war.

The group also hopes to stimulate research in universities about defense and how our economic and social lives may be affected. They hope the possibilities of nonviolence as a national concept can be studied.

A film, Save a Child, was shown. It is a documentary on the plight of Algerian refugees in Morocco and was produced by the Liberal Protestant Broadcasting Corporation of the Netherlands in cooperation with World Refugee Year. The film received enthusiastic praise from staff members who saw it. One comment was, "It is the best I've ever seen on the subject."

Frank Hunt, back from a second trip to Tunisia and Morocco, was pessimistic about an early solution of the Algerian strife and predicted a long-term need for work with Algerian refugees. He said that discussions are being held at headquarters of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva regarding plans for future programs.

CLERGYMEN JOIN PROTEST AGAINST ATOMIC BOMB SHELTER PLAN Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's atomic bomb shelter plan was opposed on the grounds that it would give people a false sense of security and divert efforts toward disarmament in a statement signed by 40 persons, including 15 clergymen.

It was released in New York by the Greater New York Committee of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 3-25)

AFSC APPEALS TO PRESIDENT ON DISARMAMENT Harold Evans, chairman of the AFSC board of directors, sent a letter last week to the President urging that the United States "move promptly" in negotiating the terms of a ban on nuclear testing. Harold Evans said:

"The negotiations thus far have evidenced a mutual willingness to make concessions in the interest of an ultimate agreement. We believe the risks inherent in a failure to agree to a treaty, or the risks which would accompany a substantial prolongation of the negotiations, are far greater than would be the dangers involved in accepting the moratorium now proposed."

SCIENTISTS CALL SOVIET PROPOSAL 'IMPORTANT' STEP TOWARD TEST BAN The Federation of American Scientists welcomed this week as "an important step" Soviet conditional acceptance of President Eisenhower's February 11 proposal to ban all nuclear tests except small underground tests. The Federation, an organization of about 2,000 scientists and engineers, stressed that preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing such capability would decrease "the likelihood of accidental nuclear war." Preventing creation of new nuclear nations will be more difficult if nuclear nations continue any kind of testing, said the scientists.

POSTAGE MAY GO UP Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has asked Congress to increase the rates for religious and other nonprofit periodicals entered as second class matter.

The increase is part of a request for an over-all boost in postage rates that would send first class letters to five cents, instead of four, and air mail to eight cents, instead of seven. (RNS)

WON'T CANCEL RAID DRILL Gov. Robert B. Meyner, of New Jersey, said he has turned down the request by a group of Quakers to cancel Saturday's state-wide air raid drill. He told a news conference the request was presented to him yesterday by leaders of the Ridgewood Society of Friends. The Society decided to make a request after reading Gov. Meyner's criticism of underground bomb shelters in a speech at Sacramento, Calif., last Saturday. (AP, 3-24)

A FOCUS 'CORRESPONDENT' COMMENTS ON STORY EMPHASIS The story at the bottom of page four in the March 18 FOCUS (Lutheran Free Church College Protests Loyalty Oath) rang a bell in my mind, and I dug out the American Section Executive Minutes of January 27, 1960, to see what it was. I thought you would be interested, too, in the difference that a point of view can make in the way a sentence is worded! The RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE story which you quote says, "More than 15 universities and colleges have protested the provisions and a few have turned down the money as well." Howard Reed, reporting the same situation to the American Section, put it as follows: "Only 20 colleges formally refused to accept aid on this basis, although 24 others expressed 'unhappiness' with the registration. This 'token' protest and the silence (and apparent acquiescence) of the college community in general have left the legislature unimpressed with any drastic need to alter the Act..."

I don't mean to accuse RNS of "slanting" the news! But the difference between the phrase "more than" and the word "only" changes the emphasis quite drastically, don't you think?

I agree!

NOTES ON THE CURRENT PROTESTS AGAINST SEGREGATION Negro protests against segregation continue, North and South, and the end is not in sight. Keeping abreast of the developments is beyond the resources of FOCUS and most other agencies and organizations interested in the matter. However, a number of angles may be overlooked in the avalanche of words being written and said.

AFSC Statement

The AFSC got on record this week with a statement which asked for a "deeper understanding" of the current protests and urged "equal treatment to all, regardless of race, creed, or color." Its statement said the lunch-counter demonstrations in the South are of nationwide and worldwide significance and that equality for all "is the goal of a free society." It added that there should be no racial barriers in housing or employment opportunities.

"It is our conviction that these demonstrations stem from an unmet need in our society to accept the equality of all men before God, and thus throw off the shackles of separateness," the statement said.

The protests took interesting new directions in Durham, N. C., and Nashville, Tenn. At Durham some students and faculty members of Duke University decided to press for integration of "for whites only" laundries and coin-operated laundromats.

In Nashville groups of Negroes from the local Christian Leadership Council visited 11 white churches and passed out leaflets asking parishioners to pray for an end to racial segregation. They were invited into seven of the churches and took part in worship services. At the other four, they stayed outside and distributed their leaflets.

Norman Whitney got two form letters in reply to letters he sent to the F. W. Woolworth Company and Vanderbilt University.

A Woolworth vice-president straddled the issue with these two paragraphs:

> Let me assure you that the F. W. Woolworth Co. has absolutely nothing to do with the establishment of this custom. It was in vogue many years before our stores were opened in the area in question. Our company has always considered itself a guest of any community in which it is located. As such, we are expected to, and endeavor to be good neighbors and to abide by the local customs established by local people for the conduct of business in their town.
>
> Under the above policy, it naturally follows that we will always welcome the opportunity to cooperate in any serious local endeavor calculated to improve the cultural and business climate and race relations of the community.

The letter from Vanderbilt University tediously defended its expulsion of James M. Lawson, Jr., who refused to accept the University's demand that he agree to "confine his activities within legal bounds."

In Atlanta a report from a Southern Baptist Convention Sunday School Board suggested that Negro Baptists participate jointly with Southern Baptists in prayer, schools of missions, and simultaneous revivals. It also asked Southern Baptists to attempt to

(continued on page 4)

understand "how deeply we are involved with Negroes as persons, citizens, and Baptists" and that they seek out and maintain communication with Negroes "at the personal, church, state, and national levels."

An idea of the scope of support being given to the protest demonstrations can be gained from a list of organizations which came to the attention of FOCUS in the past week. They include: Interdenominational Ministers Alliance of Greater Providence, R. I.; General Board of the Church of the Brethren; Dean Liston Pope of the Yale Divinity School; Mecklenburg (N.C.) Christian Ministers Association; Interfaith and Fellowship Committee of the Duke University Religious Council; Wesleyan University students; the Raleigh (N.C.) chapter of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen; students of the Yale University Divinity School; Arkansas Methodist Student Movement; the Methodist Board of Missions and the Board of Social and Economic Relations; students of Catholic University of America; Baptist Student Union of N. C.; and Catholic Interracial Council of Raleigh.

The Mississippi legislature took steps to prevent racial integration of church congregations in that state. Sponsors were alarmed, the RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE story said, by statements of national Methodist bodies favoring integration.

The bill, sent to Gov. Ross Barnett for his signature, permits two-thirds of the membership of a congregation to petition state chancery courts, which would thus be authorized to dismiss its trustees and appoint new ones.

CLICHES IN THE QUAKER IDIOM The question has been raised with staff and committees. There is no clear feeling that such an undertaking would be appropriate for the AFSC. It would seem to some of us that the idea might be considered in more depth by a committee with the understanding that it could be brought back at any time for consideration and action if Friends still have a strong concern in that area.

Translation: NO!

QUAKERS PRESS FOR POINT FOUR YOUTH CORPS Creation of a Point Four Youth Corps to enable American young people to volunteer for service in helping to raise the standards of living in underdeveloped nations of the world was urged on the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C., by a spokesman for the Religious Society of Friends.

Mrs. Ruth H. Replogle of New York, vice-chairman of the American Section of the Friends World Committee, said that the Mutual Security Bill now under consideration by Congress should be amended to include a start in developing such a corps, as proposed in bills offered by Rep. Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) and the late Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D.-Ore.), shortly before his death. (RNS, 3-17)

CHRISTIANS WORKING ABROAD ADVISED ON BEHAVIOR American Christians living or working abroad should not look with disdain upon local customs unless they interfere with the basic tenets of Christianity, laymen attending an Institute for Overseas Churchmanship were told in Balboa, Calif.

"A man, according to the mores of his society, can have more than one wife, go around without clothes, and still be a Christian," asserted Dr. James D. Nesbitt, director of men's work for the Presbytery of Los Angeles. (RNS, 3-23)

Alex Morisey

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VOLUME V Number 19 May 13, 1960

SILLY PROTESTERS, SILLY POLICE An editorial in THE DES MOINES REGISTER, May 6, criticizes both protesters to civil defense drills and the police who arrest them. The newspaper said it was silly for conscientious objectors to defy civil defense laws. It had the following to say about the police:

> It strikes us as even sillier for police to arrest peaceful zealots for assembling in a city park when the lawmakers say they ought to be down cellar somewhere for their own good. Why drag them off bodily to clutter the jails and courts? Why not let them be? The purpose of the alert is to give officials and citizens experience in what they will need to do to save lives in case there is a nuclear bombing. If a handful of idealistic souls prefer not to get practice in saving their own lives, who is hurt?

AN APT QUAKER PEACE POSTER A new poster of the (British) Northern Friends Peace Board won praises from THE FRIEND, April 22, in an editorial which discussed the Easter Week march from Aldermaston. The poster says, "For Christ's Sake Disarm." The editorial said its double entendre "makes a careless phrase of blasphemy do the work that it should and be the prayer that it is ... the aptest Quaker peace testimony in many years."

RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAIL FOOD PACT WITH INDIA Officials of major religious relief organizations in America hailed here the signing of the unprecedented food pact under which a total of 17,000,000 tons of U.S. surplus grain will be sold to India in the next four years.

The agreement calls for the biggest single sale of surplus food ever made by the U.S. For 587,000 bushels of wheat and 22,000,000 bags of rice, India will pay the U.S. the equivalent in rupees of $1,276,000,000. Colin W. Bell, executive secretary of the AFSC, described the food pact with India as "one way to help share the world's resources so that all may benefit." The Quaker leader praised particularly "the cooperative spirit in which it was brought about."

"In a world often divided," he said, "we are cut off from each other's needs. It is reassuring that this kind of international cooperation exists." (RNS, 5-6)

MICHIGAN YOUNG PEOPLE TO STUDY IN AFRICA For two months this summer a group of 135 American students will live and work in ten West African countries. A recent report from the Greater Flint (Mich.) Council of Churches notes that four students have been selected from Flint to take part in the national Crossroads Africa project, now in its second year. The remaining ten of Michigan's quota will come from Michigan State University.

The timeliness of this program, as Africa is this year's mission study theme, was pointed out by the Rev. Earle R. Ramsdell, executive director of the Flint Council. He reported that the students will be available on their return to speak in local churches which have contributed to their expenses. (THE RELIGIOUS NEWSWEEKLY)

WORLD QUAKER MEMBERSHIP REPORTED AT 194,862 World membership of the Religious Society of Friends totals 194,862, a gain of 1,840 over the previous year, and of 19,000 since 1949, it was reported by the Friends World Committee, through its American office in Philadelphia.

Meetings in the United States and Canada list 121,658 members, an increase for the year of about 1,200, and for the decade of about 7,000. (The compilation listed Alaska separately with an additional 1,700 members.)

The largest, as well as oldest, is Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, which has 17,657 members in 91 monthly meetings. At its 280th annual sessions here, the establishment of a new meeting at Lewisburg, Pa., was reported. Second is North Carolina Yearly Meeting with 14,651 members, and third, Indiana, with 13,949.

East Africa (Kenya) Yearly Meeting, with 29,022 members, is the largest overseas, followed by London (England) Yearly Meeting, with 21,643. Others with more than a thousand membership are: Madagascar, 7,800; Guatemala, 4,100; Ireland, 2,000; and Bolivia, 1,000. (RNS, 3-25)

COMMENT ON THE SIT-INS Whatever the outcome of the economic struggles and the court battles, the most enduring results of the current protests may well be in the realm of attitudes. The white South has been put on notice as never before that Southern Negroes intend to be rid of segregation, and more whites are recognizing the justice of that demand. On the other hand, Negroes have learned from the example of their young people that their capacity and resources for protest are far greater than they had supposed. The effects of this new morale will be felt in every area of Southern life--and perhaps in the rest of the nation.

The first few months of 1960 may well be recorded in the annals of civil rights not because Congress agonizingly passed another voting bill but because four college freshmen ordered a cup of coffee in a five-and-ten-cent store. (Harold Fleming in THE REPORTER, 5-12)

NEGROES MAY BRIDGE THE GAP: DABBS We may note in passing that these students represent the cutting edge of democracy in America. This point has been made by Frank Graham, a North Carolinian, now of the United Nations. As such they may serve as a rallying point for the rest of us, who after all these years tend to accept democracy as something already achieved. More important perhaps, the Negroes in the South, indeed in the nation, may be the group that bridges the gap between us and the colored peoples of the world. They are more immediately aware than the rest of us of the rising desires of these people for adequate bread and for respect; they are closer, for instance, to the new nations of Africa than we are. They can say to these people: American democracy is working. Joseph, taken into Egypt as a slave, rose to represent and defend his people in courts of the Egyptians. The Negroes, brought from Africa as slaves, may rise to an even higher position: ambassadors both from the colored races to America and from America to the colored races, a bridge across the gulf that we whites have so proudly and foolishly opened between the races of men. (James McBride Dabbs in THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 5-11)

METHODIST INSTITUTIONS WARNED ON RACE POLICIES Institutions related to the Methodist Church were warned by the denomination's General Conference in Denver that their race policies and practices must be "in accord with the teachings of Jesus." A report adopted by the conference urged the Church's general boards to study cooperatively the institutions' admission and employment policies and practices and the availability of their services. (RNS, 5-9)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Charles Alspach reported on his recent travels to AFSC work in Asia and the Middle East. He said there is a great potential for the Quaker Center in Dacca, Pakistan, which can extend its services to the surrounding neighborhood. The Center is located at the edge of a slum area. Charles Alspach said he expected a strong program to be operating by the summer of 1961 under new staff appointees who will arrive next September.

Discussing the eight-year-old Barpali Village Service, he said the government has promised to make a study of the small business potential in the village. This is an area which has been encouraged by the AFSC program. He feels that the project can be easily taken over by local staff when the AFSC leaves in two years.

Charles Alspach said the Acre Center has increasingly had trouble attracting enough participants to justify its continuation, and a recommendation has been made that AFSC withdraw. He also visited Southern Italy, where the AFSC is helping support work in literacy centers.

Loren Tesdell, who was in Jordan during February and March, said plans are nearly complete for the AFSC to resume work there. He said the AFSC had a "good legacy" left by previous work. The AFSC will undertake a three to five-year program with village cooperatives and will assign two specialists. He said this area was strategic because (1) this activity would be an outgrowth of previous interest and cooperation and (2) cooperatives represent the soundest approach to help individual farmers change patterns which exploit them.

Horace Alexander, reporting on a recent three-month visit to India, discussed how Quaker work can relate to India. He said the Delhi Center is an important place because of the neutralist policy being followed by Nehru and the opportunity for contact with a wide cross section of people.

Friends work in India is related to the problem of overpopulation because it raises the standard of living. This, he said, is one of the best ways to limit population, although it seems now to produce the opposite effect. The death rate is falling, and families which previously planned eight to ten children, expecting several to die, will begin to realize that they need not have so many, he said.

Rebecca Alexander spoke briefly about the strong impressions of security she received in India which was evidenced in children and adults. She closed with a quotation from a Quaker worker who after two years reached a conclusion that, "I will not try to change India, I will let India change me."

BILLY GRAHAM PLANS AFRICAN CRUSADE Billy Graham predicted in Washington that he will be invited to conduct a religious revival in the strife-torn Union of South Africa within two years and said he would address only racially mixed audiences when he does so. He said many of America's racial practices prove embarrassing when preaching the Christian gospel abroad.

"Our treatment of the American Indians has been worse than anything else. The white South Africans claim they are treating the natives in their land much better than we treated the Indians when we took over North America. Our reservations today are no better than some of the 'native locations' in Africa. We are in no position to cast stones at anyone else," he said. (RNS, 3-31)

QUAKER LOSES CAPITAL JOB OVER FRIENDS LETTER ON DRAFT William R. Martin, chairman of the Washington Young Friends, was dismissed last week from a clerical position in the United States Senate because of a letter sent to high school students calling their attention to CO provisions in the draft law.

Martin, a 21-year-old part-time student at George Washington University, was asked to resign his $5,500 a year job as an aide in the Republican cloakroom. The request came from the Senate Republican Patronage Committee, headed by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith. The other members, who agreed, are Sens. Styles Bridges and John Marshall Butler.

The letter that the Young Friends sent high school students warned that those who are inducted into the army must submit to authoritarian control and that "the main purpose of this authoritarian control is to overcome your human reluctance to kill."

It went on to question whether this sort of military action would save American homes and freedom. Then it urged young men to think about becoming conscientious objectors, saying, "We can love our country and work sincerely for her highest welfare without bearing arms."

Denied a list of names and addresses of male students by school officials, the Young Friends purchased them at the rate of 2½ cents a name from a commercial mailing list firm.

THE WASHINGTON POST, May 9, carried an editorial on the incident under the title "Punishing Conscience." It said, in part:

> The Office of the Minority Secretary of the Senate seems to consider the possession of conscience an offense...
>
> There was nothing in the letter suggesting any evasion of the draft or any violation of the law. It did no more than explain a provision of the Selective Service Act adopted by Congress out of consideration and respect for persons whose religious scruples forbade them to bear arms. Many Quakers hold and profess such scruples. So do some loyal Americans of other faiths. They are no less patriotic and devoted to the welfare of their country by reason of this pacifist conviction. It is a conviction which can have very little bearing, in any case, upon a young man's performance of his duties as an assistant to the Secretary of the Minority. It is a rather tragic anomaly that the Secretary of the Minority seemingly can find no tolerance for a minority religious belief expressed in good faith and full conformity with the law.

A petition, circulated by Washington Young Friends, and signed by more than 100 persons, was sent to Vice-President Nixon and several Senators urging that Martin be reinstated.

HUNGARY BANS 'WORLD REFUGEE YEAR' STAMPED MAIL The Budapest Radio, heard in Vienna, confirmed unofficial reports that postal authorities in Communist Hungary would refuse to handle mail stamped "World Refugee Year." The station said the decision was made because of "the slanderous allegations made against Hungary by some organizers of the World Refugee Year." (RNS, 4-8)

Alex Mowatt

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THE SUMMIT COLLAPSE: WE TRIED TO AVOID IT When it was apparent on Monday (May 16) that the Big Four were stumbling from the Summit the AFSC moved hastily to send an appeal to President Eisenhower urging him to do what he could to avoid the tragic collapse. Late that day a cable signed by Colin Bell went to the President in Paris. It said:

> May Divine Providence give you strength to keep negotiations open despite the magnitude of the difficulties you face. All mankind depends on your determination to win a basis for peace.

(The next day stories on the AFSC cable were carried in THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN, and the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER.)

AN OBSERVATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES An editorial in THE TIMES, May 18, suggested that predictions be avoided about the future after the Summit but "an effort be made to gain perspective by standing back from the immediate scene in Paris and taking another look at fundamentals which provide the backdrop for the drama."

First among these, the newspaper said, "is the simple fact that modern weapons of mass destruction have made war insane as a means of settling disputes among the great powers."

The second fundamental "is that there exists today an essential stalemate of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union because each is capable of inflicting unacceptable damage upon the other."

Finally, THE TIMES asserted that "there is the simple fact that for all his angry words Mr. Khrushchev knows that when it comes to espionage, aggression, and the like, his own country and he personally come into the court of world opinion with dirty hands indeed."

CONFERENCE ON REDUCING WORLD TENSIONS HELD United Nations participation at summit conferences, a three billion dollar increase in foreign aid for underdeveloped countries, and international control of airplane flights over national territories to prevent world crises were among recommendations made by the Conference on the Reduction of World Tensions held in Chicago.

The meeting, attended by experts in national and international affairs, was held under the auspices of World Brotherhood. (RNS, 5-17) Colin W. Bell and Harold Evans represented the AFSC at the conference.

EDITOR'S NOTE A number of you are beginning to receive FOCUS for the first time. This is in response to the suggestion that it should be distributed more widely among the AFSC "family."

MEN OF PEACE RETURN The magazines and newspapers which regularly offer columns beginning "What ever happened to...?" might a few years ago have asked, "What ever happened to pacifism and the pacifists?" The peace ethic, for some time dominant in American Protestantism, had been so completely displaced by the apparent necessities of war and armaments that it became customary to deal with pacifism only by way of nostalgia. More recently, however, American Christians have been compelled to listen to the men and women who are active about the passive. A salient factor in the change: the immensity of nuclear armaments, a sobering reality prompting such events as London's largest postwar assembly, gathering the day after Easter to pay heed to 75,000 peace marchers. Our own country's placardists have represented not so much a lunatic fringe as a responsible and often Christian counter-revolution. The gentle ones in the midst of the South's violence have shown the utility of non-violent action techniques. Undergirding all these manifestations is a current of thought that, if we really listen, will not let any of us go. (From an editorial in THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 5-18)

BON MOT "In world politics it is often extremely difficult to distinguish the firemen from the pyromaniacs." (Hal Perkins, American commentator)

SENATOR WANTS PEOPLE TOLD OF NEUTRON DEATH RAY BOMB Senator Dodd (D-Conn.) wants President Eisenhower to tell the American people what he knows about a neutron bomb which Dodd said would emit a kind of death ray.

"I consider all this hush-hush that surrounds the neutron bomb to be a glaring instance of the official abuse of secrecy," Dodd said in a Senate speech calling for early resumption of nuclear weapons testing. "To keep the facts of life on the nuclear age from the American people is foolish and potentially dangerous."

An Army specialist on nuclear weapons said a neutron bomb is possible in theory. The Atomic Energy Commission wouldn't discuss it.

Dodd said a neutron bomb can theoretically be produced by tailoring the energy of an atomic fusion explosion so that, "instead of heat and blast, its primary product is a burst of neutrons."

"Such a burst would do negligible physical damage, but it would immediately destroy all life in the target area," Dodd added. "It would, in short, operate as a kind of death ray." (AP, 5-13)

CHURCH REJECTS RENTAL CONTRACT STIPULATING SEGREGATION Members of the Fairfax Unitarian Church, Falls Church, Va., voted to instruct trustees to search for another meeting place for their newly organized congregation when they found that their contract for rental of the auditorium of a public school required the observance of state segregated seating laws.

Negroes and whites may attend public meetings in Virginia, according to a state law, only when seated in segregated sections.

Although the church of approximately 100 members has no Negro members at present, it was the sense of the congregation that it should be prepared to welcome members of all races at all services without discrimination or segregation. (RNS, 5-17)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Esther Rhoads discussed Quaker work in Japan as she saw it during 40 years there. She emphasized the future needs in program development. Present work with adults is weak, but there are contacts with foreign officers, welfare workers, and educational leaders which can be expanded. She appealed for more continuity in the work camp program.

In a review of the major Quaker programs in Japan she spoke of contacts between Quaker workers and Japanese officials as influential in bringing some changes in the latter's point of view. This was particularly evident in one person who had been related to relief activities; he even commented on his improved family relations. The neighborhood center in Tokyo has been a deterrent to delinquency in its area. Play areas are needed, but support for the idea is hard to gain, she said.

During its 12-year history the International Student Seminar Program in Japan has succeeded to the point of being deluged with applications from students in eight of the best universities in Tokyo. This season there will be about 40 week-end work camps, she said. Another important program has been the series of Peace Lectures which have given students an unusual opportunity for expression. The present series will be discussing disarmament, she said.

Mary Elizabeth Flock reported on the recent School Affiliation Conference held at Schwenksville, Pa. Colin Bell was the keynote speaker; his message was an adaptation of the address now available in printed form, "Is the AFSC Keeping Up with History?"

Roy McCorkel reported on conditions he observed in Southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa during a recent trip. He described the "unbelievable poverty" of Italian villagers, who are anxious to improve their situation.

Pointing to conditions in Tunisia, he recalled a doctor who diagnosed children's illness but had to "leave the therapy to God." Necessary drugs are generally unavailable, he said. Roy McCorkel said conditions in Morocco seemed even worse than those in Tunisia. He said Algerian refugees can never forget that the U.S. is furnishing war material to the French, although this nation is the source of much material aid.

Personnel announcement: Thelma How has taken the responsibilities of acting secretary of the College and Projects Program. It was reported (at the May 9 staff meeting) that Faye Lavender is working one-half time as a clerk in the purchasing department and that Lillian Poole was assigned a temporary clerk in the College and Projects Program office. Carol Tuttle is a temporary secretary to Charles Alspach during the absence of Elaine Lee.

COLOR BAR, NUCLEAR THREAT CALLED MANKIND'S GREATEST PROBLEMS Archbishop James McCann of Armagh, Anglican Primate of All Ireland, told the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in Dublin that "the color bar" was one of the two greatest problems facing mankind at this time. The other, he said, is the nuclear arms threat to civilization. Noting that racial conflict in many parts of the world had been "pinpointed for all" in South Africa's recent race riots, Archbishop McCann announced that the Church of Ireland would observe May 31 as a day of special intercession for the people of South Africa.

The future of humanity, he stressed, demands international agreement on banning "the most terrible of the modern weapons. While we cannot as Christians rest satisfied until there is an agreed policy leading to total disarmament," the archbishop said, "we must not cease to pray earnestly for the peace of the world." (RNS, 5-18)

WINDS OF CHANGE Every sailor knows the signs; the wind has died down, the sea is calm; then, far away, "catspaws" ruffle the surface, small and insignificant at first. But wait. The catspaws advance, the spaces between them diminish. Driven by the rising wind, they take off menacingly. Anybody can see it now: the wind has changed.

What the sailor knows, the politician may know too, but he ignores it as long as he can. For some years there has been a calm of a sort, a calm of repression and frustration for many, the absence of great events. An older generation was passing, intent for the most part on its comforts and the avoidance of disturbances. It assumed that the next generation would settle for the same jumble of pleasure and pain. And in part this was true -- but only in part. For many of the new actors, the lines were no longer worth reading, the objective had to be more than to endure an hour and see injustice done. Nor did they know that in the modern world revolution is supposedly impossible, that the police and the soldiers, with their machine guns and airplanes and tanks, are all-powerful. Or if they knew, these young ones didn't care. In Seoul, the unarmed students walked up to the tanks and said, "Shoot me." But they could not all be shot, and finally even the tyrant had to face the fact of change. "This is the victory of the people, of the young generation," one of the students cried. (THE NATION, 5-7)

METHODISTS, QUAKERS PROTEST CUTS IN FOREIGN AID Spokesmen of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church and the Friends Committee on National Legislation protested against any cut in President Eisenhower's $4,000,000,000 foreign aid request to Congress.

E. Raymond Wilson, FCNL executive secretary, testified that "continuation of the humanitarian programs in the Mutual Security Act gives us an opportunity to fulfill our responsibilities as the wealthiest nation in the world." (RNS, 5-17)

NCC URGES LEGISLATION TO PROTECT MIGRANT WORKERS A spokesman for the National Council of Churches has urged Congress to enact legislation extending minimum wage laws to migratory agricultural workers and to forbid employment of child labor.

James A. Hamilton, associate director of the Washington office of the National Council, presented to the special Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor headed by Sen. Harrison A. Williams (D.-N.J.) a number of statements adopted by the Council's general board pleading for more consideration for migrant workers.

"Over the years our constituent churches have felt and widely demonstrated their special sense of concern and responsibility for the largely unorganized -- and therefore politically and socially voiceless -- group of workers," Mr. Hamilton told the Senate subcommittee.

"We recognize two long-range problems related to farm workers," he said, "first, the persistent poverty in which they continue to exist even in the face of increasing prosperity in other economic areas; and second, the widespread lack of opportunity which they have to achieve higher levels of living, often because of the low grade of educational opportunities and facilities." (RNS, 5-17)

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DISARMAMENT That is the title of an article by Jerome M. Frank, published as No. 5 of a series, "Background on Disarmament, 1960," by the AFSC International Affairs and Centers Program. The writer sees a parallel between the action of mental patients and the behavior of nations. Dr. Frank is professor of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. Copies of the article may be obtained by writing the program office. This is the opening paragraph:

> There are certain striking parallels between the behavior of nations today and that of mental patients. Though the extent to which such parallels are valid is always open to question, our present peril is the consequence of human attitudes and can be changed only by a change in human attitudes. Furthermore the present indifference of most people toward the drastically changed conditions of our life, especially toward the circumstance that an outbreak of violence in any corner of the world threatens all humanity, can be explained in terms of certain mechanisms which are familiar to psychiatrists. The basic problem of nations as well as of psychiatrists dealing with individuals is to bring about the kind of behavior which is adapted to the real circumstances which people must deal with. Many patients come to a psychiatrist when they are faced with disaster because their habitual ways of coping with personal problems have failed. At present the inappropriateness of reliance by major powers on ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction has become very evident, since any use of the weapons would result in general destruction which would defeat the purpose for which the weapons were created. This is true because a perfect defense against nuclear weapons is impossible, and the less-than-perfect defense which was adequate against conventional weapons is no longer enough to prevent widespread devastation.

STUDENT GROUP PROTESTS ARMAMENTS AS 'SINFUL' A group of McPherson College students started picketing a guided missile base near McPherson, Kans., to protest war and armaments.

The pacifist group emphasized that their actions were not connected with the college or the Church of the Brethren, one of the historic "peace" denominations, which operates the school. (RNS, 5-11)

GRAHAM GIVES FORMULA FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS Evangelist Billy Graham laid down a two-part formula for the improvement of race relations: the observance of antisegregation laws and the practice of individual interracial courtesy.

He pleaded with a standing-room-only crowd of nearly 15,000 persons at the 103rd annual Southern Baptist Convention in Miami to take the lead in applying the formula in the current tense situation before it is too late. (RNS, 5-23)

LITTLE ROCK LETTER TO AFSC At the second Conference on Community Unity held in Little Rock, by the AFSC, Colin Bell was a principal speaker. Barbara Moffett attended both the conferences. A story on Colin Bell's speech and the conference got about 15 inches of space in the May 1 issue of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE.

The news story said Colin was visiting the AFSC "constituency" in Little Rock which includes a sparse collection of liberals who have two things in common: (1) an impatience with racial intolerance and (2) at least a speaking acquaintance with Thelma Babbitt, AFSC program director there.

One of the constituents who had attended both conferences wrote Thelma:

> It has been a real privilege to attend the two conferences. I am, and this city certainly is, indebted to the American Friends Service Committee for sending you to Little Rock. I feel now that a real beginning has been made in a cause about which I have had strong convictions ever since I was old enough to realize the injustices practiced by the white against the Negro race here.

SIT-IN ISSUE TAKEN TO WOOLWORTH STOCKHOLDER MEETING F. W. Woolworth Company executives defended the exclusion of Negroes from its stores in the South at its annual stockholder meeting held at Watertown, N. Y., May 18.

Robert C. Kirkwood, president, said the company proposed to continue its policy of adhering to "local customs, established by local people for the conduct of business in their community."

THE NEW YORK TIMES story said "an orderly demonstration" was staged in front of the Woolworth Building during the meeting.

Barbara Broxton, a 20-year-old Negro student of Florida A. and M. College, told the stockholders that the "colored people will continue their fight and will continue to go to jail because we feel we are right." She spent 48 days in jail on a trespassing charge involving a sit-in at a Woolworth counter in Tallahassee. She is not a stockholder but had a proxy which allowed her into the meeting.

Four stockholders pleaded with the company to alter its policy and take the leadership in integrating lunch counters.

IT'S LIKE THIS Some time ago Joseph Smith was hired as the first Negro teacher in the Jackson, Mich., school system. On his first day at school, he told Marvin Meltzer, of Detroit's Community Health Association, that he paced up and down the corridors until the last bell rang. Then he "walked the plank" into his classroom, where his new students were talking and laughing noisily. As he entered, silence fell and Joe's heart sank. Then one boy in the back "whispered" in that loud, ringing tone only a teen-ager can command: "At last -- a man teacher!" (LET'S BE HUMAN, 5-60)

A NEW BOOK The Overseas Americans by Harlan Cleveland and Gerard J. Mangone reports the results of interviews with several hundred American civilians overseas and the foreigners with whom they deal. It describes the kinds of education for overseas service now available in the United States and contains recommendations for future action. It is published by McGraw-Hill Book Company. 483 pages, $5.95.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Harold Evans reported on the Conference on Reducing World Tensions held recently in Chicago with winners of the Nobel Peace Prize among the participants. Harold Evans and Colin Bell represented the AFSC.

Frank Graham, United Nations mediator, spoke more directly than anyone else to the spiritual and moral questions, Harold Evans said. He enthusiastically supported the student sit-in demonstrations. Other highlights of the dinner and evening meetings the same day were addresses by Adlai Stevenson and Dr. W. Arthur Lewis, principal of the University College of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica.

Colin Bell offered a Texan joke told by Carlos Romulo, who was invited to speak at a gathering of tall Texans. He was introduced by a giant Texan who looked down on Gen. Romulo, a mere five-footer, and said, "General, I wish you would tell what it feels like to be down there." Gen. Romulo's quick repartee was, "It feels like being a dime among nickels."

James McCracken, director of immigration services, Church World Service, said the United States should enact legislation which reflects recognition of the permanent refugees and make provisions for their entry to this country. The immigration laws, he said, are inadequate because they assume the population mixture of 1920, which favors white nationality groups, as ideal.

Anton Nelson, a California Friend, said that Tanganyika is a key country in the future development of emerging African nations. He praised Julius Nyerere, who seems destined to be the prime minister when the country becomes independent this year. He thinks that few Europeans will leave the country and that a meaningful partnership may emerge. "Ax" Nelson is an employee of the Africans in coffee-growing cooperatives and has lived in Tanganyika for about six years.

A question from the floor inquired about Africans' "readiness" to conduct their own affairs. It recalled an article in THE NATION, March 5, written by Henry L. Bretton. This is an excerpt from the article:

> Stability and order, democracy and personal liberties being very highly valued in our society, much of what happens in Africa will therefore be judged in those terms. Given the general practice of oversimplification, and also because the departing Europeans have posed the question in this way, the American public will be tempted to evaluate all news from Africa solely in terms of whether the Africans are capable of managing their own affairs. (The question really is contrived and irrelevant, inasmuch as ants and bees appear to be able to manage their own affairs, and, conversely, inasmuch as certain "advanced" elements of the human race appear to have been unable to do so, or at least have made a mess of things for themselves and for everybody else.) The newly developing states of Africa deserve particularly our sympathy and understanding because their experiences do not significantly differ from our own, and the political and social problems encountered by their leaders are not significantly different from those recorded in 2,000 years of history of Western civilization. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that the new states of Africa are no longer dependent upon the good will of the West. If they are so inclined, they can find sympathy, understanding, as well as assistance in other parts of the world.

AFSC STAFF MEMBER WRITES BRITANNICA ARTICLE Elmore Jackson has written the article on "mediation" for the 1960 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. He is director of the Quaker United Nations Program.

5,000 PARADE TO U.N. FOR PEACE PRAYERS Five thousand persons gathered after midnight before the United Nations building in New York to pray for peace. The three minutes of silent prayer climaxed a march through Times Square and 42nd Street to the U.N. from a disarmament rally in Madison Square Garden attended by a capacity crowd of 17,000.

Police estimated that 4,000 persons participated in the march, which stretched four blocks through the streets. Marchers chanted and sang along the way.

The rally was sponsored by The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. (RNS,5-20)

WEST COAST EPISCOPALIANS ASK END OF DEATH PENALTY Abolition of the death penalty throughout the United States was urged in a near-unanimous vote of 500 delegates to the 41st annual synod of the Protestant Episcopal Church's Province of the Pacific in Los Angeles. (RNS, 5-11)

BOB LYON DISSENTS My provincial pride rises to the surface from time to time, and when I read on page 2 of the May 13 issue of FOCUS under "World Quaker Membership" that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting is the largest as well as the oldest (presumably in the United States), I have to protest. Philadelphia has just had its 280th annual session, and New England Yearly Meeting will begin its 300th annual session next month. This makes New England Yearly Meeting not only the oldest in the United States, but the oldest in the world!

As for size, New England Yearly Meeting rejoices to see the vigor and strength which characterizes some of the younger Yearly Meetings, like Philadelphia, and hopes that it will continue to grow in wisdom and strength, with an eye toward chronological accuracy.

(Editor's Note: Bob Lyon has a point. New England Yearly Meeting was organized in 1661 and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1681. The source of the article in FOCUS was RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE; will try to check these "outside" sources more thoroughly.)

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS Gene Sharp, an American sociologist and former assistant editor of PEACE NEWS, attended the recent Accra Conference on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa. Walter Birmingham, a British Friend and professor of economics at University College of Ghana, represented the AFSC. While there Gene Sharp talked with African leaders from all over the continent. He has an account of his interview with one of the leaders in the May 13 PEACE NEWS. He concluded:

> There are good reasons to believe that the liberation movement of the Pan-African Congress may be the most thoroughly organized, most carefully prepared and disciplined nonviolent resistance movement the world has yet seen--even the Gandhian movements in India not excepted.
>
> The aim...is nothing less than to overthrow the dictatorship of the South African Government by militant but peaceful means. If, with the help of world opinion, they are able to do this, they will not only have saved themselves, but will have made a major contribution to humanity as a whole.
>
> Peoples living under other severe dictatorships will have seen an example of methods which they too could use to liberate themselves. And countries under "democracy" could see in action a method for dealing with dictators which, whatever its dangers and risks, might make more sense in defending freedom than shooting hydrogen bombs from continent to continent.

Alex Mowiey

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

VOLUME V Number 22 June 3, 1960

IDEA: AN OPEN LINE TO MOSCOW Here's an idea, though unlikely, suggested by Jess Gorkin, editor of PARADE, in an open letter to President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev published in the Mar. 20 issue of the magazine:

> When you have your private talks in Moscow this June, I urge you to consider the establishment of a direct telephone line between you that will be open 24 hours a day, with standby interpreters.
>
> Its purpose: to prevent the possibility of an accidental war.
>
> If you, as world leaders, are never more than a few minutes away from each other by telephone, then I believe the risk of accidental war will be immeasurably reduced.
>
> Experts tell me that this system is not only technically feasible but inexpensive and could be established within a few days.
>
> Contact between you today, even on most urgent matters, must wait on the cumbersome, slow-moving machinery of diplomacy, wholly unsuited to the lightning emergencies of the space age...
>
> Must a world be lost for want of a telephone call?

SPYING: CATHOLIC AND LUTHERAN VIEWS A leading American Catholic theologian commenting on the moral aspects of espionage, declared that spying is permissible when a nation "has good reason to fear that a foreign power is building up its resources and making plans for a sudden unjust act of aggression."

In an article entitled "The Morality of Spying" in the June 4 issue of AVE MARIA, a national Catholic weekly, Father Francis J. Connell said spying can be "a justifiable means of self-defense."

He said: "I believe we would make out better if we abstained from the degrading business of spying, kept ourselves reasonably prepared against attack, and lived up to our national motto -- 'In God We Trust'."

Dr. Franklin Fry, president of the United Lutheran Church in America, declared in New York City that "spying, like war itself, is essentially immoral and can be justified only to the degree that it helps to prevent a greater evil."

He said, "Spying has to be seen in the same light as war -- of which it is really one outcropping and activity." (RNS, 5-27)

A NEW BOOK "Fallout: A Study of Superbombs, Strontium 90, and Survival," edited by John M. Fowler (Basic Books, 235 pp., $5.50) Donald Keys, executive director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, reviewed the book in the May 7 SATURDAY REVIEW. He said, "John Fowler has succeeded admirably in his purpose. He has produced a highly readable text which contains all the necessary raw material for intelligent decisions on survival. For the technically minded the book contains a useful appendix and glossary. In the foreword Adlai Stevenson describes it as a book "about our nuclear quandary."

COMMENT ON JAPAN Robert Trumbull, writing from Tokyo, discussed in THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 29, the controversy in Japan against the new mutual security treaty with the United States. One reason for the controversy, he says, is the "general distrust of militarism, the fear of somehow becoming involved in another war." Then he adds:

> Since the disastrous end of World War II the Japanese have probably been the most pacifist-minded people on earth. They know, by personal experience or hearsay from their elders, what war means as few other nations do.
>
> There is a special horror in Japan of nuclear war, understandable in view of the fact that this country is the only one that has been hit with the atomic bombs. People are still dying in Hiroshima and Nagasaki from effects of the atomic explosions there nearly 15 years ago.

STAFF MEMBER GETS AWARD FOR WORK ON DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE Elinor Ashkenazy, information secretary in the AFSC Pasadena office, was given the Statue of Liberty Award of Women for Legislative Action. She won the recognition for her role in organizing the Los Angeles Women's Disarmament Conference.

MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL The University of North Carolina Press has just published Southern Tradition and Regional Progress by William H. Nicholls, president of the Southern Economic Association. This carefully documented volume discusses the role that tradition has played as a barrier to economic progress, not only in our Southland but in underdeveloped countries throughout the world.

It was Jonathan Daniels who recently noted: "The whites have sometimes seemed to carry segregation to the point of insisting upon carrying the Negro as a load." Yet, Mr. Nicholls reminds us, "As a low income region the South is peculiarly ill-equipped to carry this self-imposed load, which has so heavily drained off the region's energies from the constructive channels leading to economic progress."

Calling for the psychological emancipation of the Southern white, Dr. Nicholls warns that the South must stop gazing "with enamored eyes upon its own face, praising its warts and pimples as beauty marks." (LET'S BE HUMAN, 5-60)

N.C.C. HAS PAMPHLET ANSWERING AIR FORCE MANUAL The National Council of Churches has a new pamphlet, The Truth, which deals with the issues raised by the Air Force Manual which was withdrawn under protest. Orders will be handled only in bulk of 100 copies or more, at $10.00 per hundred. Write: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

OFF TO THE BEACHES? Speaking of the atomic arms race, the OBSERVER of London on Sunday printed a most thought-provoking bit of reasoning as well as an adventure in semantics, by Lord Rea, Liberal Peer. It ran:

Either we approve of nuclear weapons, or we don't.

If we don't approve them, we don't want them.

If we do approve them, then we mean to use them or we mean not to use them.

If we mean not to use them, we don't need them.

If we do mean to use them, we will fire the first shot or the enemy will fire the first shot.

If the enemy fires the first shot, we shall at once nearly all be dead: so we shall not require nuclear weapons.

If we fire the first shot, we shall get retaliation, and then we shall nearly all be dead and uninterested in nuclear weapons.

The conclusion which Government draws from all this is that everybody should have lots and lots more nuclear weapons.

A much cheaper and simpler way of arriving at the same result might be that we should all agree to jump into the sea tonight. (From Russ Johnson, who got it from a friend.)

STUDENTS MAY WAIVE LOYALTY OATHS Graduating high school students will be excused from taking an oath of loyalty if it violates their religious scruples, the Board of Superintendents ruled in New York City.

The board said that others who decline to take the oath, which has been in effect in city academic high schools there since 1934, will be deprived of their diplomas.

At least a dozen high school students have indicated they will not sign the oath. It reads: "I hereby declare my loyalty to the Constitution and government of the United States and the State of New York, and I promise to support their laws."

C. Frederick Pertsch, an associate superintendent, said that before this year only one student had refused to sign the oath. He said the student, who was a Quaker and could not bear arms, was excused. (RNS, 5-26)

AN OPINION ON NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION Max Lerner, a columnist of the NEW YORK POST, writing from India, discussed the current sit-in protests. He said, in a column published Feb. 22, the method was difficult and said that under Gandhi there was a better chance since "he was always there to plead for the purity of his method." Then he said: "The American Negroes are almost the last Christians in America in the sense of taking their religion with serious simplicity. If anyone should be able to make the method work, they should."

OVERWORKED WORDS A University of Wisconsin study has shown that the words most often used in radio commercials are, in order of frequency: You, good, wonderful, better, fine, best, effective, and natural.

PRESBYTERIANS SAY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SOMETIMES JUSTIFIED Student sit-in demonstrations against segregation in the South were commended in Cleveland by the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. on the grounds that some civil laws are such "serious violations" of God's law that "peaceable and orderly" disobedience of them is justified.

That section of the report devoted to race relations brought on a heated and extended debate among the delegates concerning the Church's position on sit-ins and civil disobedience. Some delegates warned against efforts to speed integration and said that nonviolent demonstrations sometimes get out of hand.

Opponents to this section were voted down however, and the report was approved overwhelmingly. It expressed the belief that the student demonstrations were "consistent" with Christian heritage, the national constitution, and the "moral consensus of our nation."

Assaults on students were deplored and the demonstrators were commended for not fighting back. Further, the report gave them assurance of "our common cause" with their demonstrations for the "sake of conscience."

It urged students to "recognize the dangers to civil order" which are inherent in "conflict with established authority," and United Presbyterians were asked to determine whether "God calls them to support" the efforts of the students.

Church members were urged to patronize "individually and in concert" public places that do not discriminate against any racial groups. Members were asked to communicate their desire to see "discriminatory practices" eliminated in hotels, restaurants, and other public accommodations that do discriminate on a racial basis. (RNS, 5-26)

DESEGREGATION AGREEMENT REACHED IN WINSTON-SALEM An interracial good will committee in Winston-Salem, N.C., which includes a number of clergymen, announced that it has reached an agreement with downtown variety stores under which the firms will desegregate their lunch counters.

Similar citizens committees in several other North Carolina cities, including Greensboro, Durham, and High Point, have made similar recommendations but as yet no such agreement has been worked out. (RNS, 5-26)

SCHOOL BOARD REJECTS QUAKER DESEGREGATION PLAN A so-called "Quaker plan" for public school desegregation at first grade level on a geographical basis was rejected in North Carolina by the Chapel Hill Board of Education by a vote of 4 to 2.

The proposal had been made by the local Meeting of Friends and was backed by other religious groups.

In rejecting the plan, the board adopted instead a policy of limited desegregation in the first grade only, and then only upon specific requests of parents of the children involved. (RNS, 5-31)

WHO WILL NOT SEE Outside a Woolworth store in Minneapolis, a blind man stood for two hours the other day, reports the MINNESOTA DAILY, University of Minnesota student paper, supporting the Southern Negro protests against segregated eating facilities. He wore a sandwich board reading, in front, "Join the human race." And on the back: "None so blind as those who will not see." (LET'S BE HUMAN, 5-60)

Alex Morrison

Return to LWD / See p. 2

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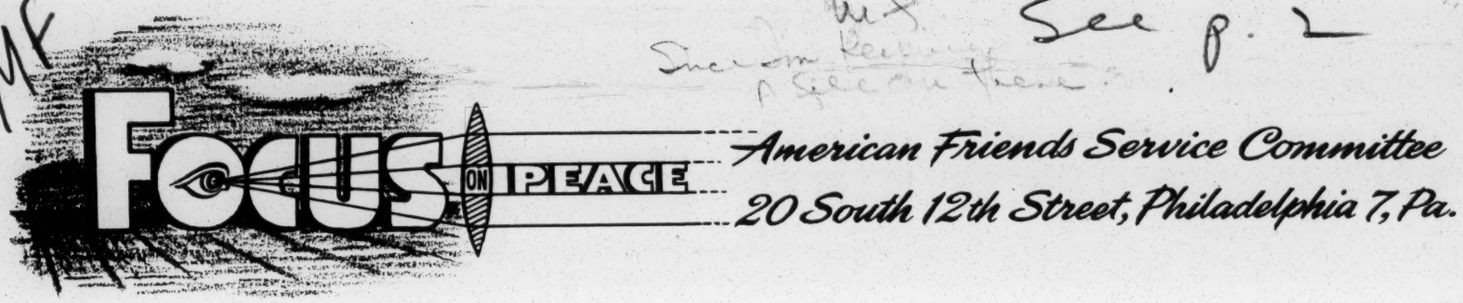

VOLUME V Number 23 June 10, 1960

POST-SUMMIT CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY Several prominent religious leaders were asked by THE CHRISITAN CENTURY to comment on the collapse of the Paris Summit conference.

Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg:

> Specifically, what is demanded now, I believe, includes humble and prayerful consideration and action along the following lines:
>
> (1) The exercise of the highest responsibility...to refrain from exploiting the world's present tragedy and to deal with the issues factually and objectively.
>
> (2) Action through the United Nations and its member governments to work toward the establishment of conditions and relations which will reduce the practice of espionage so that the principles of an open society, including free communication among all peoples, will be recognized...
>
> (3) Continuing efforts for the reduction and regulation of armaments, looking toward universal disarmament under the supervision of the United Nations, and similar efforts for the cessation of nuclear tests.
>
> (4) A strengthening of the United Nations, with the participating nations taking advantage of the unfulfilled potentiality of the charter...

Joseph Sittler, professor of theology with the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago: "The built-in futility of such a procedure was bound to explode. For negotiations require serenity, poise, privacy, the necessity to compromise without that necessity becoming inflammatory copy for national pride. These conditions cannot characterize any Summit. Diplomacy is a quiet art; a Summit is an extravaganza."

Harold Bosley, minister of the First Methodist Church of Evanston, Ill.: Dr. Bosley would (1) accept Khrushchev's proposal for another Summit meeting in six or eight months, (2) throw the full weight of our support behind disarmament negotiations, (3) propose all-out disarmament as our immediate objective, (4) silence the military voices that keep calling for bigger appropriations (yet keep telling us that we are safe because our armed forces are in readiness, because our 20,000 bombers can reduce Russia to a shambles), (5) "make it abundantly clear to the men of the Pentagon that they are the choreboys and not the custodians of our society," (6) secure from the titular heads of both political parties statements supporting further negotiations on disarmament (to include China) and advocating renewed support of the United Nations. (From THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 6-1)

STORES IN SOUTH PROSPER WITH INTEGRATED COUNTERS Neither violence nor boycott has touched merchants in eight Southern cities who have desegregated their lunch counters. This finding was announced by the Southern Regional Council in a report describing reaction to the Negro student "sit-in" demonstrations.

"Where settlements have been reached," it asserted, "there has been little solace for the South's prophets of disaster." The report continued:

"No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss of business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase.

"In contrast, reports from the change-resistant towns have indicated that business in some variety stores--key targets of the demonstrators--has fallen off from 15 per cent to as much as 65 per cent in one store in Charlotte, N. C."

Where desegregation has taken place, according to the council, "Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate a victory. Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity," the report said. "White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine."

The council contended that the most promise for successful settlement lay in the use of small, interracial committees of outstanding citizens who were amenable to change.

"In all, at least 30 Southern cities, 12 of them in Florida, have set up some kind of community organization to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes," it said. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6-6)

ANONYMOUS FRIEND DONATES GARDEN A friend who wants to remain anonymous has given to the AFSC Projects House in East Harlem a gift which will give pleasure to many people for many months each year. A complete garden--shrubs, flowering plants, and a paved walk with all the necessary topsoil--appeared within a few hours on a Sunday morning and has been rejoicing residents and visitors ever since. (NEWSLETTER, New York City office, AFSC)

DR. BLAKE CALLS CHURCH INEFFECTIVE IN SOUTHERN RACE ISSUE Christian churches in this country must take the position of supporting all peace efforts by racial minorities to win proper respect and status, the chief executive of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. declared in Rochester. Otherwise, said Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Americans have no right to criticize South African churches for their general failure to speak out against the government's policy of racial segregation.

Dr. Blake advised that "the gospel requires us everywhere as Christians to stand for a nonsegregated society...even to the point of supporting technical violation of the law when the law stands in the way of the right."

The corporate Christian Church in the United States, he asserted, has been as ineffective in regard to the sit-in movement in the South as the Church in South Africa, which was faced with an "even deeper crisis." (RNS, 4-19)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Paul Turner introduced the staff of national and regional office fund raisers who came to Philadelphia for a week of meetings on their phase of the AFSC operation. Sessions were held at Haverford College. Two new men joining the staff this week are Hugh Maxwell, who will work in the Chicago office, and Lloyd Lewis, who will join the national office staff.

Satoru Izutsu spoke briefly of his experiences in Yugoslavia where he helped train students in occupational therapy. The project developed out of the earlier experiences of AFSC staff in that country who were working with refugee relief. Among his difficulties was that of telescoping a six months' course into about two and one-half months. Plans are now under way, he said, to establish three schools for occupational therapy.

Charlotte Meacham and Dick Taylor reported on a recent leadership conference on housing held in Moorestown, N. J., and sponsored by the Burlington County Human Relations Council. A total of 83 religious, community, and business leaders attended the conference. Of the number, 12 were realtors.

Anna Brinton reported on a recent trip to Mexico where she visited AFSC projects, met Friends, and saw "ancient works" with the help of many former students of Pendle Hill. She said Friends interest developed about 100 years ago with activities started by Indiana and North Carolina Friends.

Commenting on Ed Duckles' ability behind a steering wheel, she reflected on a degree of insecurity brought on by his reading the signs on the truck bumpers he met on the highway. One sign read, "Little Brown Virgin Take Care of Us." This, Anna Brinton said, was a "good hope" for the moment.

SELECTIVE PATRONAGE DRIVE LAUNCHED TO GET JOBS Philadelphia has for many weeks witnessed regular protest marches supporting the southern sit-in movements. Last week local nonviolent protest activity moved into the area of job opportunity for Negroes. A "selective patronage" campaign was launched by Negro ministers who are asking their members not to spend money with companies that discriminate against Negro workers. The immediate target of the campaign is Tasty Baking Company, which is being asked to hire Negro clerks, salesmen-drivers, and end Jim Crow practices inside its plant.

PAUL FURNAS AND SON RECOVER IN SWITZERLAND Paul Furnas and son, Philip, are recovering at the Sonenhof Clinic in Switzerland after being hit by a car on a street corner. Paul suffered a broken back, and Philip a broken leg. Betty Furnas, wife and mother, escaped injury. Philip was en route to Ramallah, Jordan, where he will teach at a Friends' school.

UNION'S PROTEST OVER USE OF C.O.'S BRUSHED ASIDE Protests from labor unions objecting to the use of conscientious objectors for work in the state's park and forest system, in lieu of military service, have been brushed aside by the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters.

Department secretary M. K. Goddard said the work to be handled by the C.O.'s would otherwise not be done at all, because the department does not have funds to hire labor at union rates. The United Mine Workers had protested through a local at Kaberton, objecting to use of Mennonite youth to work in the park system. (RNS, 5-16)

NATIONAL COUNCIL SUPPORTS SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS Nonviolent sit-in demonstrations in the South were hailed by the General Board of the National Council of Churches in New York as "expressions of just and righteous indignation against laws, customs, and traditions which violate human personality."

At its annual spring meeting, the board urged Christians to express sympathetic concern for those students "whose firm commitment to justice causes them to endure humiliation, punishment, and suffering as a consequence of protesting unjust laws, customs, and traditions."

The board's resolution was in line with a recent pastoral letter issued by Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council, who called the sit-in demonstrations "an expression of just and righteous indignation against laws and tradition that violate human personality." (RNS, 6-3)

'CLEAR' CHINA POLICY URGED The sooner the United States stops pretending that the Chinese Communists do not exist the safer the United States and the Western world will be, the editor of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR said today. In an address at the Marlboro College commencement, Erwin D. Canham, the editor, said Communist China might be the most urgent problem of the next quarter of a century. He called for a "clear and constructive policy" toward Peiping. (AP, 6-4)

OATH REPEAL URGED Senator Kenneth B. Keating demanded today repeal of the requirement that college students must sign non-Communist affidavits before they can obtain Federal education loans.

The New York Republican, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said the provision threatened to destroy the national defense education law, which was enacted to help train American students to keep pace with the Soviet Union in the space age.

Mr. Keating said the affidavit was not required of farmers, home owners, or any others getting Government loans and should be dropped. (UPI, 6-5)

THE DEATH OF AFRICA by Peter Ritner. (New York: Macmillan Company. 312 pp., $4.95.) This book was reviewed by Joseph G. Harrison in the May 7 issue of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. The reviewer says the book "is grim, sobering and perhaps, considerably overdrawn--although the world would be unwise to count on this being so." The book "deals with the terrible trials through which Black Africa is now passing, with what the author believes could be its largely bleak future, and with the crucial necessity for the United States to awaken to what is occurring in Africa, take it to heart, and do something large and constructive about it.

"Can this pessimistic picture of Africa be changed? Yes, the author tells us, it can, but only if one nation--the United States--is prepared to recognize what is happening in Africa and take economic and political steps sufficiently long and costly to introduce those minimal evidences of progress without which the African will not be satisfied."

QUAKER WORKER RECEIVES BRYN MAWR AWARD Louise Wood, who has served with the AFSC in Europe for the past 14 years, on June 4 received a citation from Bryn Mawr College in recognition of her contribution to international understanding. She is now the Committee's representative in Italy, where support is being given to a number of independent Italian organizations working to develop literacy and community awareness in that country.

Alex Mosley

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

VOLUME V Number 25 June 24, 1960

AFSC SUMMER PROJECTS LAUNCHED As the last overseas work camper finds her lost passport and departs for Europe, and the final leaders' orientation conference ends at Pendle Hill, the national projects staff will heave a sigh of relief, and concern itself with other varied tasks. Somehow the gargantuan task has been completed: sites have been selected, officials negotiated with, applicants accepted or rejected, and the would-be work camper convinced that an ICS is really what she wanted all along. Projects people may justly congratulate themselves. Until next spring their lives will be a little easier--for SUMMER PROJECTS ARE IN ORBIT!

Here, as nearly as anyone can determine at this date, are the unofficial statistics:

More than 800 young people will take part in the 49 AFSC projects scheduled for this summer. Ranging from Tokyo to Maine, the projects will offer a summer of service and study to people from high school through postgraduate levels. The 29 U.S. projects include 10 ISU's, 5 junior work camps, 4 ICS's, 4 peace caravans, 3 senior work camps, an internes in industry project, a community recreation camp, and Friends Neighborhood Group in New York. Five international seminars will be held, 1 in the U.S. and 4 abroad. The AFSC will send 20 participants and 2 consultants to an experimental seminar in Leningrad sponsored by the Communist Youth Organization. Over a hundred young people will fill out the 14 overseas work camps in Europe and Japan. Ninety participants, 2 children, and 12 leaders will join 6 community service units in Mexico and Guatemala. Students from Turkey, Greece, Denmark, India, Germany, England, Sweden, Haiti, and the U.S.S.R. will lend an international flavor to Service Committee projects in Mexico and the U.S. (Matt Herron)

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WORK CAMPS MOVE INTO AFRICA The summer work camp program for young people sponsored by the WCC will expand this year to include the Belgian Congo, Ghana, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia. These interdenominational camps bring to 47 the total number of 1960 camps. Seven will be held in the United States: in Chicago, Indianapolis, New York, New Windsor, Md., two in St. Louis, and one in Hawaii.

The voluntary project in St. Louis is an institutional service unit at a mental hospital, with participants working in a special "re-motivation technique" project.

AFTER THE BOMB FALLS: ANOTHER VIEW A Canticle for Leibowitz by Walter M. Miller, Jr. (Lippincott, 320 pp., $4.95) This fantasy of a future world after an atomic holocaust is reviewed by James Yaffe in the SATURDAY REVIEW, June 4, 1960. This novel, unlike On the Beach, ends on a note of hope: "...The endless struggle between man's destructive materialism and his religious idealism comes once more to the same old conclusion--an apparent victory for the forces of destruction, a quiet underground victory for the forces of life and hope."

METHODISTS OPPOSE OREGON MISSILE PLANT Leaders of Oregon Methodists outlined a forward-looking view of world affairs when they adopted resolutions at the Methodist annual conference in Portland the other day.

With only four negative votes, the ministers and lay delegates:

1--Voted to oppose resumption of nuclear tests.

2--Expressed sorrow that a missile-making plant is planned for northeastern Oregon.

3--Asked New Hampshire to free Dr. Willard Uphaus, a Methodist layman who is serving a one-year term in jail for contempt of court for refusing to make public the names of persons who attended a camp he runs.

4--Told their leaders to organize a campaign to eliminate the death penalty in Oregon in 1962.

5--Called on the United States to submit to the United Nations Assembly "all questions raised by the capture by Soviet Russia of a U.S. intelligence plane and its pilot." They also asked the government to offer to present the issue to the International Court of Justice.

6--Urged an end to the draft.

7--Praised Willamette University for agreeing to make the air force ROTC program voluntary in the fall of 1961. The Methodist-related university has had a compulsory program for several years in spite of remonstrance by the conference and opposition to ROTC by the denomination.

8--Called for control, reduction and "eventual abolition" of all armaments.

9--Praised southern Negroes and whites who have staged peaceful demonstrations in an effort to end segregation at public places.

10--Flayed South African racial policies and accused the South African government of "suppression and imprisonment of African leaders, burning of African homes, police violence, including torture and killings." (Watford Reed in OREGON JOURNAL, 6-11)

CLARENCE PICKETT GETS DREXEL HONORARY DEGREE Clarence Pickett, executive secretary emeritus of the AFSC, received the honorary degree, Doctor of Letters, and made the commencement address at Drexel Institute last week. The presentation for the degree said: "His internship has been served--for nearly 50 years--at the frontiers of human experience, notably at those points of stress in personal and international relations where Quakers quietly pursue their work of reconciliation. In a ministry which has taken him from pastoral service in Iowa to consultations with the heads of state throughout the world, he has proven one of the friendliest persuaders among members of The Friendly Persuasion. In a darkening world, he has diligently taught others, by word and example, that it is far more important to light even the tiniest of candles than to bemoan the absence of light."

WHAT DO THE CHURCHES SAY ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT? This pamphlet is available from the Connecticut Friends Committee on Social Order, 144 S. Quaker Lane, West Hartford 7, Conn., at 25¢ the single copy. It is an inclusive collection of official church statements.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING The facing bench took on global characteristics, Colin Bell said. Ed Wright introduced 28 students who are headed for overseas work camps. Russ Tuttle introduced Harold Schiffman, who will be program assistant in the Paris Work Camp office; Virginia Hazzard, who will work in the Algerian refugee program in Morocco; and Norval Reece, who is assigned to the Delhi Center.

Thelma How introduced Gordon Gibson and Phyllis Champion, who will be on the staff of the junior work camp at Wilmington, Del. Kay Kensey, of the national office staff, will be dietician at the work camp at the Tule River Indian Reservation in California.

Dora Messner announced that Judith Stiffler will be flexowriter operator in the finance department.

Henry Cadbury reported on the program at Atlantic City when the AFSC was given the Jane Addams Centennial Plaque by the National Association of Social Workers. He accepted the plaque for the AFSC with brief remarks. He said it "belongs to all workers in the organization." (See June 17 FOCUS)

Frank Loescher talked about his recent visit to South Africa in the interest of the U.S.-South Africa Leaders Exchange Program, which he heads. Last year the program sent seven Americans to South Africa and four South Africans were brought to this country for visits of three months or more. The program emphasizes exchanges of persons in journalism, church, university, and government circles.

He arrived in South Africa a day after the Sharpeville shootings. The southern part of South Africa, he said, is more open to concession than is the northern region. In the south the press advocates changes in liquor regulations, wage scales, changes in the pass laws, and consultation between Africans and whites.

Frank Loescher admitted that the situation in South Africa is "depressing" and said it poses the question of what can be the role of outsiders in dealing with conflict in other countries.

"What is the right role for Friends to assume?" he asked.

Tim Plummer, administrative assistant to Norman Whitney, said that four peace caravans would travel in northern California, southern Ohio and Indiana, northern Ohio and Michigan, and New York State this summer. There will be 17 participants.

The Seminar on Pacifism at Putney Graduate School in Vermont has 12 participants.

Norman Whitney announced that "Which Way the Wind," will go on another nationwide tour this fall.

A COMMENT ON KHRUSHCHEV Senator Hubert Humphrey, in the SATURDAY REVIEW, June 11, 1960, has a thoughtful review of Ask Me Anything: Our Adventure with Khrushchev, by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Frank Coniff, and Bob Considine. (McGraw-Hill, 271 pp., $4.95) From this "lively, immensely readable book," he quotes, "The coming months and years will see us negotiating closely and intensely with this man, and the future will largely depend on our wisdom in these negotiations. But in all these negotiations, all these conferences, it is necessary to understand one thing clearly: that in Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev we have a clever, versatile, and dangerous opponent who will take our best effort and deepest understanding to handle."

WHITE STUDENTS PROTEST IN SOUTH AFRICA Nearly 300 white students from Witwatersrand University took part recently in a demonstration outside South Africa's prison, The Fort, in Johannesburg. Basil Delaine, writing from Johannesburg, said in PEACE NEWS, May 20, that their placards demanded freedom for the detainees imprisoned for opposing the government's apartheid policy.

This demonstration followed the pathetic protest of the children of the detainees on the steps of the City Hall the week before. These children--from five to seventeen--were taken to a police station and detained for questioning. They were later released. The mayor of Johannesburg, Alec Gorshal, sent a telegram to minister of justice Erasmus, stating that the children were in "a dreadful state of want and worry," and questioning the justification for detaining them.

This direct action by white students was the biggest demonstration ever held outside the prison.

JAPANESE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS STRONG CHRISTIAN REPRESENTATION Jotaro Kawakami, socialist member of the Japanese Diet, had an interesting observation about his party while in New York recently with two other political leaders from that country. "Japan's Socialist Party may be compared to Britain's Labor Party," Mr. Kawakami explained, adding that it is the leading opposition party in the country and the one in which Christians are most strongly represented.

HIGH POINT OFFICE SPONSORS UNUSUAL PEACE SEMINAR A six-week vacation seminar based on the theme of the United Nations and ultimate peace was started last week in Greensboro, N. C. Last week end the group was in New York to observe the United Nations. Arrangements were made by Tartt Bell of the Quaker U.N. staff now on leave as executive secretary of the High Point AFSC office. Anne Queen, YWCA director at the University of North Carolina, led the group on the U.N. trip. The seminar meets twice weekly to discuss political approaches to peace, disarmament, cessation of nuclear tests, colonialism, emerging nations, and economic aid. Max Heirich, college secretary in the southeast, is the staff person in charge.

LUTHERANS ASK STUDY OF BIAS FIRMS An investigation into possible discriminatory practices of firms in which the United Lutheran Church in America holds stock was urged in Utica by the denomination's synod of New York and New England.

Delegates at the synod's annual meeting also asked that all discrimination in employment and in services to the public be denounced by the ULCA at its biennial convention in Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 13-20.

The synod was instructed by the delegates to "communicate our protest as stockholders to the F. W. Woolworth Company concerning its discriminatory lunch counter practices in various states." (RNS, 6-17)

FOCUS WILL TAKE VACATION Vacations and summer project visiting are taking their toll and publication of FOCUS will be suspended for a few weeks. This seemed to be the only practical alternative with a depleted staff during much of the summer. We will look forward to resuming publication no later than the issue of July 29.

Alex Morrison

LD
I've started a file of these -- do you want to keep them all my stamps
LWD

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Return To - M.F.

VOLUME V Number 27 August 19, 1960

FOCUS ON SUMMER PROJECTS

Imagine, if you can, living in sunny Tulare County in California. It could be nice but, if your only water supply is miles away, your thinking may shift into reverse.

For years, about 90 families have lived in the "shack town" of Teviston in Tulare County. It's not a town officially, but a cluster of nondescript homes of agricultural laborers who toil on the county's rich farm lands. Teviston is only one of many other similar communities of laborers. Those with the greater needs are Negro and Mexican-American.

During a tour of Tulare County in July with Bard McAllister, the AFSC staff member, and Russ Jorgensen, finance secretary in the San Francisco office, I saw striking evidence of the changes that can occur when ample water is available.

The AFSC program in Teviston helped the residents form a water district and install a system which offers piped water to about 90 families. Better than a third of them have connected to the system but most of the others seem to be getting water also, without cost from their fee-paying neighbors.

One of the homes we visited showed how rapidly a home setting can change. What was formerly a clean dirt yard had been almost miraculously sodded into a beautiful lawn of lush green grass. Nearby grew the home owner's first vegetable garden. Two gaping holes about the yard told another story. A septic tank was being installed in one and another was being filled with bricks and broken cement to handle the waste water from the kitchen sink.

Bard and the home owner talked and "debated" a situation that confronts the new water district. It's the problem of so many families using water without installing private lines and paying the monthly assessment. It poses a knotty problem for the water district supervisors whose close friends, neighbors, maybe relatives are involved in the water "bootlegging."

Reflecting in another way the community's problems was the vigorous denial of responsibility. The home owner, satisfied with his water, would not admit his responsibility as a citizen to vote and help correct the situation which was threatening the financial future of the project. While he could see that 35 families should not carry the heavy burden intended for 90 families, he did not want to help be a part of the crackdown. What's more, he was satisfied to let the supervisors wrestle with the problem as best they could.

Tulare County has other community needs. A new staff person in the AFSC program will help organize a labor cooperative which will enable the workers to bargain with the growers.

(continued on page 2)

Tulare County is the second ranking in the nation in farm income. But Bard McAllister told a Senate subcommittee of migratory farm labor problems, in July, that seasonal farm laborers in California populate the "longest slum in the world." He referred to laborers scattered over improvised shack towns in five counties of the San Joaquin Valley, which are among the top highest farm income counties of the nation.

POINT FOUR YOUTH CORPS Henry S. Reuss, congressman from Wisconsin, reports on his bill H. R. 9638, now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in the May, 1960, INTERCOLLEGIAN:

> Specifically, my bill is an amendment to the Mutual Security Pact. It calls on the President to commission a private nongovernmental research group to study the "advisability and practicability" of establishing the Point Four Youth Corps. Some of the key issues the research group will study are: (1) whether service in the Youth Corps should be considered as satisfying the military obligation to which all our 18-year-old men are now subject, (2) the qualifications for Youth Corps membership and the type of training the corps should receive for overseas service, (3) methods of cooperation between the government and interested private groups that support technical assistance projects, and of course, (4) the fundamental issue of determining the projects for which Youth Corps recruits would be best suited.
>
> We should do everything possible to send overseas only sensitive, capable, adaptable Americans with a high sense of purpose who will represent the best of American democracy. A Point Four Youth Corps, properly directed, could make a contribution to solving this problem. We need to project an attitude of fellowship rather than an attitude of superior or inferior paternalism.

JOHN STEINBECK SUGGESTS NEGROES ARE SUPERIOR Below are the first and last paragraphs of an article by John Steinbeck, published in the July 23 SATURDAY REVIEW. It is titled, "Atque Vale" (And Farewell).

> I am constantly amazed at the qualities we expect in Negroes. No race has ever offered another such high regard. We expect Negroes to be wiser than we are, more tolerant than we are, braver, more dignified than we, more self-controlled and self-disciplined. We even demand more talent from them than from ourselves. A Negro must be ten times as gifted as a white to receive equal recognition. We expect Negroes to have more endurance than we in athletics, more courage in defeat, more rhythm and versatility in music and dancing, more controlled emotion in theatre. We expect them to obey rules of conduct we flout, to be more courteous, more gallant, more proud, more steadfast. In a word, while maintaining that Negroes are inferior to us, by our unquestioning faith in them we prove our conviction that they are superior in many fields, even fields we are presumed to be trained and conditioned in and they are not.
>
> Perhaps some of the anger against Negroes stems from a profound sense of their superiority, and perhaps their superiority is rooted in having a cause and an unanswerable method composed of courage, restraint, and a sense of direction.

NEGRO VOTES ELECT N. C. GOVERNOR You'll pardon the expression but THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL, official publication of the Citizens' Councils of America, published monthly in Jackson, Miss., is the source of the following interesting information.

According to the publication, Negro votes in North Carolina were responsible for the victory of Terry Sanford in the Democratic gubernatorial runoff in the June 25 election. Sanford defeated Dr. I. Beverly Lake by a margin of 77,000 votes. The Sanford victory was attributed to the fact that he got overwhelming support from North Carolina's 160,000 Negro voters. TIME magazine said the victory was a "clear mandate for moderation." Dr. Lake campaigned on a program of "constitutional government, States' Rights, and segregation," THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL said.

The DURHAM MORNING SUN reported that the city's five Negro precincts voted 3,600 votes for Terry Sanford and only 28 votes for Dr. Lake.

A Negro precinct in Greensboro gave Sanford 836 votes to only 4 for Dr. Lake. Another Negro precinct favored Sanford by a margin of 1,392 to 2, while the third gave Sanford all of its 657 votes.

The total Negro vote in Greensboro was 2,885 for Sanford, 6 for Lake. Similar tabulations were reported from elsewhere in the state the Council publication said.

(Victory in the Democratic Primary is tantamount to election in North Carolina.)

NEGRO STUDENTS CONTINUE KNEEL-IN CAMPAIGN Negro college students in Atlanta continued their kneel-in campaign to win racial integration in churches by visiting ten white congregations -- of which they were welcomed by five -- on the second Sunday of their announced drive. About 30 or 35 youths took part.

The first week some 25 college men and girls visited six churches and worshipped at four.

No major incidents were reported at any church.

Sponsoring the demonstrations was the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, a biracial organization composed of Negro and white college students.

Churches admitting the students included Atlanta First Presbyterian, St. Luke's Episcopal, Central Presbyterian, Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, and the Second Ponce de Leon Baptist. (RNS, 8-15)

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN VIRGINIA The Virginia Pupil Placement Board has assigned Negro students to white schools in Richmond and Roanoke for the first time.

In both cases the pupils obtained their transfers without seeking placement through Federal court. Today's decisions raised to ten the number of Virginia cities and counties in which there is some school integration. Of approximately 150 Negroes assigned to mixed classes, most have obtained their transfers through court action.

(The Richmond school board) expressed confidence "that the people of Richmond will view this decision in a spirit that will foster harmony and the continued strengthening of our public education program." (NEW YORK TIMES, 8-16)

THE NECESSITY FOR RELIGION: A LAST MESSAGE FROM A POET "Is religion really necessary?" Boris Pasternak, creator of Dr. Zhivago, answered this question for free-lance writer Jhan Robbins in a personal interview a few months before the author's death:

> "Yes. I think that man will always strive to find a meaningful form of worship. I was born a Jew. My family was interested in music and art and paid little attention to religious practice. Because I felt an urgent need to find a channel of communication to the Creator, I was converted to Russian Orthodox Christianity. But try as I might, I could not achieve a complete spiritual experience. Thus I am still a seeker. Some people tell me that religion won't make any progress until the world has solved its practical problems. But I believe we shall find it is the other way around."

(Jhan Robbins is a Quaker. The article quoted from appeared in THIS WEEK, July 7.)

A CLEARING IN THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE One of the most unusual editors in this country, P. D. East (of the PETAL PAPER, Petal, Miss.) has written a fascinating autobiography, The Magnolia Jungle (Simon and Schuster, $3.95). When the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision was handed down in 1954, East's conscience forced him to start attacking the South's "magnolia jungle." He does it with humor and the sharp thrusts of satire. But his book is much more than humorous; it shows the growth and development of a warm and sensitive individual whose personal torments have helped him to understand others.

He says, "I can't look the other way when the most important issue of my life hits me smack in the face."

THE FUTURE LIES AHEAD Mort Sahl's funny, angry political satire, which has spoken to the condition of a wide but select audience via small night clubs, records, and occasionally TV, is quoted by TIME, July 15.

> The AEC lifts J. Robert Oppenheimer's security clearance: All right, Doctor -- turn in your brain.
>
> Lung-cancer tests: There is a moral question here -- whether or not mice should smoke.
>
> Bomb-tests: Contamination without representation.
>
> 1960 Democratic civil-rights plank: You shouldn't send a kid up on a plank like that.
>
> Kennedy entertains Tom Mboya at Hyannisport: But will he mix with him off the job?

NASSER'S NEW EGYPT: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS This book, by Keith Wheelock is one of the Foreign Policy Research Institute series. (Praeger, 64 University Place, New York 3, 336 pp., $6.00.) Max Lerner calls it "readable, reliable, compact, uncowed, unemotional ... the first really objective summary and trial balance of the man, the country, the regime."

Alex Morrison

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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THE MUSIC OF THE DIFFERENT DRUMMER GROWS LOUD AND CLEAR "The Case for Public Demonstration and Civil Disobedience" is the lead article in the August issue of MINUTES, a publication of Nationwide Insurance Company, 246 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio. The author, Lincoln Adair, has participated in a number of public demonstrations.

Some quotable quotes: The apartheid demonstrations in Africa, the peace marches in England, the nationwide picketing of Woolworth's and other chains that operate segrated lunch counters in the South, the worldwide student demonstrations are too widespread and too serious in purpose to be checked off as the work of the lunatic fringe....

Most demonstrators are simply people who feel so strongly about a public issue and are so frustrated by an inability to act upon it within the framework of their society that they find themselves doing something about it outside normally accepted patterns of action.

What is the significance of public demonstrations? I believe they may become the most important single factor in determining the road that civilization takes. I believe this because in a demonstration is sometimes the only effective means of expression open to people. A demonstration can't be ignored. Write a letter, sign a petition, join a delegation, and maybe you'll be listened to, maybe you won't. Join a demonstration and right away your cause gets recognized. Join enough demonstrations, with enough people who feel as you do, and you might be able to shape the course of history... they can't help but be victorious in the long run.

N.C. QUAKERS CREATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION A commission to study human relations, including race problems, was created by delegates to the 263rd annual sessions of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) at Guilford, N. C.

The commission was asked "only to seek the mind of Christ" in its work and decisions. No time limit or report date for the group was set. (RNS 8-8)

QUNP JOINS RANKS OF INFORMATION MEDIA The Quaker United Nations Program has just issued its first information sheet under the title of Newsletter. It will appear occasionally and will contain news of QUNP and the UN, as well as the Specialized Agencies. Issues of the Newsletter will be very brief, and no attempts will be made to analyze developments or to discuss in depth events on the current scene. (Georgia Paine Heldt)

A POSTSCRIPT ON THE FIVE YEARS MEETING A FOCUS reader called attention to the incomplete information given in the August 12 report on the Five Years Meeting held in July. It was reported that there are ten or eleven Yearly Meetings in the Five Years Meeting. In fact there are fourteen. They are: Baltimore, California, Canada, Cuba, East Africa, Indiana, Iowa, Jamaica, Nebraska, New England, New York, North Carolina, Western, and Wilmington.

FOCUS also said the AFSC was involved in a series of "newspaper attacks during the Meeting." While this is correct it is not intended to imply that the AFSC was criticised in sessions of the Five Years Meetings. "There were frequent words of warm support (for the AFSC) during speeches and reports," our reader said.

POLITICAL VICTORY -- THROUGH A MISTAKE In Prince Edward County, Virginia, where all the public schools are closed to avoid integration, Negro citizens had surprising success in a local election.

Negro voters had decided to enter a candidate for the office of county supervisor. They reasoned that the chance for victory would be good if the plan was spread around the county without the knowledge of the white citizens. This necessitated a whispering campaign on the countywide grapevine system which effectively reaches each Negro home, even those without telephones.

The campaign to get Negroes out to the polls was an astounding success. At the end of the election day, there was a feeling of success throughout the county. It seemed a good guess that a Negro had been elected county supervisor. But, unfortunately, the grapevine had garbled the message.

Prince Edward County Negro voters had elected a Magistrate instead of a County Supervisor.

DR. NELSON TELLS HIS VERSION OF JAMES LAWSON vs. VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY J. Robert Nelson, recently resigned dean of Vanderbilt University divinity school, has a comprehensive report of the dismissal of James Lawson in the Christian Century, Aug. 10. He said that after, "Seven stores in Nashville... opened (lunch counters) to all...regardless of race, the sit-in demonstrations, for which Lawson had been dismissed and in which as many as 30 Vanderbilt students had taken part, were vindicated...The legal charges against Lawson and almost 80 other students were not pressed (and to this day there have been no convictions, not even any trials). Lawson was legally innocent. There had been no significant violence. And the lunch counters were at last integrated. But Vanderbilt University remained adamant."

Dr. Nelson concludes, "If the distress and actual suffering of the participating persons can contribute to a better understanding of the freedom and social responsibility of colleges and universities as well as to a more forceful witness to racial equality and Christian reconciliation, such distress and suffering will not have been in vain."

(Dr. Nelson has been appointed guest professor of ecumenics at Princeton for 1960-61.)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING George Loft, back from three years as AFSC representative in the Central African Federation, said the program there had been launched with two purposes. It hoped to advance the multiracial policies in the Federation and to ease tensions which might put these policies in jeopardy.

George and Eleanor Loft and their family have now been replaced by Lyle and Bicky Tatum and their son.

The work in the Federation short-circuited the traditional Quaker approach which always builds on existing good will in a location, George said. In this case the program leap-frogged from no AFSC work to the delicate area of political reconciliation. When they arrived the situation in the Federation was quiet and the whites seemed confident of their future. There was little opportunity for Africans to know white government leaders. While there were some Africans in government they did not have followers, he said. His major undertaking was that of trying to be a link between the government and African leaders.

George Loft said that Africans are growing more and more determined to be recognized and to shape the future of their country. A small island of 300,000 whites is increasingly afraid that they will be engulfed by the 8 million Africans.

He told of numerous visits with Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland and Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia during the period they were in prison. George Loft said that multiracialism has failed in Central Africa, that the initiative is passing into the hands of the African in Nyasaland, and that whites in Northern Rhodesia have thrown away their opportunity.

Eleanor Loft said her work was centered in the home which served as office for the program. She helped establish school affiliations between three institutions in Southern Rhodesia which are linked with Germantown Friends School and two schools in Portland, Oregon. The Rhodesian schools each serve a different racial group -- Europeans, Asians and Coloreds, or Africans.

PERSONNEL ANNOUNCEMENTS Archie Evans has returned to the staff to handle personnel department files while Shaun Copithorne will be setting up new program files. Paul Blanshard, Jr. has been named Quaker representative in West Africa and will be stationed in Nigeria. Florence Young of the International Seminar program in Washington is on assignment in Prince Edward County, Va. to do secretarial work with the emergency placement program. Eleanor Bareiss is on a short-term assignment in the Children's program.

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP OPPORTUNITY A grant from the Ford Foundation has enabled the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Pittsburgh to provide a number of fellowships to outstanding American candidates for the Master's and Doctoral degrees who wish to enroll in the program of Economic and Social Development. Persons with professional backgrounds and related experience will be especially sought--engineers, industrial managers, business and public administrators, economists, agriculturists, labor experts, social workers, educators and public health personnel. Applicants should write to Dean Donald C. Stone of the graduate school.

METHODIST YOUTH FELLOWSHIP SPEAKS FOR PEACE AND INTEGRATION An international prayer vigil for world peace by young people of all denominations was urged by the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship at its annual meeting in Lincoln, Nebraska.

The fellowship also called for a study of Communism by Methodist youth in order to oppose it more effectively, "to realize and admit the shortcomings of the Christian Church which have caused much of the success of Communism."

They supported nonviolent demonstrations against segragation and emphasized the "equality of all men regardless of physical differences." The same resolution asked the integration of Methodist youth groups "both socially and racially." (RNS, 8-22)

LET US KNEEL-IN TOGETHER "Kneel-ins are new in name only," THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, August 24, says in an editorial on the new student movement launched in Atlanta. The following is excerpted.

> The Negro Christian, then, must approach the white church not for his own sake but as an instrument in the hand of God....The Negro Christian should not go in vanity to prove that he is just as good as other folk and perhaps better. Such profanation of the church has enough devotees among whites....
>
> It is not enough for white Christians to give a cordial welcome to Negroes in the hope that such a display will disarm the inquisitive or defiant or sincere Negro...The welcome must be genuine; it must be the greeting of Christian for Christian, of member for potential member...The same motives should move both the Negro visitor and the white host.
>
> The will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees.

RACE: IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS AND IN THE SOUTHERN PRESS The Southern Regional Council has prepared two informative pamphlets, Racial Stories in the News, and School Desegration: the First Six Years. The first is a two-part analysis of the attitudes and practices of Southern newspapers, by Walter Spearman, professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina, and Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville, Ga. DAILY TIMES. Mr. Meyer is also chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The second pamphlet presents 30 questions and answers on the school situation since 1954. For copies of these, write to the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Editor's Note: Because of vacation schedules FOCUS will not be published during the next three weeks.

Alex Mooney

EW thermofax p. 1 & return to MF for filing

PR ✓ LWD

FOCUS ON PEACE
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

VOLUME V Number 29 September 23, 1960

AFSC RELOCATES 47 PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY CHILDREN Forty-seven Negro children from Prince Edward County, Va., were relocated recently by the AFSC in its emergency placement project of the Community Relations Program. Cooperating with the national office in the project were three regional offices. Private families in the following ten communities are hosts to the students: Iowa City, Iowa; Inkster, Mich.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Dayton, Ohio; Yellow Springs, Ohio; Moorestown, N. J.; Media, Pa.; Yeadon, Pa.; Lansdowne, Pa.; and Baltimore, Md.

The project was developed in late summer when it became apparent that for the second year Negro children in Prince Edward County would not have public education available to them. Prince Edward County officials had closed all public schools rather than comply with a court order to desegregate them.

The AFSC continues its basic program in Prince Edward County where it hopes "to strengthen the possibility for permanent solution there which will support the American belief in the importance of public schools in a democracy, which will uphold the role of the judiciary as an interpreter of the constitution, and which will affirm religious principles underlying racial justice."

Each host community in the project intends to give the students a school year experience which will be culturally and educationally enriching. All of them are in interracial school situations. Vigorous local committees in each are guiding the project. In many areas tuitions have been waived but in others tuition cost and other expenses will be met through voluntary contributions.

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY LEADER VISITS AFSC The Reverend Leslie F. Griffin, president of the Prince Edward County Christian Association, spoke at the recent Community Relations committee meeting and held conferences with staff during a visit here this week. The AFSC program in Prince Edward County is being conducted in cooperation with Reverend Griffin and the Prince Edward County Christian Association.

In his talk the Reverend Mr. Griffin reviewed the several years of litigation involving the county which was one of the defendants in the cases ruled on by the Supreme Court in its 1954 decision. He talked about the capitulation of white leadership in the community to the power structure and expressed the concern of merchants who have felt the loss of income incurred because some 75 Negro teachers are no longer working in the county. He expressed gratitude to the AFSC for its program but said the major problem in the community has not yet been touched since there are more than 1000 students in the county without education at present. He said that his organization would attempt to conduct 16 centers throughout the county this year to give some minimum opportunities to the students for recreation and activity.

A private school system is operating in Prince Edward County offering education to white students.

WALTER LIPPMANN DISCUSSES OUR ROLES AT THE U.N. Walter Lippmann, in a column appearing September 22 in the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, discussed this country's double role with the United Nations. These are excerpts from the column:

> This country has a double role in its relations with the United Nations and during the past few hectic days we have acted in both roles. In the one we are one of the members, in our legal rights like all the others except that we are one of the five Great Powers with a permanent seat and the right of veto in the Security Council. In our other role, we are the host of the United Nations organization in New York, a role in which we have special duties and responsibilities, some of them written and some of them unwritten.
>
> In the second and special role we are committed to something more than the defense and promotion of our own national interests -- to something more than the defense of our own alliance. We are committed to the defense and promotion of the United Nations as a world institution. We are committed to the protection, not only of the physical presence of its buildings and its members on Manhattan Island, but also to the protection of its dignity and its authority.
>
> The United Nations is a universal society and all the world has access to it. Its dignity and authority require that all shall have access who have a legitimate right to come to it.
>
> We should play this role (our second role) proudly. We should realize that the defense of the U.N., as the Congo is demonstrating, is the defense of our true interest in Africa -- which is to remain in contact and in collaboration with the new African states. What is more, it may yet come to pass that the U.N., if it lives through its great ordeal in Africa, will provide the means for an accommodation in Berlin. There are many things that are harder to imagine than that.
>
> In the second and special role we have more at stake, and there is more to be won or lost, than there is in the lesser role of giving tit-for-tat with the Soviet Union.

QUAKER DOCTORS OPPOSE CBR WARFARE "The Friends Medical Society, national organization of physicians and medical workers, announces its strong opposition to preparations for chemical and biological warfare." This is the opening sentence of a statement from the group.

The Society also said, "We decry this projected use of scientifically acquired medical tools, which were designed only to relieve human suffering... We invite the healing professions of the world to unite with us in urging our government to cease these preparations for war, and as a direct alternative to emphasize expanded education, medical care and public health."

WASHINGTON CHURCHES PUSH ANTI-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT PETITIONS Petitions for Initiative No. 26, which would abolish capital punishment in Washington, have been sent to nearly every church in the state, the sponsoring committee reported at a public meeting in Seattle. The petition needs 94,000 signatures by December to bring it before the state legislature. (RNS,9-19)

MONDAY STAFF MEETINGS Aug. 29: Colin Bell, Paul Turner, and Paxton Hart reviewed developments in the difficulties and misunderstanding between the AFSC and an Indiana newspaper during the past summer.

Sept. 12: Blanche Shaffer, director of the Geneva Center, described life in a Quaker Center. Ranjit Chetsingh, a Friend from India, discussed some of the present social, economic, and political conditions in his country. He is an educator and has had long association with the Friends World Committee.

Personnel assignments: Lloyd Lewis has joined the fund raising staff. David Scott has begun work as administrative assistant in the Peace Education Program. Elva Silverman is a secretary in the International Seminars and Conferences Program, and Bill Pereira is a file clerk in the Foreign Service Program. Joyce Carter has transferred to a secretarial position in the Middle Atlantic Regional Office. She was formerly a secretary in the Peace Education Program.

Sept. 19: Hubert Malherbe of Johannesburg, South Africa, talked about the complex problems of his country. He is clerk of the Transvaal Monthly Meeting and will be on the Quaker United Nations team for this session of the General Assembly. He is a scientist specializing in virus research.

He said there was no blueprint to solve the problems of his multiracial country where there is bitter resentment between white and non-white races. He expressed the feeling that a situation similar to that in the Congo would develop in South Africa if all "European direction and support were removed."

There are areas of economic integration which the government accepts since there are thousands of non-whites permanently located in urban areas, he said. Previously, the policy was to have these people return to their own settlements. Hubert Malherbe sees the increasing urbanization and political consciousness of this group as a positive factor in the eventual solution of South Africa's problems. He said, "Segregation is not in itself evil, when both groups agree to it, but it is the kind of discrimination that is practiced which is evil."

There are a few Monthly Meetings of 40 or 50 members in South Africa. Friends have a real role in several aspects of the race problem. One is to find opportunities for contact among the many racial groups; another is relief work. They have distributed about $10,000 to the families of those imprisoned for their part in the demonstrations of the past months. Friends, of course, have their traditional role of reconciliation, he said.

He pointed to the work of the Dutch Reformed Church, which has tried to provide equally good church facilities for non-white members, as a "distinct step forward."

Jean Fairfax gave an informal report on the relocation of some children from Prince Edward County, Va., who would be without schooling for a second year had they remained at home.

Personnel assignments: Rita Chavez has been appointed an interne in the Community Service Program in Mexico. Allison Tenant of London, is a secretary in the U.S. Projects office. Arthur Landis, a Mennonite C.O., is working in Central Mailing. Nicholas Paster was welcomed as executive secretary of the Middle Atlantic Region. Barbara Brett has taken an assignment in the School Affiliation Service Program. She and her husband have been hosts to students in the program. Vivian Newlin of the Projects Personnel Office will be receptionist when the AFSC moves to 160 North Fifteenth Street.

"CBR -- JUST PACKED WITH THE FINEST INGREDIENTS!" A report from the Sept. 10 issue of THE NATION:

Recently the Army Chemical Corps staged a series of lectures and demonstrations for newsmen at Dugway Proving Ground in Utah, aimed at removing prejudices against chemical and biological warfare... Ten years ago, the spokesman admitted, there was a stigma attached, but, he added, "There has been a lot of progress in this field." As an example, he cited the nerve gas "GB"...which...according to the correspondent of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE "induces death in a matter of minutes after the victim first suffers a chest tightening, salivation and perspiration, vomiting, pinpointing of the eyes, convulsions and finally death from a filling of the lungs with fluid. Despite these reactions, the Chemical Corps scientists said, death is painless."

Colonel Joseph C. Prentice, the course director says, "I'm an enthusiast over biological and chemical warfare. I think it's great stuff. It's more humane* than anything else we've got."

*(Humane: having feelings and inclinations creditable to man; kind; benevolent. 2. humanizing; refining. -- Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.)

FREEDOM: A MATTER OF CHOICES Harris Wofford, associate professor of law at Notre Dame Law School is the author of a talk, The Law and Civil Disobedience, which is being circulated as part of a kit by The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Mr. Wofford is an Episcopalian. He is presently on leave to serve on the staff of Senator John F. Kennedy.

Once we no longer see the law as a mechanical thing, once we free ourselves from the idea that as good citizens we have no choice but to obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then of each law we must ask ourselves: Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform?

I am presenting civil disobedience as a natural and necessary part of the great Due Process of our Law, that process of persuasion through which we govern ourselves. Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion, the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.

Civil disobedience...involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed.

We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for justice...we are free to choose -- which inner light or higher law -- to follow, and it is the choice that makes us free.

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VOLUME V Number 36 November 11, 1960

ELECTION POST-MORTEM: PACIFISTS LOSE CONGRESSIONAL RACES Four religious pacifists were defeated in the November 8 election. Incumbent Representatives William H. Meyer (D.-Vt.) and Byron L. Johnson (D.-Colo.) both lost to Republicans.

Hayes Beall of Lombard, Ill., a Democrat, lost in his attempt to take the seat of Rep. Elmer J. Hoffman (R.-Ill.). Another Democrat, Tyler Thompson of Evanston, Ill., was defeated by Rep. Marguerite Stitt Church (R.-Ill.). Hoffman and Thompson are both members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Rep. Meyer was the first Democrat to represent Vermont in Washington in more than a century. He and Rep. Johnson were believed to be the first ever elected to Congress to hold the conscientious objector position in wartime.

Another Congressional candidate who has been active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and other peace groups ran for the House. She is Mrs. Rudd Brown, a granddaughter of William Jennings Bryan, who was defeated by Rep. Edgar L. Hiestand (R.-Cal.).

PRESIDENT-ELECT KENNEDY PROMISED A 'PEACE CORPS' While campaigning in California President-elect John F. Kennedy proposed a "peace corps" of young men who would serve with technical aid missions abroad as an alternative to the military draft.

In a speech delivered in San Francisco he said, in part:

> I propose that (we create) a "peace corps" of talented young men willing and able to service their country in this fashion for three years as an alternative to peacetime Selective Service -- well-qualified through rigorous standards -- well-trained in the language, skills, and customs they will need to know -- and directed and paid by the I. C. A. Point Four agencies. We cannot discontinue training our young men as soldiers of war -- but we also need them as ambassadors of peace.
>
> This would be a volunteer corps -- and volunteers would be sought among talented young women as well -- and from every race and walk of life. For this nation is full of young people eager to serve the cause of peace in the most useful way.

ESTHER RHOADS ASSIGNED TO NORTH AFRICA Esther Rhoads has arrived in North Africa to assume duties as field director of the AFSC Algerian Refugee Relief Program in Tunisia. She returned last May from Japan where she was director of the Friends Center in Tokyo and coordinator of AFSC relief and reconciliation programs.

KRIPALANI RESIGNS POST WITH INDIAN SOCIALIST PARTY Acharya J. B. Kripalani has resigned as top spokesman for the Indian Peoples Socialist Party which has an estimated 300,000 members.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, November 1, said the resignation placed the party, which is India's largest opposition group, in critical difficulty. For eight years it has been the main opposition group to the Congress Party. The TIMES story quoted Kripalani as saying he found himself "increasingly out of tune" with all Indian parties and that he had long yearned for "freedom."

Kripalani and his wife, Sucheta Kripalani, were guests of the AFSC last spring and traveled for a month in the United States filling speaking engagements.

AMERICAN BAPTISTS SPONSORED 521 IMMIGRANTS DURING WRY American Baptist Convention churches sponsored 521 immigrants during World Refugee Year, it was reported at the denomination's headquarters in New York City.

Matthew Giuffrida, field representative in the American Baptist Home Mission Societies' Department of Christian Friendliness and director of its refugee resettlement service, said Federal legislation passed since the end of WRY in June allows churches to continue aiding refugee resettlement, but does not apply to refugees in the Middle East or Hong Kong.

However, he observed, it does extend to June 30, 1961, the law by which an unlimited number of visas may be granted to orphans from any area of the world under 14 years of age who have been adopted or are intended for adoption by married couples in the U.S. (RNS, 9-7)

BAPTIST EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION DISBANDS The Baptist Educational Foundation, which operated the second largest private high school in Little Rock during 1958-59 when the public high schools there were closed to avoid integration, has voted itself out of existence.

The corporation had been inactive for more than a year and had not operated a school except that one year. (RNS, 9-7)

FEDERAL HUMAN RELATIONS UNIT SUGGESTED Both Presidential candidates were urged by the American Jewish Committee, before the election, to help establish a Federal division of human relations "which would bring about a pioneering breakthrough in resolving interreligious and interracial tensions and conflicts."

The appeal asked the government to give "ranking priority" to human relations problems at home, as "its most powerful means" of retaining moral leadership abroad. The statement was released in connection with the closing session of the committee's national executive board meeting. It said that "the time has come for social scientists, with government and foundation aid, to initiate far-reaching research endeavors which would throw light on those factors in American society which impede or foster wholesome intergroup attitudes."

They also concurred that improved human relations among all peoples and groups "should be placed before the conscience of the American people with the U.S. government providing the primary initiative." (RNS, 11-1)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING As background to her report on AFSC work in Prince Edward County, Va., Jean Fairfax reviewed the current race relations and school integration progress in the South. Among the significant developments she cited was the integration of Houston, Texas, schools where 11 Negro students were reassigned to previously white schools. Houston was the largest segregated school system in the country. Jean also referred to the situation of Indians in eastern North Carolina counties who are beginning to show concern for integration. She said nine counties in that section of the state have separate schools for Indians as well as for Negroes and whites. One of them, Robeson County, has a fourth system for still another group of citizens.

Another development was the assignment of seven Negro children to previously white schools in Yancey County in compliance with a Federal court order. This is the first North Carolina school district to integrate its schools under court orders.

Jean Fairfax explained that the AFSC effort in Prince Edward County was part of an interagency concern and that the Committee initiated its work there by conducting a census last summer which revealed a "desperate need to help" parents place their children elsewhere this fall. The AFSC Emergency Placement Project, initiated in July, relocated 47 students in 10 communities of 6 states. She said that the AFSC is continuing its effort to meet its chief responsibility to children left in the county and announced that Helen Baker had begun work as the Community Relations representative in the county. Helen Baker has had wide experience in many phases of AFSC work in this country and overseas. She will try to develop programs for the children in local centers sponsored by the Prince Edward County Education Association and do other work with parents in the county.

Colin Bell spoke of the "revolution of rising regions" in the AFSC and introduced Steve Cary and Harold Evans, who had recently visited regional offices on the West Coast.

Steve Cary described briefly some of his experiences and observations as he visited the regional offices in Pasadena, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle.

Harold Evans said he went on the trip to listen and returned with several impressions including a strong feeling of the need for communication with the regional offices. He expressed some doubt about the appropriateness of the AFSC conducting a Youth for Service program in San Francisco and observed that the Committee should strive to "work itself out of a job" in this undertaking. He was also impressed with the devotion of both staff and Committee members where he visited.

Personnel announcement: Walter Taylor has been assigned as National Representative of the American Indian Program.

R.A.F. MEN JOIN PACIFIST SECT Royal Air Force chiefs in London have ordered an inquiry into the conversion of members of an R.A.F. band stationed in Singapore to the pacifist Jehovah's Witnesses sect. Two airmen who recently were baptized in the sect are under arrest for refusing to wear a uniform. An ASSOCIATED PRESS story from London said the R.A.F. flew two other young bandsmen home to give their parents a chance to talk them out of joining the sect.

LOUISIANA ACTS NEGATIVELY ON SCHOOLS AND CHILD AID The Louisiana Senate hastily passed this week a package of 29 bills in a desperate effort to prevent integration of New Orleans schools, ordered by a Federal court for Monday.

It also rejected a proposal to soften the 1960 legislative act that removed 23,000 children from the rolls for aid to dependent children.

The key anti-integration measure provides for legislative interposition between the Federal courts and the schools. Other acts give the Governor the right to close any school in the state ordered to integrate, and abolished the New Orleans School Board. Its powers were transferred to an eight-man legislative committee.

The bills also deny accreditation and free textbooks to schools that integrate, suspend school boards where schools are ordered to integrate, and deny promotion and graduation credits to pupils attending integrated schools.

The proposal on aid to dependent children would have declared that the act removing children from dependent rolls was not intended to be retroactive as was ruled by the state Attorney General.

A public hearing is scheduled in Washington Monday by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine whether all Federal funds for the Louisiana aid-to-dependent-children program should be cut off because of the law. Most of the children removed from the rolls were Negro, since the program largely aids Negro children.

(See Nov. 4 FOCUS story on staff reports by Lucy Carner and Dick Smith on the Louisiana situation.)

SANE COMMITTEE APPOINTS DR. JACK The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Inc., has named the Rev. Dr. Homer A. Jack national executive director. He had been associate director of the American Committee on Africa. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 11-7)

WORLD COUNCIL UNIT CITES AID TO 10,000 REFUGEES The World Council of Churches resettled nearly 10,000 refugees in the first nine months of 1960, it was reported in Buck Hill Falls, Pa., at a meeting of the administrative committee of the Council's Division of Interchurch Aid and Service to Refugees.

Of the total, the U.S. received 5,301 -- more than any other country -- through Church World Service, overseas relief arm of the National Council of Churches. Some 4,000 of those entering the U.S. are Dutch ethnic refugees from Indonesia who have been living in the Netherlands for the past few years.

Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler of Geneva, director of the Council's Service to Refugees, predicted that the WCC would resettle 14,000 refugees in 1961. (RNS, 11-1)

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OVER 1,000 QUAKERS STAGE PEACE WITNESS

Quaker peace pilgrims -- more than 1,000 of them -- descended on Washington Sunday and Monday, November 13 and 14, in witness to their belief in the futility of war. They set out from a downtown hotel Sunday morning and walked three miles to the Pentagon where they stood silently in testimony to their convictions. On Monday most of them returned to the Pentagon and repeated the vigil. Saturday and Sunday nights they heard talks by Samuel R. Levering and E. Raymond Wilson. They also saw the AFSC DocuDrama, "Which Way the Wind." Another activity was the prayer vigil at the Florida Avenue Friends Meeting House.

On Monday a busload of Friends traveled to the United Nations to present more than $30,000 in voluntary contributions to support technical assistance work in Africa. Also on Monday small groups visited the State Department, and the Soviet, British, and French embassies.

Twenty-six states, Costa Rica, and Canada were represented among the pilgrims. A total of 350 Quakers registered from Pennsylvania.

Overseers for the pilgrimage were far more successful than they anticipated. Advance speculations indicated the group would have been satisfied if 300 had participated. The registration office was snowed under with people and satisfaction as visitors poured in on Saturday afternoon.

REPORT SHOWS HOUSING BIAS STILL STRONG IN U.S.

More than 27 million members of minority groups in the United States still suffer to some extent from housing discrimination, according to a report issued by the Fund for the Republic.

The report, described as more extensive than any other ever undertaken in its field, comprises the final volume of a series of studies prepared by the Commission on Race and Housing. Entitled "Residence and Race," it was written by the Commission's director of research, Davis McEntire, who is professor of social welfare at the University of California.

Groups still suffering to some extent from housing discrimination, the author said, are 19,000,000 Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos; 2,500,000 Mexican-Americans; 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans; and 5,000,000 Jews.

"Discrimination is perhaps the leading unresolved domestic problem of the nation," Mr. McEntire declared, adding that housing segregation was a crucial aspect of the situation. "People who cannot freely choose where they will live are gravely hampered, not only in bettering their living conditions but also in their use of community facilities and institutions and in their participation in community life." (RNS, 10-31)

PEACE WINS NO NOBEL PRIZE In the 56 years of Nobel Prize awards (from 1901, omitting 1940, 1941, and 1942), the peace prize has gone unawarded 14 times, far more than the prizes for physics, chemistry, medicine and physiology, and literature. In six other years the award has gone to institutions, organizations, or official bodies, like the Institute of International Law, the International Red Cross of Geneva, and the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council (London). The lists of awards leave no doubt that among the five prizes the peace prize has presented over the years the most difficulty.

The inability of the Nobel Committee to make a selection this year reflects thus some problems that have existed for half a century. The committee could have made an award to some lesser, though worthy, worker for peace -- there are many such in the world -- and if the result would have been to crown someone little known to the world at large, that would not affect the validity of the choice. Most of the awards in the sciences are for men or women not well known outside their own scientific worlds.

What the decision against an award this year does most is to emphasize the lack of effective work for peace, or conceivably the inability of the committee to agree and its final decision not to agree...

Though Britain's Phillip John Noel-Baker received the prize last year, and Belgium's Rev. Dominique Georges Pire the year before, and Canada's Lester B. Pearson the year before that, and Gen. George C. Marshall, Albert Schweitzer, Ralph J. Bunche, and Cordell Hull in earlier years, the gap this year is a warning that no man stood out in 1960 and none who did not stand out seemed worthy of the award in such a year as 1960 was.

This is a solemn warning. In its quiet way it drives home the point deeper than the speeches of many public figures do. (Norfolk, Va., VIRGINIAN PILOT, 10-31)

STUDENT SIT-INS: THE SOUTH'S MOMENT OF TRUTH Lillian Smith, writing in the September PROGRESSIVE, thinks students involved in the sit-ins are saying:

> All of us -- white and Negro -- are dominated by white supremacy; all of us are crippled by segregation; all of us have lost our freedoms; freedom is like the air: we'll breathe this air, together, all of us -- or we'll suffocate. You can't segregate a hunk of it for white folks and then tell the Negroes there's none left for them. Freedom is not an object: freedom is a relationship that each man creates with his world; freedom is a dialogue between man and his God; freedom is the sacred ground on which the human spirit lives. It can't be divided up; it is ours, together, or it is nobody's.

PATERNAL SECURITY Hermann Roether sent along to FOCUS the following item which reflects on the extent to which security measures may be imposed on scientists at an American atomic installation. The item was published in the German press.

"The strict orders for secrecy for scientists at the American atomic center at Los Alamos also extend to family members. The birth certificates of newly born children of the atomic experts cannot mention any address but only the notice: Born in post box 1663."

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Nora Booth reported on the International Student Seminar held last summer in Leningrad in cooperation with the Communist Youth Organization. She said the Soviet seminar method is much more rigid than ours and that AFSC appointees to the seminar gradually adjusted themselves to the pattern. Planning with meticulous detail by the Soviets assured that every need was met and challenges the AFSC to provide similar settings and services for the seminar to be held in the United States in 1961.

She concluded that the seminar was a "tremendous learning process for both sides" and was an "actual act of communication -- though supremely difficult."

Barbara Hinchcliffe, new chairman of Staff Representatives, introduced Mrs. Helen E. Heydrick who appealed for support of the United Fund.

Personnel Announcements: George Anderson was assigned to a position as tape transcriber in general administration. He is from Orangeburg, S. C., and was dismissed from South Carolina State College because of participation in sit-in demonstrations. Amelia Thomas is a temporary typist in the personnel department.

SOUTHERN HIGHER EDUCATION SINCE 1938 A special edition containing a review of southern higher education with special reference to the admission of Negroes, 1938-1958, edited by Lewis W. Jones of Tuskegee Institute, appears in THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, February, 1959, published at New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

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In the southern states, "60 per cent of all 'white' public institutions, 41 per cent of all church-supported institutions, 28 per cent of the private, and 45 per cent of all (higher educational) institutions have been desegregated," Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina writes. Professor Johnson takes note of "integration in reverse," the tendency of white students to enroll in Negro higher institutions. More than 20 out of about 100 institutions for Negroes in the South have quietly accepted white students. "The big story" is that of West Virginia State College, where since 1954, an all-Negro institution has been changed into one with more than 1,000 white persons and more than 1,000 Negroes enrolled, "with whites having a slight edge numerically." "This interesting situation is the only one of its kind which has developed..."

Ninety-five per cent of the desegregation reported has taken place in the past ten years. Except for events at the University of Alabama "there was not a single instance of serious friction."

"White and Negro students have quickly learned new patterns of interaction." There are problems of adjustment, but "desegregation in the southern institutions is well on the way and, considering its tender age, remarkably successful."

M.A.R. INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: 1961 The Middle Atlantic Region of the AFSC will have its Institute of International Relations (with special programs for children, high school, and college groups) at Sunnybrook Camp and Conference Grounds, Echo Lake, in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, from June 23-30, 1961.

For further information write to Nick Paster, executive secretary of the Middle Atlantic Regional Office, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTION OF DR. UPHAUS The United States Supreme Court in a brief 6 to 3 per curiam (by the court) ruling denied a second hearing to Dr. Willard Uphaus, a Methodist layman and religious pacifist, who has spent 11 months in a New Hampshire prison for refusing to tell a state legislative committee about guests at his World Fellowship Center in that state.

The brief order, which upholds once again Dr. Uphaus's 1956 conviction for contempt of New Hampshire authorities, drew long and passionate dissents from Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black.

Chief Justice Earl Warren endorsed both dissents and associated himself with them.

Such dissents are almost unprecedented in a procedural matter in which the court's majority does not hand down a written opinion.

Dr. Uphaus's appeal was dismissed on the ground that it involved no Federal question, only one of New Hampshire law. The appeal maintained that since the Supreme Court's earlier decision in June, 1959, upholding the sentence, the New Hampshire legislature had deprived the state's attorney general of the power to seek this kind of information from the pacifist leader. The state courts had rejected this contention.

Justice Black, in the dissent which he read with obvious anger from the bench, said the prosecution of Dr. Uphaus was similar to history's example of the continued persecution of nonconformists.

He observed it now appears that the 69-year-old pacifist will face new contempt charges if he persists in refusing to disclose the names of persons who attended meetings at his center.

Denial by the Supreme Court of a new hearing to the pacifist "is a sad indication of just how far the court has already departed from the protection of the Bill of Rights and is an omen of things to come," Justice Black protested.

Justice Douglas, in his dissent, noted that the court has ruled that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People need not reveal its membership rolls to an Alabama investigating committee because this would open its supporters to harassment, and said he could not understand why the same doctrine did not apply to the World Fellowship Center. (RNS, 11-15)

"TREE OF LIFE" GIFT WRAPPINGS TO BENEFIT WORLD REFUGEES The United States Committee for Refugees is offering gift wrappings for sale, the proceeds to be used "to help the cause of refugees all over the world." Each set contains ten 20 x 30 sheets, printed with the Refugee Committee's "tree of life" symbol in a variety of colors. The cost is $1.50 per set, or four full sets for $5.00.

They may be ordered from the United States Committee for Refugees, 11 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N. Y.

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VOLUME V Number 39 December 2, 1960

PEACE PROGRAM GETS 'GO' SIGNAL FROM LAY COMMITTEE The Peace Education Program Committee gave approval for John Korty to finish a peace film on which he has been working for several months.

John Korty, audio-visual coordinator of Information Service, says the film would attempt to "develop a positive mood stronger than the negative one ... and be a testament to the potency of the human spirit in the face of oppressive odds." He showed the committee an early version of the film which incorporates extensive footage of the Quaker Peace Vigil held recently in Washington. Enthusiastic responses from the committee included suggestions for other kinds of witness projects that might be included.

Stewart Meacham, Peace Education Secretary, reported on his conversations this week in Hollywood about the possibility of a film version of Which Way the Wind. He talked with Don Murray, who is willing to act in the film; and with Steve Allen, and Robert Ryan, who expressed interest. Jayne Meadows was mentioned for the female role.

James Griffith, producer and actor in the current production of Which Way the Wind, reported on the fall tour which included about 30 engagements in the East, Middle West, and South. He said it was successful and was warmly received everywhere.

WHY A "PEACE CONGRESSMAN" LOST Representative Charles O. Porter (D.-Ill.) has an article in THE NATION, December 3, in which he attempts to explain by observations on his own campaign, why he and other "peace congressmen" lost in the November 8th election. The others are: Bill Meyer of Vermont, Byron Johnson of Colorado, Len Wolfe of Iowa, George A. Kasem of California, and Roy Weir of Minnesota, all Democrats.

Representative Porter lost to his Republican opponent, Dr. Edwin C. Durno, by fewer than 4,000 out of the 180,000 votes cast. In explaining his defeat he made the following points:

> In the first place, foreign policy issues are complex and remote from the experience of the average voter.
>
> Many voters probably didn't buy the smear-pot of Durno's choices, but they did agree that I had been very active in an area where they thought a congressman didn't belong.
>
> There was Durno's two-to-one edge in money.

Representative Porter said that the congressmen who were defeated "did what we thought was right and on election day, perhaps in 1962, we may give the voters a chance again to judge our qualifications to serve."

SYBIL MORRISON SPEAKS OF GOODWILL In her column in PEACE NEWS, November 25, Sybil Morrison has a column inspired by the recent launching of the United States Navy's first Polaris submarine whose commander says, "We shall be on a mission of goodwill for all who want goodwill and a mission of absolute destruction for all who want that too." The following two paragraphs closed her article:

> It is nearing the season that has adopted the word "goodwill" as its own, and in that field also it is apparent how much the word is debased. The church that is willing for its prelates to bless the hideous instruments of retaliation and death is far removed from the New Testament conception of "on earth peace, goodwill toward men."
>
> Never was a new approach more desperately needed, and if the Christian church will not, or cannot give it, then the pacifist movement must give the lead. War is vicious, immoral and outmoded; when it is renounced and abandoned, new ways to peace will be found, and goodwill and good will prevail.

QUAKERS ASK KENNEDY APPOINT PEACE SECRETARY President-elect Kennedy will have one extra Cabinet post to fill -- Secretary of Peace -- if he heeds a letter sent to him by a group of Quakers in Bernardsville, N. J.

The Somerset Hills Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends urged establishment of a Department of Peace as they wrote Kennedy: "We are concerned that there are too few people in our government actively planning for peaceful transition from an armed to a disarmed world, and for the development under the United Nations of a world system of order, justice, and freedom."

The Department, an independent agency, would "have the prestige and objectivity to research and develop plans which must precede accomplishments we most earnestly pray will be the fruits of your office," the Quakers wrote Kennedy. (RNS, 11-30)

NEW COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF LUKE In THE NEW YORKER for Nov. 26, "CEM" has a cartoon which shows an artist submitting to his boss a Christmas layout which is neatly lettered, "PEACE ON EARTH -- GOODWILL TOWARD MEN."

The boss comments: "I'm afraid of it, Barker. It's a little strong, and it could be misinterpreted."

IDDZIES AND ODDZIES: Nothing has been overlooked. Among the many instructions in a master air-raid manual available in Washington is this: "All funeral coaches must pull to the curb and stop when the siren sounds, although the occupants are not required to seek shelter." (SATURDAY REVIEW, 11-26)

A JUDGE COMMENTS ON THE RIGHT OF A DISSENTER City Court Judge Robert J. Burton dismissed disorderly conduct charges against the Negro parents who tried to enroll their children at an all-white New Rochelle, N. Y., school in September. In announcing his decision the judge said, "One of the most challenging questions of our time is how to preserve the right of the objector to reach the public market place of ideas... We must protect the right of the dissenter to reach the market even if to do so he must on occasion impinge upon good manners, good taste, and good judgment."

MONDAY MORNING STAFF MEETING Myrtle McCallin, director of School Affiliation Service, said that 60 students and 5 teachers are involved in the SAS Program this school year. A total of 34 students from the United States are abroad. There are 24 in Germany, 6 in France, 3 in England, and 1 in Mexico. In the United States this year are a total of 36 students. There are 22 from Germany, 9 from France, 2 from England, 2 from Japan, and 1 from Mexico.

The 5 teachers who are being shared this year with schools in the United States are from Southern Rhodesia, France, and Germany. One teacher from the United States is in Germany.

Plans for an exchange program with Russian teachers are being made, and it is hoped that the project will be started next spring, she said.

Myrtle McCallin said that 70 persons attended the International Teachers Conference held in Geneva last summer. The conference theme was "Children in the World of Today."

The United States Information Agency is receiving an increasing number of requests to develop a people-to-people exchange program for high school students, Myrtle McCallin said. In conversations with the representative of the USIA, School Affiliation Service has suggested that the National Education Association be involved in the program, and steps are being undertaken to achieve this goal.

Myrtle McCallin said that about 80 volunteers in the School Affiliation Service Program will attend a conference in Philadelphia and at Pendle Hill in January in order to become better acquainted with the AFSC and to get suggestions on how they may more effectively serve in their roles.

Sidonie Schafer, director of the Quaker International Centers Program, reported on her recent visit to projects in Europe. Her trip included visits to centers in Paris, Geneva, and Vienna.

At a conference of center directors and QIAR's the major concern was problems of administrative detail. She said she was impressed with the objectivity, the sense of unity, and the feelings of aloneness which she observed in members of the AFSC staff in these posts.

Sidonie Schafer observed an openness towards the evaluation of these programs, and the realization that their future must be considered not only from the point of view of their importance in the local setting but also of their relationship to the entire AFSC program.

Lola Wolford who, with her husband Orville, recently completed a year of work in Tunisia with Algerian refugees said that refugee conditions are now considerably improved over last winter. She said that about 80 milk centers are operating and the number will be increased to 100 very soon. Other multipurpose centers, soup kitchens, dispensaries, and mobile units are now servicing refugee needs.

She said sewing centers produce about 200 garments per week, and she described a distribution where about 800 items of clothing were distributed to refugee families. She said the challenge continues and among the needs are drugs, mobile health units, school supplies, and health kits.

NORMAN COUSINS SAYS THERE IS AN INTELLIGENCE GAP If we are concerned not about the appearance of security but the fact of security, then our concern should indeed be directed to the existence of costly gaps. The biggest of these gaps is not between the speed of the NIKE and the speed of an attacking missile, but between the general problem of security and the public understanding of the fundamental facts affecting that security.

There is still only a dim awareness that the concept of security through military power in an atomic age is itself unworkable. The United States has been arming prodigiously for ten years, yet we are more insecure today than when we began. The reason for it has less to do with what we have done or have not done than what others are doing. It makes little difference that our warehouses are full of nuclear bombs; if others also have the bombs we will be insecure. And when small nations come into possession of nuclear weapons -- and we must not rule out the possibility that Cuba may be among such nations -- the problem of American security, already critical, will become magnified many times.

If the intelligence gap is to be closed, then a powerful effort will have to be made to get across to the American people one stark, towering fact; namely, that true security today depends on the rigid control of force throughout the world rather than on the national accumulation of force. Yet our national purpose has not been welded to this objective. We have not fixed our gaze on the aim or dramatically marshaled our energies in that direction. The fact that the Soviet Union has been obstructive on this matter for so long has found us without ingenuity or vital alternatives. We have needlessly allowed ourselves to be dead-ended by the Soviet position. We have not invoked the increasingly visible power of world public opinion. We have not dramatized the issue in a way that might exert centrifugal force inside the Soviet Union itself. And the reason we haven't done so is that a substantial body of opinion does not believe that control over force is desirable even if it is possible...

As the American people consider this question, they may wish to ponder the fact that the quickest way for the United States to become a second-rate power is through the spread of nuclear weapons to a dozen or more other nations -- which is a certain by-product of a failure to establish a world ban on further nuclear testing. Conversely, the best way for the United States to retain its major status is to become the most powerful voice in the world for a structured peace -- a peace directed to the needs not of one nation alone but of the generality of men. (Norman Cousins in SATURDAY REVIEW, 11-12-60)

PENNIES FOR PEACE In an editorial on November 25, THE NEW YORK TIMES discussed the financial affairs of the United Nations and observed that member states are more than 37 million dollars behind in their dues and assessments. It referred to Secretary-General Hammarskjold's recent statement that the United Nations face the new year with a "virtually empty" treasury. Next came the following paragraph:

> Peace and security, as sought by the United Nations, are clearly expensive. Peace and security, as sought by national armaments, are infinitely more expensive. "Is it out of order," the secretary-general asked an assembly committee last Monday, "to remind the members of the fact that, according to estimates that have been quoted here in the Assembly this fall, current armament costs in the world amount to some $320,000,000 per day." It may be felt by members that the cost of peace is high, but indeed what is it in comparison to the cost for the preparation of war -- not to speak about war itself?

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LWD

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American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VI Number 15 April 21, 1961

SATIRE ON FALLOUT SHELTERS A sales pitch appeared recently in a newspaper for the new "Lancer Blast and Fallout Shelter," with prices beginning at $1,495. A SATURDAY REVIEW editorial, April 8, takes a satiric blast at the idea. Below are some excerpts from the editorial written by Mary Kersey Harvey.

> The Lancer can be purchased on easy installment payments, with financing by the Federal Housing Administration...will be paid for while the merchandise is not in use...payments cease when use commences, somewhat along the lines of cemetery financing.
>
> The Lancer will accommodate a family of six "in comfortable although close" quarters--"comparable in size to a small pleasure boat." It comes equipped with air intake, exhaust vents, and chemical toilet.
>
> A sturdy fiberglas tube, thirty inches in diameter, will enable the owner to crawl or slide comfortably from his basement into the Lancer at the sound of the alert (if he is at home when it goes off).

The writer commends the developer but worries about the probability of unplanned obsolescence when new models by other firms are put on the market which take into account the more advanced nuclear weapons. For example, she mentions the possibility of the present Lancer ventilation system drawing air from the outside and quickly converting "your permanent home" into a hot-air furnace, with air heated up to 1,000 degrees. Hence the need for a crash program by Lancer to develop a built-in oxygen supply for the next model.

She hopes the Lancer people can mass produce their product and pass the savings along to their customers as the price is already high for merchandise with such a rapid obsolescence rate.

VIRGINIA'S MASSIVE RESISTANCE Benjamin Muse, director of the Southern Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, has written a full history of Virginia's resistance to school integration. In the book, Virginia's Massive Resistance, he says that the collapse of the state's effort to prevent integration will be heeded by other Southern states, and will influence the actions of other political leaders. (Indiana University Press, $3.95)

NEW DIRECTOR HEADS SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL Leslie W. Dunbar will succeed Harold C. Fleming as executive director of the Southern Regional Council. Dunbar has been director of research for the Council. Fleming leaves the Council April 24 to become executive vice-president of the Potomac Institute being established in Washington to study constitutional issues.

RECONCILIATION: THE CHRISTIAN ANSWER TO EVIL The most important thing about Christian pacifism is that it should not be an isolated dogma but one aspect of an all-round effort towards a "saintly" way of life. A person who is "pacifist merely because of a dogmatic interpretation of 'Thou shalt not kill'" without relating this to his way of life will in most cases be a miserable failure in a sinful situation because he cannot act as a reconciler.

A reconciler must be concerned about and identified with the situation. He must understand the participants and be able to act in a way which is meaningful to them. This requires dedication and commitment and also an intense humanity, a feeling for the joy and sadness of other people's lives, an understanding of their hopes and fears. In other words, he must be something of a "saint." (Barrie Pittock in THE CANADIAN FRIEND, April 1961, reprinted from THE AUSTRALIAN FRIEND, Dec. 20, 1960.)

EVERYBODY'S PROTEST All Students--Anyone interested in picketing the John Birch Society this Saturday afternoon should call Karen Smith, IV 4-0471, after 3 p.m. today.

C. A. M. P. (Committee Against Misguided Picketing)--All members and prospective members interested in picketing those picketing the John Birch Society on Saturday, call Jim Perry, EL 4-0617.

All Students--C. R. A. P. (Committee to Repress Anti-Picketers). Students wishing to picket those who are picketing pickets please pick up your anti-picket packets at Leverett G-53, or call EL 4-5337. (A notice in THE HARVARD CRIMSON, April 14.)

28 STATES BAR DISCRIMINATION A nation-wide survey of civil rights legislation conducted jointly by two Jewish organizations has disclosed that 28 states now have statutes prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in public places.

Carried out by the legal divisions of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the study showed that 19 states have set up Fair Employment Practices Commissions, and that 5 states now ban discrimination or segregation in private housing.

According to the survey, civil rights legislation was under consideration in 28 state legislatures outside of the Deep South during the first three months of 1961. Principal civil rights issues now pending in state legislatures include discrimination in housing, public accommodations, employment, education, and racial designations on state licenses and certificates.

The two Jewish groups reported there are strong indications that additional civil rights legislation may be expected later this year, particularly in the field of housing. (RNS,3-26)

PEN PALS, ANYONE? Letters Abroad, Inc. is a clearing house for Americans and persons in other countries who wish to exchange letters. Anyone wishing an overseas name may write to the organization at 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. A self-addressed stamped envelope should be enclosed.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Richard McFeely and Joel Hayden, who returned the day before from Russia, reported on their trip which was taken on behalf of the AFSC School Affiliation Service.

Richard McFeely said that two of his strongest impressions were what appears to be the great belief of the Russian people in their system and their great emphasis on moral education. He explained that the latter was not based on any system of religious faith but was evidenced in their emphasis on the virtues of honesty, unselfishness, cooperation, and industry.

He said that a series of questions were often asked by the Russians. These included: (1) Do Americans want war? (2) Why do Americans want war? (3) Why are Negroes mistreated in the United States? (4) Why is there opposition to admitting mainland China to the U.N.? (5) Why do you have so many American bases around the Russian border? (6) What is your salary? (7) Why do not most women work in the U.S.? (8) Why is there so much unemployment in the U.S.? (9) Why is not higher education free in the U.S.? (10) Why do you not pay your students to go as we do?

The trip of McFeely and Hayden was arranged by the AFSC to "see whether more extensive and active affiliation between schools in the United States and the Soviet Union might be arranged." They visited Secondary School #1 in Moscow, which is a partner to George School. The Moscow institution specializes in the teaching of English, which is started at the second-grade level, and has about 900 boys and girls enrolled.

McFeely said the Russian boarding school system is organized to produce the collective individual for the collective society. Children enter at the age of seven and except for week ends and a month in the summer they live at the schools all the time. On week ends and in the summer when they go home they feel as though they are visiting in their own homes, he said.

McFeely told of the experiences they had at the customs office in Moscow where a careful check was made of the books they were bringing in order for the Russians to be assured that they were not bringing detective stories into the country. It was explained that they do not want their children to come in contact with stories of the use of force and violence.

The two men were guests of the Ministry of Education and had opportunity to visit ten schools which seemed to be good prospects for the School Affiliation Service. Although in the exchange of materials political or economic material will not be permitted, there will be an opportunity to exchange information about art, music, literature, poetry, and student projects, McFeely said.

In a report on plans for U.S. projects this summer Hermann Roether said two experimental projects will be repeated in Ypsilanti, Mich., and Lakeland, Ky. These will be Institutional Service Unit projects and participants will work on special assignments within the hospital with a select group of chronic patients and an effort will be made to see if they can be helped by special attention and eventually cured. A project in Chicago will combine community service jobs and work in industry, he said.

The high school work camp program has six projects planned. They will be held in Alviso, Calif.; Pine Ridge, Ky.; Lame Deer, Mont.; Mandaree, N.D.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Milwaukee, Wis. (continued on page 4)

Hermann explained that the 30-year history of summer projects has attempted to give young people a better idea of what service is. "I have been struck," he said, "by the great desire of young people, after they have lived on the college campus for a while, to give of themselves and help others."

U.S. TO EASE PLIGHT OF MIGRANT LABOR Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, has pledged a "united Federal effort" to improve working conditions for the nation's 400,000 migrant farm workers.

The Administration policy, Mr. Goldberg said, was undertaken with the full support of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

Mr. Goldberg emphasized Administration support for bills dealing with health, education, and child labor introduced by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., New Jersey Democrat and head of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

"The truth is," Mr. Goldberg said, "that the farm labor system is based on underemployment, unemployment, and poverty both at home and abroad. Even more shocking, public policy is directed toward the perpetuation of this system."

Mr. Goldberg said he might tour some farm areas to focus public attention "on the most depressed group on the American labor force."

Public understanding is essential, he said, if "any light is to be cast into the shadowy migrant world where poverty, privation, lack of opportunity, and illiteracy are the stuff of everyday life."

Every year, Mr. Goldberg said, 400,000 American farm workers are forced to migrate with their families in order to avoid either unemployment or low wages at home. Their average yearly income is under $1,000. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4-16)

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT HOUSE GROUP VISITS WHITE HOUSE President Kennedy sought advice on the Laos crisis from a student from that country recently but got only a quiet smile. He asked a Laotian student who was in the group from International Student House when they visited his office. The visit with the President was arranged in connection with celebration of the 25th year of the facility as a foreign student center in Washington. They were accompanied by Mrs. Robert Hale, chairman of the Citizens Council for ISH and wife of the former Representative from Maine.

The President told the group: "I don't think there's anything more important than the exchange of students. You benefit us by coming here. The Americans learn more from the exchanges than you do."

The house is sponsored by the AFSC, assisted by an International Student House Committee and a Washington Citizens Council.

NEW PLEA FOR PEACE A sign on a bulletin board in the Des Moines Y.M.C.A. says: "In World War III all men will be cremated equal. Pray for peace." (ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Abe Mooney

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VI Number 16 April 28, 1961

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Walter Taylor, national representative for the American Indian Program of the AFSC, announced the launching of a last-ditch effort to get an independent review of the proposal to build the Kinzua Dam in western Pennsylvania. The project is being undertaken by the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Walter Taylor is being loaned to the committee for several weeks to coordinate activity. (See reprint below.)

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 1961.

Critic at Large

Proposed Dam That Would Violate Treaty With the Senecas Poses Moral Question

By BROOKS ATKINSON

DURING the Presidential campaign, the Democratic candidate made this statement about his Indian policy:

"There would be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without the consent of the tribes concerned." He also promised that his Administration would "discharge its moral obligations to our first Americans."

But preparations carried forward from the previous Administration are already far advanced to dishonor the treaty that George Washington's deputy, Timothy Pickering, signed on Nov. 11, 1794, with the Senecas. Referring to certain lands in western New York and Pennsylvania, the deputy of our first President put the national seal to a promise that "the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneka nation." "Never," the treaty said.

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Next month, public hearings will be held by a House subcommittee on public works to consider the first major appropriation, $15,000,000, to build the Kinzua Dam on the Seneca Reservation. It would drown most of the lands the United States once promised that it would never claim. It would disturb about 800 Senecas by driving them from the lands their tribe has held for 167 years.

It would break a pledge made by the United tSates at a time when it needed the support of the Senecas against foreign enemies (very valuable in the War of 1812), and it would unilaterally scrap the oldest continuing treaty in the national archives.

No one in the government has faced the moral issue raised by this project. No one could without being ashamed. Numerous public spirited organizations and individuals have protested to members of Congress or to various departments of the Government. The replies have been uniformly bland. They say, as President Kennedy remarked on March 8 in reference to business of the last Administration, that the courts have ruled that Congress has the legal right to break a treaty—something that no one has doubted. Since Congress has authorized the Kinzua Dam and started to make appropriations for it, the letters conclude that no branch of the Government has a right to stop it now.

Like "a certain priest" and "likewise a Levite" who left a man half dead on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho and "passed by on the other side," so the various Government agencies pass by on the other side, hoping perhaps that no one will see them. For the moral question is one that no one dares face: Is the Kinzua Dam right or wrong? It is wrong.

In this shameful situation the Senecas have all the decency and goodwill on their side. They agree that a dam must be built in the Allegheny River to prevent floods in Pittsburgh and to conserve water. Acting on behalf of the Senecas, Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, a civil engineer with a long experience in flood control, has surveyed an area in western New York—called the Cattaraugus-Conewango project—which he believes will accomplish the same purpose more cheaply and effectively, using inferior lands, leaving the Senecas undisturbed and dislocating other people less ruthlessly.

He believed it would save the United States $100,000,000. He also believes that a Cattaraugus-Conewango dam will have to be built in twenty-five years in any case.

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The Senecas' request is modest. In a letter to President Kennedy, dated George Washington's Birthday, the President of the Seneca Nation of Indians, Basil Williams of Salamanca, N. Y., wrote:

"The Seneca Nation asks you, therefore, to make an independent investigation into the merits and comparative costs of the Kinzua Dam and Dr. Morgan's Cattaraugus-Conewango alternative, and that in the interim you direct that the work be halted on the authorized project."

When George Washington asked the Indians to meet with Timothy Pickering in Canandaigua, N. Y., to make a treaty, the Indians asked the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) to send delegates to advise them. Four Friends, two of whom kept journals, made the difficult journey, eight days long, through much wild country, and participated in the long negotiations.

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends is still in existence. At a meeting last Tuesday evening the members decided to undertake an emergency program to find some satisfactory solution to this episode in jobbery. The tradition of conscience is still alive among Friends.

Roscoe Giffin, director of the AFSC program on the economics of disarmament, reported on the seventh National Conference on World Disarmament and Development held recently in Washington. One area of agreement between conflicting points of view on disarmament admits, he said, that "to prevent war we must conduct our international relations so as to minimize the reasons that would lead any other nation to attack us."

Roscoe presented a summary analysis of the approaches which emerged at the conference representing the theory of "stabilized deterrence" and, on the other hand, "general and complete disarmament."

Advocates of the deterrence theory assume, he said, an attitude that is characterized by selfishness, distrust, separation, fear, and power politics and believe that hostile actions of other nations are a result of desire to dominate, conquer, and exploit.

These proponents of stabilized deterrence believe, he said, that their theory is only a possible means of survival and a step toward disarmament but will not eliminate the causes of international conflict.

In contrast the proponents of complete disarmament are motivated by attitudes of love, charity, brotherhood, trust, and agreements of mutual advantage. Other nation's actions, they contend, are caused by a series of interlocking and interacting pressures and relationships throughout the world. "They recognize," he said, "that complete disarmament will guarantee survival of humanity; it will not eliminate the causes of all international conflict, but will release resources for dealing with these issues."

Dick Hiler and Ray Hartsough added brief comments on side lights of the conference.

Personnel announcements: Frances Collins has been appointed geographic file clerk in the finance department. She has worked previously as supervisor of files in the X-ray department of Presbyterian Hospital.

Susan Kashman, a secretarial interne in the adult program of the Middle Atlantic office, was erroneously identified previously in FOCUS as a former student at Antioch College. She is now a student at the college and is working at the AFSC under the college "co-op" plan.

BIAS WILL DEPRIVE EDUCATIONAL UNITS OF TAX EXEMPTION Educational or benevolent associations discriminating against persons on account of creed, race, color, or national origin would lose their property tax exemption status under terms of a Wisconsin legislative bill introduced by Assemblyman Isaac Coggs (D.-Milwaukee).

The measure would affect hospitals, schools, and religious institutions. The discriminatory practice would have to be determined by a court of record. (RNS, 4-24)

'WHICH WAY THE WIND' TO BE FILMED Which Way the Wind will be filmed next week in the Hollywood studios of the CBS network. John Raitt, Marsha Hunt, and James Whitmore will be in the cast. The production will be directed by Lamont Johnson, who has agreed to donate his services.

EASTER WITNESS REPORTS CONTINUE TO ARRIVE Information received this week from Ralph Eames, general secretary of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, reports that Easter Witness projects were conducted in several Canadian cities.

Friends in Toronto combined with the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Social Action Committee of the First Unitarian Church, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in a Peace Walk through downtown Toronto. The walk ended with an address at City Hall by Rabbi Feinberg, chairman of the Toronto Committee.

About 700 persons participated in the walk and about 1,000 gathered at City Hall. Considerable press coverage was given the demonstration by three Toronto daily newspapers, Ralph Eames said.

Other demonstrations for nuclear disarmament were held in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg, Montreal, and Quebec.

PLAIN SPEECH IN PRESS RELATIONS A columnist in the Los Angeles EXAMINER was on the route covered by Elinor Ashkenazy as she peddled stories on the Easter Peace Witness project. He commented on the project in his column, describing it as a "futile gesture, probably, but at least a gesture." Then making a bow to Quaker humor he recounted that "an American Friends Service Committee lady named Elinor" came in and asked, "Is this grist for thy mill?"

THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC WITNESS The Des Moines REGISTER, April 6, editorializing on local and international demonstrations for peace commented: "Perhaps the real value of the Aldermaston marchers and their like is that they jog the rest of us into thinking a little more, as they sing:

A friendly little H-bomb
Is cruising overhead.
It's there to kill the Russians
When the rest of us are dead.

"One asset these enthusiasts do have: a feeling that they personally can do something about world affairs."

U.S. SUES TO FORCE OPENING OF PRINCE EDWARD SCHOOLS The U.S. Justice Department asked the Federal courts this week to force the opening of public schools in Prince Edward County, Va. Schools were closed three years ago to avoid desegregation, and white children are attending a system of private schools. About 1,700 Negro children have no schools. The AFSC relocated 47 of them last fall in 10 communities outside the South, and its program in the county is supporting local efforts to provide educational and cultural experiences through a system of centers throughout the county. It is estimated that more than 200 children are enrolled in schools outside the county.

The AFSC recently wrote to both the Attorney General and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare urging that they act to help get schools opened.

ARMS INSPECTION HELD UNESSENTIAL The Twentieth Century Fund published a report today of a study on "Strategy and Arms Control" in which it asserted that the problem of inspection was being overemphasized in most disarmament discussions.

The 148-page report did not deal directly with the question of inspection as it has developed in the talks in Geneva on banning nuclear weapon tests.

The Fund's report noted that inspection to ascertain compliance was merely one of the many problems in any arms control arrangement. It would be possible, under certain circumstances, to have an agreement "providing for no inspection at all" and leave it to the responsibility of each side to face possible exposure in case of violations, the report observed. This, however, is "an extreme philosophy," the authors of the report conceded.

The Fund's study was an outgrowth of a meeting last summer of physical and social scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The meeting was attended by many official advisers to government agencies. Among the participants was Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, now President Kennedy's scientific adviser.

The associate director of the Fund, Thomas B. Carskadon, said the report "has powerful support in Administration agencies." (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4-24)

A NEW FRONTIER IN EDUCATION A course in "Philosophy and Methods of Nonviolence" is being conducted at Howard University's School of Religion by William Stuart Nelson, vice-president of the University. Twenty persons, white and Negro, have enrolled. Stuart Nelson provides the following description of the course:

> The course is divided into four major parts: (1) the traditions out of which the Gandhian concept of nonviolence has come, including the Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and New Testament sources, plus the influence of Tolstoy and Thoreau; (2) the meaning of nonviolence, including a discussion of those qualities which enter into the concept of nonviolence as a way of life and of Satyagraha (the Gandhi Movement), looked upon as the aspect of nonviolence available for use in the removal of social evils which are not amenable to other forces such as the law, public opinion, persuasion; (3) the methods and effects of the use of nonviolence in India, Africa, and the United States; and (4) an evaluation of the possibilities in nonviolence as a way of life and as a force for the removal of social evils.

LOUISIANA PARISH VOTES TO CLOSE SCHOOLS St. Helena Parish (county) in Louisiana voted April 22 to close the public schools rather than integrate them. The vote was 1,147 to 57. Only four of the 4,700 Negroes living in the rural county were reported to have showed up at the polls for the first referendum under the state's local-option law.

The vote gives the St. Helena Parish school board the right to close the public schools. It also makes parish students eligible for individual education grants from the state for use in private schools. However the school board has promised not to close the schools before a Federal Court in New Orleans rules on the constitutionality of the law. (UPI, 4-23)

Alex Mooney

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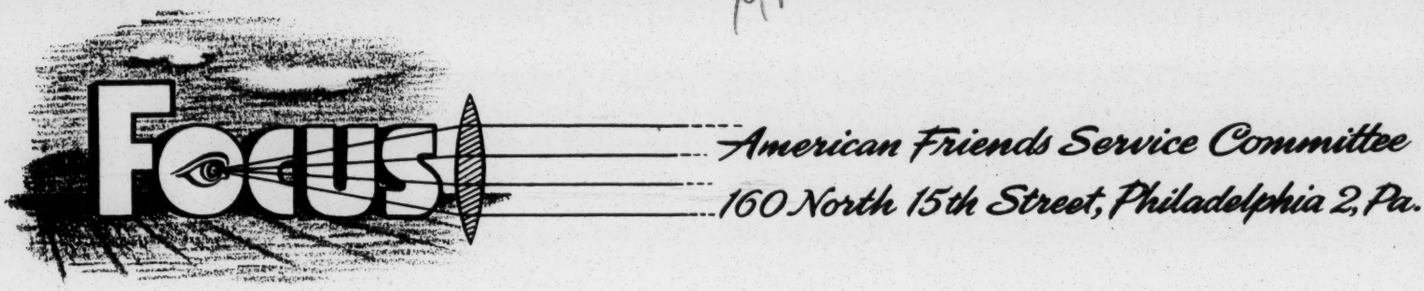

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CONSCIENCE PRODDERS ARE VANGUARDS OF FUTURE, BROADCASTER SAYS Edward P. Morgan commented on the "disheartening gap between a twinge of conscience and international action" in his April 5 broadcast. Here is his paragraph on public witness projects which had been conducted over the Easter week end:

> It could be that the week-end demonstrators at the Pentagon, the decriers of the arms race in London's Trafalgar Square, and the hikers en route to Scotland's Holy Loch to picket the Polaris missile submarine base are all vanguards of the future. The far future, no doubt, for men show no signs of rising fast above violent belligerence to settle their differences. And yet, civilization would probably be even more sluggish in its climb toward a higher world order if these protestants for peace, nuisance that they are to the police and pentagons of power, were not around to prod the conscience of peoples and governments.

WALK FOR PEACE AND BE HEALTHY An amusing and sympathetic article on peace walks in THE NATION (April 29) concludes:

> Finally, peace marches are bracing. They purify the blood, cleanse the spleen. They make you feel like a human being. Moreover, they remind you what lousy condition you're in. If you're too fat--and who isn't--what better way to get rid of fat?...That way we can get our bodies into almost as good condition as we hope our souls are in.
>
> But above all let's have peace.

The author, Wade Thompson, teaches at Brown University, and often contributes to THE NATION.

WALK FOR PEACE AND BE BEAUTIFUL Count Marco devoted his column in the CHICAGO AMERICAN, April 18, to excoriating the women in a recent peace walk. He said in part: "If the women I saw parading through the streets advocating peace are examples of what femininity is going to be in future years, I say drop the bomb right now!

"If these women simply had to parade to advertise a cause," he goes on, "how much more effective would it have been if they were all dressed in high fashion...A status symbol would have been established and other fashionable women would have been rallied to join... It would have added what you call 'tone' to the parade and indicated that the very best people really cared about the peace movement."

WAR CANNOT SOLVE ISSUES, DR. NOLDE TELLS CONFERENCE Issues which divide the world into "two armed camps cannot be resolved by war," Dr. O. Frederick Nolde of Philadelphia, director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, declared at Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

He made this assertion at the three-day annual meeting of the U.S. Conference for the World Council of Churches. The commission is a joint agency of WCC and the International Missionary Council.

Dr. Nolde, an international affairs authority, termed the application of the Russian Orthodox Church for WCC membership a "good thing in the context of our concern for world peace with justice and freedom." He expressed his desire that the application will command a "solid affirmative vote." The matter will be voted upon at the WCC Third Assembly, Nov. 18-Dec. 6, in New Delhi, India.

The churchman emphasized that recourse to nuclear warheads and guided missiles will not break today's impasse because "their contribution at best lies in mutual deterrence and their most constructive use will be found in balanced dismantling as soon as sufficient confidence makes that possible."

There is a "far better chance," he contended, that by "cementing personal and group relationships across all frontiers," conditions will be improved. He explained this was the attitude of WCC representatives when they insisted that delegates from Communist nations be admitted to this country for the WCC's 1954 assembly in Evanston, Ill.

"High officials in government have recognized that occasion as a first and major step in breaking the rigidity of United States policy on people-to-people relations. We face a similar situation today, but on a larger scale. While the problems may be tough, the stakes are high," Dr. Nolde declared. (RNS, 4-28)

A TIMELY TITLE FROM AFSC PEACE LITERATURE PROGRAM A new pamphlet produced recently by the Peace Education Division's peace literature program is Disarm to Parley by W. H. Ferry (16 pp., 20¢). The author of Alternatives to the Arms Race has developed the argument for unilateral disarmament presented there into a full-sized pamphlet. Steve Cary comments:

> "I think Disarm to Parley is by far the best statement of the case for unilateral disarmament that has yet appeared. The clever opening dialogue between Machiavelli and Khrushchev catches the reader's interest and makes him receptive for the solid argument that follows. While this pamphlet is no substitute for the serious analysis of the problems of power and world order that must be made before unilateral disarmament will be seriously considered, its reasonable and logical tone will open the mind of any thoughtful reader to the significance of the unilateral approach. This is the pamphlet's great contribution: unilateralism is not utopian, but a serious alternative. An added strength is that Ferry knows how to use the English language, an all-too-rare virtue in the pamphleteering field."

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Dan and Hope Murrow reported on the Friends Neighborhood Group project in East Harlem, New York. They are directors of the project which was organized in 1958 to work with residents of a Spanish-speaking district.

Eight to twelve postcollege-age young people who live in the area help develop programs for neighborhood residents.

Hope Murrow said one of the first undertakings was the help rendered to a group of former gang leaders who wanted to stop feuding with each other. The council formed by the gang leaders has helped eliminate fighting and directed the group into constructive efforts. One of their new interests is a theatre which produces spontaneous plays which satirize gang movies and other aspects of New York life.

A group of former drug addicts works with younger persons whom they try to help avoid the affliction.

The warm reception given the FNG workers was reflected in Hope's story of the shower given there on the eve of the birth of their first child, Claudia. The winsome young child provided amusing competition as she jabbered and rambled around the Meeting House during her parents' reports.

Dan Murrow told of an intercultural work-camp project which does renovation projects in the neighborhood. The experiences of participants have helped them understand their common needs and removed some of the misconceptions about persons of other cultures. Some of the work done for pay by boys who have dropped out of school builds new confidence in their ability to do useful tasks despite literacy inadequacies.

Steve Cary reviewed recent deliberations in the national office regarding the crisis in this country's relations with Cuba. Concern for the problem has been expressed through several channels with the hope that, at the least, a "cooling off period" would be observed by the two nations. Steve said a "position paper" was being prepared and would be distributed to AFSC offices this week.

MAN: THE MAJORITY OF ONE In her April newsletter WINDOW ON THE WORLD, Mary Weik of the American Federation of World Citizens writes:

> The basic problem, now as always, is man himself. How much more helpful it would be, rather than wasting time on study of the brutal Nazi and Fascist systems, to examine instead the conditions and attitudes that produced the citizens of those times--men and women very much like ourselves--who could stand silently by, immersed in their own affairs, their own comfort and safety, and allow such denials of justice to grow, without protest, within their governments.
>
> For the world's mightiest problems of war and oppression...are only a multiplication of one man's loneliness, one man's frustration, from which another turned away in silence, without compassion. Not on groups of men in government, but on citizens like ourselves rests the real responsibility for progress and for peace. God created man, not men, said André Gide; and of the two, man is infinitely the more important.

THE SOUTH'S LAST STAND Anthony Howard, writing in the April 13 MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, comments on some of the doings of the past few weeks in the South which has been "basking in a nostalgic reverie" as it commemorated the centennial of the Civil War. The writer suggests that an important political aspect of the centennial has been "the obvious, if camouflaged, attempt to dissociate it entirely from the South's own present guilty secret. That secret, of course, is that seven years after the Supreme Court's unanimous decision declaring segregation unconstitutional, in the kernel of the Confederacy very little--if anything at all--has been changed."

Continuing his assessment of the past seven years he thinks that the resistance to desegregation is "a by-product of the general American tendency to regard the formal letter of the law as merely a means of appeasing moralists and reformers; somehow once the edict has been promulgated it is looked upon as rather tedious and uncompromising for the legal victors to insist that it should be enforced." He then tells of an advertisement inserted in a Memphis newspaper by members of the Negro community which was deliberately designed to read as if the Civil War had been won by the South. It proposed the annexation of Memphis to the United States of America. "We have heard," its signatories declared, "that America is a country which believes that her citizens are endowed with certain inalienable rights, that it is a nation for all men and women regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

The writer said it may have appeared as a joke in Memphis but he doubted if it could "have raised a ghost of a smile in the White House" since President Kennedy "must by now surely be aware that in celebrating its past, the American nation may well be in some danger of forfeiting its future."

HUMAN RELATIONS AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL The creation of a Federal Intergroup Relations Service within the proposed Department of Urban Affairs is urged by Senator Phillip A. Hart (D-Mich.). Writing in the COMMITTEE REPORTER, March 1961, (publication of the American Jewish Committee), the senator observes that in the past 20 years some 70 cities have created official commissions on intergroup or human relations. Some 25 states also have such agencies. This concept is growing, so that even in the South many communities have set up interracial study committees.

A federal intergroup relations unit could function as a national service bureau for local, state, and regional agencies, he said, and with smaller communities which do not have their own intergroup committees. Such a unit could serve as information clearing house and provide badly needed consultative services. It could gather facts and stimulate research.

He concluded, "If ever there was an illustration of what is meant by a 'New Frontier' here is one and the opportunity for action is at hand."

QUAKER CONFERENCE AT SWANWICK At a recent annual meeting held at Swanwick, 180 peace workers from all parts of Britain heard proposals for a nation-wide Quaker demonstration in support of unilateral disarmament and war on want. As a result of the discussions, a call may be issued to all British Quakers to gather for a day-long peace vigil. (Reported in PEACE NEWS, 4-21.)

Alex Moseley

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VI Number 18 May 12, 1961

MF

OSLO CONFERENCE URGES BAN ON ATOMIC ARMS An appeal for a treaty aimed at halting the spread of nuclear weapons was made in Oslo, Norway, by 60 scientists, philosophers, and other scholars from 15 countries.

The action, in which Russians and Americans joined, came at the close of a five-day conference organized by Dr. Linus C. Pauling and his wife. The session ended on the eve of the opening in Oslo of a meeting of North Atlantic Treaty Organization foreign ministers.

Without mentioning the alliance by name, the conference called for quick negotiation of a treaty that would bar NATO from ever becoming a nuclear power.

The scientists and scholars urged "that the present nuclear powers immediately bind themselves by treaty not to transfer nuclear weapons to other nations or groups of nations." They asked "that all nations not now possessing these weapons commit themselves to refrain from obtaining or developing them." How this could be done was not specified.

Listed among the sponsors of the conference were Mrs. Cyrus S. Eaton, Robert M. Hutchins, Lewis Mumford, Philip Noel-Baker, Alan S. Paton, Bertrand Russell, and Albert Schweitzer. They were not present. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 5-8)

U.S. URGED TO SEE MAJOR ARMS CUTS The American Assembly recommended this week that the United States press for reduction of all kinds of armaments and armed forces "to substantially lower levels--in controlled stages."

It warned however that such comprehensive disarmament would create new tensions and dangers unless it was accompanied by "far-reaching changes in the prevailing political climate and pattern of political behavior, including fundamental change in the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and Communist China."

The Assembly, in its report dealing with a number of phases of disarmament problems, endorsed the re-establishment of a United States disarmament agency "on a semiautonomous basis, reporting to the Secretary of State with direct access to the President."

Sixty leaders of public opinion and disarmament experts, including some government officials met at Arden House in Harriman, N. Y., to discuss possible revisions in United States disarmament policy under the Kennedy Administration.

The American Assembly, affiliated with Columbia University, holds two meetings a year at which leading figures in business, government, academic circles, and other fields discuss issues of public interest. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 5-8)

KINZUA DAM PROJECT GETS EDITORIAL SUPPORT The recently launched last-ditch appeal for an independent review of the Kinzua Dam project got editorial support in the Buffalo COURIER-EXPRESS on April 25. The project was launched by the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends and Walter Taylor, national representative for the AFSC American Indian Program, is on loan to coordinate the project.

The COURIER-EXPRESS editorial was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 27 by Thaddeus J. Dulski, a New York congressman. It was based on a news release prepared by Walter Taylor. The editorial said in part:

> President Kennedy is confronted with many problems more grave than that of the Indians living along the Allegheny. But we submit that no U.S. obligation is more solemn or more demanding of his thoughtful attention as Chief Excecutive than the treaty of 1794 by which the Senecas assured a struggling new government of their support when they were being wooed by a foreign power to harass the United States.
>
> These times and the intervention of the Society of Friends surely are auspicious in the Indians' behalf. Foreign powers again strive to destroy us. And entry of the Society of Friends into the Kinzua controversy should call to mind with a stab of conscience for every other honorable American a celebrated picture: Benjamin West's painting of William Penn, the Quaker, treating with the Indians for the peaceful settlement of the Colony of Pennsylvania. Unilateral abrogation of the 1794 treaty will mock all such recollection of our American heritage.

TWO NEW BOOKS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS Two books recently published will be of interest to persons who are concerned about the problems of the American Indian. One is American Indians by William T. Hagan, professor of history at North Texas State College. The book sells for $4.50 and is published by the University of Chicago Press. It is a history of the relationship between white man and Indian and concludes with a review of what has been done in the last 60 years to redress old wrongs and suggests that the emergence of a Pan-Indian movement from the cultural remnants of tribal living holds out hope that, if allowed to proceed at his own pace, the Indian will one day enter the main stream of American life.

Through special arrangements copies of the book are available for $2.00 each from Sol Tax, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago 37, Ill.

Indians and Other Americans is the title of the other book. It is written by Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle and published by Harper and Brothers, $3.75. Through the courtesy of the National Congress of American Indians, copies of the book may be purchased through Walter Taylor, national representative of the AFSC American Indian Program. It is also a historical survey of our relations with American Indians and is described as "a quick resource of information and a call to appropriate action."

U.S. URGED TO BAR CUBA AID Seventy professors and writers have urged that the United States "give no further support for the invasion of Cuba by exile groups." They stated their convictions in an open letter to President Kennedy published as an advertisement in THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 10.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Jim Bristol reflected on a recent conference of the Student Peace Union held at Oberlin College. He was an observer for the AFSC. Jim was enthusiastic about the "forward-looking young people" who attended the conference which grappled with issues including disarmament, Cuba, and Laos. Many of the participants had been involved in protest demonstrations. One group registered late because they were in a civil defense protest at the Oberlin, Ohio, post office where the mayor of Cleveland had been "evacuated" during the nation-wide drill.

A number of the attenders supported what they describe as "dis-affiliation with the draft." They either do not register or if they do may later turn in their draft cards.

The conference called for "unilateral initiatives" toward disarmament. This position does not support unilateral disarmament, Jim said, but contends that certain steps can be taken such as the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. A resolution asking such "unilateral initiatives" was passed by the conference.

Telegrams were sent to President Kennedy insisting that the United States avoid military intervention in Cuba and Laos.

Nora Booth said that the Cuba crisis had forced the cancellation of a seminar for diplomats that was to be held two weeks ago at Capon Springs, W. Va. The theme would have been "The Role of Diplomacy in a Disarmed World." It will be rescheduled next fall.

Three Conferences for Diplomats will be held in Europe this summer, she said. One will have 16 young diplomats from Asian, Middle Eastern, and African countries who have been in training under the aegis of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace in New York and Geneva. Another conference is being arranged for journalists who will discuss the role of the press in reducing tensions.

International Student Seminars will be held in England, Yugoslavia, Vienna, and West Germany, Nora said.

The Conferences and Seminars Program is recruiting African participants and hopes to bring eight to ten persons from Africa to participate in seminars in Europe this summer. Nora said that Russell Johnson is traveling in eight Southeast Asia countries making contacts for seminars planned in that area. A Conference for Diplomats is to be held in Asia next fall, she said. Two student seminars will be held in Japan and about 25 persons from other Asian countries are expected to participate.

BACKGROUND ON CUBA: AN AFSC PAMPHLET Understanding Cuba is the title of an AFSC pamphlet published last winter, which provides interesting background on the Cuban situation. Hiram Hilty's report to the AFSC Latin-American Committee after his visit to Cuba last summer forms the first part of this pamphlet. An article by Herbert Matthews of THE NEW YORK TIMES is the second item. His analysis of the U.S. Government's relations with Cuba since Castro came to power is particularly significant in the light of the present crisis. The pamphlet sells for 30 cents and was published by the AFSC Peace Education Division's literature program.

MORE ABOUT AFRICA John B. Oakes, recently elevated editor of the editorial page of THE NEW YORK TIMES has a new book, The Edge of Freedom, published by Harpers. The following paragraphs are from the review in THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 2:

> We read an incredible amount about the unity of Africa. But Mr. Oakes found, on his travels through it, that the emphasis needed to be laid on its dramatic contrasts, its variety, its complexity:
>
> "Africa," he writes, "is not a unit in any sense: neither geographic, climatic, racial, cultural, linguistic, nor historical. There are only Africas, vaguely defined by the points of the compass: North, South, East, and West, alike only in their immensity and their emptiness.
>
> "Even within these Africas," he continues, "each huge enough to be a subcontinent in itself, there is no uniformity of terrain, of language, of custom, of civilization.
>
> "Algeria is as different from the Congo as Canada is from Brazil--and, incidentally, the distance from Algiers to Elisabethville is about as great as that from the St. Lawrence to the Amazon. For over 5,000 miles this enormous continent stretches from the Straits of Gibraltar to Port Elizabeth."
>
> Instead of helping themselves to Africa, this book suggests, the time has come for other nations to help the Africans, standing on the perilous edge of freedom.

ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW ON PACIFISM Sidney Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, has a letter in the May 2 NEW YORK TIMES in which he declares that the growth of pacifist propaganda will damage the free world's will to resist. He concludes his argument with the following paragraph:

> The tragic aspect of the situation is that it is the pacifist movement which tends to limit our choice to the dread alternatives of surrender or war. The stronger it becomes, the greater will be the temptation of the Kremlin to embark upon adventures which may provoke war. For it is unlikely that if and when the Kremlin strikes at a vital part of the Western world the freedom-loving peoples of the world will choose the infamies of survival at all costs to heroic resistance.

FRENCH ATTACK MOROCCAN TOWN THAT HAS AFSC CENTER A story in THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 8, reported on a French shell attack on the mining town of Bou Beker in Morocco, across the Algerian border.

Three weeks ago the AFSC's Algerian Refugee Program in Morocco opened its fourth center in the Oujda area at Bou Beker. Classes are held there for women who are taught sewing, knitting, and other useful skills. Another new pilot project, scheduled to open this month, is a workshop for 16 boys who will be given instruction in simple carpentry, masonry, electricity, and auto mechanics. If successful it will be enlarged to accommodate a larger group of boys.

Alex Morrison

MF

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BLACK MUSLIMS: SYMPTOM OF A DISEASE

In his book, The Black Muslims in America (Beacon Press, $4.95), C. Eric Lincoln, professor of social philosophy at Clark College in Atlanta, observes, "The American conscience is like a Georgia mule drowsing under a mulberry tree: it will twitch where the fly bites; now here, now there, and so to sleep again."

Dr. Lincoln sees this lethargy as America's problem and suggests that America has not "been stung in a tender enough spot in recent times." He thinks the Black Muslims will find such a spot and if they do, we may all be benefited by the smarting. He writes:

> In several important ways the Muslims tend to strengthen the dignity and self-reliance of the Negro community. They are proving dramatically that a new, positive leadership cadre can emerge among the Negroes at the grass roots level....
>
> Finally the very existence of the Muslims--their extreme black nationalism and their astonishing growth and vitality--is functional to the extent that it forces the larger, Christian community to face the reality of racial tensions, to acknowledge its own malfeasance and to begin a spiritual and moral reform.... But they are deeply dysfunctional in the most immediate sense.... Calm heads might see the Muslims as a timely warning; jittery and frightened men are more likely to lash back in an unreasoning and potentially explosive panic....
>
> The meaning for America is clear. We must attack the disease (of racism and discrimination), not its symptoms. When we have done so with the determination and moral conviction so brutal a problem deserves, there will be no Black Muslims. There will be no need for them. And America will be a better place for us all.

BLACK MUSLIMS: THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

Reviewing Eric Lincoln's book, Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York, writes in SATURDAY REVIEW, May 13:

> The other subtle theme that permeates this book and again reflects the dilemma of the author is his plaintive appeal to white Americans to resolve the problem of racial hatred before it destroys our society. It would be easy to interpret these appeals as either special pleading or another example of a Negro begging for acceptance as a human being by those who refuse or are unable to grant him this minimal dignity. Mr. Lincoln, however, uses the additional strategy of demonstrating that the hatred engendered by the Black Muslims is not merely the mirrored image

(continued on page 2)

of the racial hatred of whites but is an extreme and virulent form of the disease that could become a social plague. He argues implicitly that if for no other reason than enlightened self-interest and the need to control the destructive potential of the Black Muslims, whites themselves should insist upon a society dominated by racial justice. He does not come to grips with the disturbing fact that the need for the elimination of American racism existed prior to, and is independent of, the Black Muslims' organized racism.

The Black Muslims now confront America. At present they bring to this confrontation their intense hatred for whites; a search for a positive identity, which is denied them in their interaction with whites; a generally quiet but at times strident exploitation of the residual resentment of the masses of Negroes; ambiguity of methods and goals, and a pattern of internal and external stresses and tensions. The gnawing and persistent challenge of the present Black Muslims or their successors cannot be met by the protective cliches and stereotypes of the past. The Black Muslim movement has dramatized the moral bankruptcy of "moderation"; the hypocrisy of advice to the Negro that he be patient in the face of continued and arbitrary racial injustices; the futility of the verbalizations of love in the face of indignity and stigma and despair.

The cumulative effect of this book is the tragic recognition of the fact that the Black Muslims are honest, even though inconsistent and ambiguous. Unfortunately, the essence of their honesty is that they dare to express the psychological reality that hatred, not love, is the child of hatred.

ANOTHER BOOK BARGAIN In the May 12 issue of FOCUS there was a report of two new books on the problems of American Indians. A discount price of $2.00 was announced on the book, American Indians, which is available from Sol Tax, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago 37, Ill.

The other book, Indians and Other Americans, may be secured by AFSC staff members for $2.00 from Walter Taylor, national representative of the AFSC American Indian Program, through the courtesy of the National Congress of American Indians.

THE COW THAT TRIED TO FLY There are those who believe that in Cuba the attempt to fight fire with fire would have succeeded if only the President had been more ruthless and had had no scruples about using American forces. I think they are wrong. I think success for the Cuban adventure was impossible. In a free society like ours a policy is bound to fail which deliberately violates our pledges and our principles, our treaties and our laws. It is not possible for a free and open society to organize successfully a spectacular conspiracy.

The United States, like every other government, must employ secret agents. But the United States cannot successfully conduct large secret conspiracies. It is impossible to keep them secret. It is impossible for everybody concerned, beginning with the President himself, to be sufficiently ruthless and unscrupulous. The American conscience is a reality. It will make hesitant and ineffectual, even if it does not prevent, an un-American policy. The ultimate reason why the Cuban affair was incompetent is that it was out of character, like a cow that tried to fly or a fish that tried to walk. (Walter Lippmann in WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL, 5-12)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Jim Bristol, reverting to a previous role as a "pitchman" for peace literature, surprised many staff members by introducing AFSC author Ed Wright, whose book, Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War, has been reprinted. The volume is a Perpetua Book published by A. S. Barnes Company, Inc., New York ($1.95).

Ed Wright wrote the book for his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Pennsylvania and it was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1931.

The following paragraph on the cover describes the book: "The term 'conscientious objector' was not in use during the Civil War, but the concept certainly existed. This engrossing volume is an authoritative, thoroughly researched study of the whole problem of objection to warfare on religious or moral grounds, as it existed during the Civil War. The author covers five major areas: the types of individuals and which religious denominations were actually opposed to the war on conscientious grounds; what efforts were made on behalf of objectors and what changes took place in their political status; the number of objectors; and, finally, a comparison of the problem of conscientious objection in the Civil War with the same problem as it existed for the United States during the first World War."

In a closing paragraph of the volume Ed Wright concludes:

> From all that has been said in this and preceding chapters the conclusion is inevitable that only those persons whose scruples against war are deeply rooted can hold out against military authority. In the Civil War and World War the individuals who lacked the courage of their convictions were inevitably absorbed by the powerful military machine. No one is wise enough to estimate the effect which these courageous consciences of the past have had on the power of war. Too often the objector's stand has not been taken against the military system until war was a grim reality. Always the objector has been a member of a small minority, a lonely person struggling apparently against tremendous forces. Through his loneliness, however, he has learned to think, and to act independently. From certain standpoints his struggle has been a negative one because he has objected to a military system which the majority has accepted, or at least tolerated. Perhaps from being an objector to a system which he cannot condone he can become a projector of his own ideas regarding the stupidity of war. Perhaps the time is not far distant when most people will learn to "live in the virtue of that life and power" which will take away the occasion for wars.

Pat Hunt made a progress report on the Voluntary International Service Assignments program which expects to have 50 volunteers overseas by the fall.

Harry and Lois Bailey will begin duties as VISA field directors in Tanganyika about June 1 where 12 young people will be assigned. Harry Bailey is a former chairman of the executive committee of the AFSC Pasadena office.

Tom Clagett, field director in India, is already in that country visiting institutions where volunteers will be working, she said. Six volunteers will be assigned

(continued on page 4)

to neighborhood centers in Germany and two will work in urban development in Pakistan. One volunteer will be assigned in human relations in Louisville, Ky. Village development and public health work will be done by six persons assigned to Guatemala.

Orientation sessions for appointees will be conducted at Pendle Hill before the young people go abroad and other orientation will be arranged after they arrive at their posts.

Mary Lib Flock reported on the School Affiliation Service Conference held recently at Schwenksville and attended by exchange students, teachers, and host parents. Represented at the conference, she said, were schools which recently entered the program and some with long experience in it. Their reports indicated that a variety of activities are being conducted which include international weekends and planning for the visit of a delegation of students from a German partner school.

DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM: A CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT Extremist anti-Communist organizations "teach us how to go around like beagle hounds with our noses to the ground and our tails swishing patriotically in the air, vainly trying to scare out Communists," said the Reverend Raymond T. Bosler, editor of the INDIANA CRITERION. Speaking at the biennial convention of the National Council of Catholic Men, held in Pittsburgh this month, he went on to say:

> Communism exists: 1) because Christians have not recognized the social implications of the Gospel; 2) because Christians have been nationalistic instead of internationally minded; 3) because the wealthy Christian states have not shared their riches and know-how with less fortunate nations; 4) because the wealthy landowners in so-called Catholic countries have refused to recognize the obligation in social justice to share their wealth with the poor living all around them; and 5) because those who bear the name of Christ have failed to see Christ in the Negro, the Chinese, the Mexican.

He concluded, "If you are tempted to join one of these anti-Communistic organizations, resist the temptation. Turn your zeal and energy into positive action against Communism...(and) attacking the evils of segregation and discrimination. Prove to the rest of the world that democracy can work and that Christianity can be lived to the fullest." (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 5-8)

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In the April 7 issue of FOCUS we commented on an article by Nathan Glazer which appeared in the April issue of COMMENTARY magazine under the title, "The Peace Movement--1961." Some of Glazer's comments referred to the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

In the FOCUS report we said that Robert Gilmore and Linus Pauling resigned from the national board. Gilmore was a member of the national board, but Pauling was a member of the board of sponsors. Both did resign; however, there were no others who resigned.

Homer Jack, executive director of SANE, advised that "because of what Glazer found out about SANE, he is now a national board member!"

Alex Moiseev

JM
SM-file

FOCUS
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DEBT REMOVED FROM FRIENDS HOUSE IN MEXICO "The May news letter of the Mexican Friends Service Committee (Comité de Servicio de los Amigos) announces that the final payment has just been made on the loan which made possible the purchase six years ago of the Casa de los Amigos in Mexico City. Friends House in Mexico has taken on the proportions of an International Friends Center in recent years. It provides comfortable and reasonable overnight accomodations for visiting Friends as well as for hundreds of volunteers who participate each year in the Friends Service Units in Mexico. There is also an active young people's program in the Casa in which students of the University of Mexico and others plan their social and community service activities. The American Friends Service Committee rents two offices in the building and Friends Meeting is held there each Sunday morning."

N.C. QUAKER GROUP VOICES CONFIDENCE IN AFSC The New Garden Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends went on record here as expressing "confidence"in the American Friends Service Committee, worldwide Quaker welfare agency, which was "disclaimed" recently by another Quaker group in North Carolina.

Composed of eight Friends Meetings in the state, the New Garden group said it "would like to express to everyone our confidence in, and reaffirm our faith in, the integrity and Christian character of the leaders of the AFSC and in the general purposes of that organization."

"Mistakes have probably been made -- who has not made them?", it said. "But we believe those whom we know in the AFSC to be men of true patriotism, high courage and good will."

Earlier the High Point Monthly Meeting of Friends had adopted a resolution disclaiming "any credit or responsibility -- either expressed or implied -- for actions of the committee." (RNS, July 14.)

QUAKERS BRING NEGRO, WHITE STUDENTS TOGETHER IN ATLANTA The Society of Friends (Quaker) has arranged a series of get-togethers for white and Negro students who will attend school together in Atlanta this fall.

The 10 Negro students who have been screened by the Atlanta Board of Education for admission to hitherto white schools were invited by the Friends to gatherings at which white students from the same schools were present.

John Youngblut, director of programs at Quaker House, said the meetings have been held in the hope "something constructive could be done to improve understanding between students of the two races." (RNS, July 17.)

THREE LITTLE WORDS: ALL, HERE, AND NOW An editorial in THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, June 28 examines the current Negro protests and its objectives. The writer observes that the "power of the method when it is applied in a society which gives even lip service to Christian faith should not be underestimated." The following are excerpts from the editorial:

> Toward what does the "deadly earnestness" of the Negro's nonviolent action move? What are the objectives of his warfare? The question can be answered in three little words. The first word is all. The Negro moves now on a wide front to acquire all that belongs to him as a U. S. citizen. Until now he has had to be content with winning a little here and a little there, probing for the soft spots in the white man's resistance. But small successes by invigorating the Negro's confidence have moved total success into view. He no longer struggles for a pittance but for the whole gamut of those rights which belong to a free people.
>
> The second word is here. The Negro is tired of running, tired of seeking--often vainly--in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York or Los Angeles what he is denied in Jackson, New Orleans, Montgomery. He wants all and he wants it where he is. But an increasing number of southern Negroes are convinced that the shortest route to justice for the whole of their people is not the migration of a privileged few to uncertain reception elsewhere but the radical restructuring of the racial laws and customs of the South. So the militantly nonviolent Negro, North and South, is saying, "We want all that belongs to us and we want it here."
>
> The third word is now. The law's delay has compelled the Negro to move in nonviolent action beyond the tedious and restrictive processes of southern courts. He knows that the southern segregationists can retreat from court to court, from county to county, in a delaying technique which postpones for decades the granting of full citizenship to the Negro. Therefore the Negro through sit-ins and freedom rides leapfrogs local laws and prejudiced local courts on his way toward civil rights which national laws have assured him. The Negro has waited 100 years for his proclaimed emancipation to become a reality. He is no longer in a waiting mood. He wants all that belongs to him and he wants it here and now.
>
> A revolution is under way in this country. Beginning in the South, it may spread wherever injustice reigns. How long it will last and whether it will be peaceful depends on the dedication and discipline of Negroes, on the willingness of the white South to surrender repressive customs and nullify oppressive laws, on the capacity of the American people to recognize in time how urgent it is that all Americans be permitted to rise to the full dignity of liberty and equality.

NSBRO ASKS UNIFORM POLICY ON CO'S The National Service Board for Religious Objectors has appealed to the Department of Defense to establish uniform policies among the branches of the armed forces regarding the discharge of men who become conscientious objectors after entering military service.

The Navy and Air Force have uniform policies covering such discharges, but the Army permits individual courts-martial to decide whether a discharge should be ordered or military penalties applied.

The NSBRO pointed out that "one of the functions of that Department (of Defense) is to establish appropriate uniformity in the policies and practices of the three military departments under it." (RNS, July 14.)

THE THIN RED-WHITE-AND-BLUE LINE "If I have learned any one lesson in travels through four continents it is that the United States has spread not only its money but more obviously its trained personnel, techniques, and concepts far too widely and therefore far too thinly," Eric Sevareid wrote in the Philadelphia BULLETIN, June 25. He said, in part:

> This has happened gradually, over the years, in the absence of a carefully defined strategy, and as policies and policy-makers have come and gone.
>
> Many critical areas have experienced newly arrived Americans endlessly duplicating the interests of present or departed Americans. They represent different agencies of government, foundations, universities, religious societies and a legion of cause groups.
>
> The thin red-white-and-blue line of our prestige can only thin out to the point of invisibility if we cannot curb this compulsion.
>
> Our inability to let anything alone, anywhere, is a matter of despair among our experienced diplomats, and... a matter of alarm and ridicule among British diplomats.
>
> The showdown period in the bloodless war for the world has begun. The hour is late, but perhaps not too late if we can now learn to concentrate our forces, from Washington to the remote Viet Nams of this earth, cut our losses, and bear upon critical targets of our own selection.

GRINNEL COLLEGE HONORS AFSC LEADERS Two persons who work closely with the AFSC program of the Des Moines Regional Office were honored recently with alumni awards by Grinnel College. They are Roy Clampitt, a member of the AFSC staff who has served the AFSC in many various projects, and Wynona Leonard of Lincoln, Nebraska, a member of the Regional Board.

QUAKER, UNITARIAN FAMILIES TAX SELVES TO AID UNITED NATIONS Five families in Lincoln, Neb. have imposed upon themselves a tax of one per cent of their incomes for the United Nations.

"We intend this pledge to be a tangible symbol of our willingness to support and to live under a system of world law," said their spokesman Richard Gilbert.

Their initial collection has been mailed and ear-marked for technical assistance in Africa.

Three families belong to the Religious Society of Friends, (Quaker) and two families are members of the Unitarian church of Lincoln.

Other families have expressed interest in entering the plan. This is the first reported expression of its kind in Nebraska and is patterned after projects by Quakers in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., and an interdenominational group at Princeton, N.J. (RNS, June 14).

DISARMAMENT AGENCY BILLS INTRODUCED Identical bills have been introduced in the Senate and House which would establish a United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security. This agency's specific functions would be:

1) Research for disarmament policy formulation and for methods of maintaining peace;

2) Policy recommendations for the President, Secretary of State, and Congress;

3) Conduct of disarmament negotiations;

4) Informing the American public and the world on U.S. disarmament policy.

The director of this agency would work under the President and the Secretary of State. John J. McCloy, director of the Disarmament Administration and adviser to the President on disarmament, has invited representatives of non-governmental organizations to meet with him to discuss these bills.

A General Advisory Committee of 15 outstanding citizens is proposed to work with the director of the agency.

CHURCHES URGED TO WELCOME INDIANS Churches were called upon by an official of the National Council of Churches in Estes Park, Colo. to demonstrate that they are the "most open society of any community" by welcoming the increasing number of Indians leaving reservations for towns and cities.

Dr. Theodore E. Matson of Minneapolis, the council's vice-president for home missions, told the National Fellowship of Indian Workers at its triennial meeting that local churches and congregations should take up the task that missionaries on reservations formerly undertook alone. (RNS, July 14.)

Alex Morrison

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File ↓

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VOLUME VI Number 24 July 28, 1961

THE BERLIN CRISIS: AN ENGLISH HISTORIAN'S VIEW Geoffrey Barraclough, an English historian, has an article on the Berlin crisis in THE NATION, July 15. It is must reading.

He reminds the reader in the outset that if we are going to fight "we better be quite clear in our minds from the start what we are going to fight about." We are told that "in every situation there are essentials, about which no sensible man will compromise, and unessentials, about which no sensible man will refuse to negotiate. Unhappily, in the Berlin situation, essentials and unessentials have become thoroughly mixed up."

Barraclough says that the West has clear and undoubted rights in Berlin and should make clear to the Kremlin what those rights are. "This needs hard thought, not brave postures."

The Western case for Berlin is strong, he said, "but it is not the case usually put out for public consumption. The rights of Western powers in Berlin are soundly based, but these are also a good deal more limited than the Administration has so far found it convenient to admit. What the West can justly claim on the basis of the Four Power Agreements of 1944 and 1949--and what, in fact, Mr. Kennedy did claim at his meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna--was the right to station troops in Berlin and the right of access to and from the city."

The following is the final paragraph of the article:

"The first task facing the West is to strike a balance between the advantages of an agreed new status for Berlin--which is certainly possible if we desire it--and the disadvantages of any concessions we may make. What seems clear is that the latter have been magnified out of all proportion. Certainly the occupation rights of the Allies, pending a final solution of the German problem, are not negotiable. Equally certainly we cannot agree to anything that will jeopardize the freedom of the West Berliners, or the city's free access to the West. But within these limits there is far more room for maneuver than is usually admitted, and there is no reason why, in the British Foreign Secretary's words, we should not work out 'an honorable and peaceful solution.' The prestige of the West, it is often said, is at stake, and there is truth in the contention. But the West will not gain prestige by clinging blindly to outworn dogmas, such as non-recognition of the East German Government, nor will it lose prestige by readiness for serious negotiation. Between the position taken up by Washington and the position taken up by Moscow, neither of which can resolve the Berlin stalemate, there is a third way; and our business in the next six months is to make sure that the third way prevails."

James Reston of THE NEW YORK TIMES said in a column July 26, the day following President Kennedy's address on the Berlin crisis, that "it should not be assumed that the Kennedy Administration is relying solely on military reactions to the German problem.

"President Kennedy tried to make his position believable to Khruschchev. He tried to do so with words when he met the Soviet leader in Vienna, but apparently this did no good. Now he is trying to back up his words with new military preparations. In the process, military considerations dominate the debate, but behind all this there is some serious thought of honorable political accomodations and these will take their place in the dialogue in due course."

EUROPEAN REFUGEE PLAN TO BE OFFERED Felix Schnyder, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, announced in Geneva he would submit next spring a plan for the final solution of the problem of unsettled European refugees which would specify the precise means and time needed for the task.

Reporting to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), he said 15,000 European refugees were still in camps, and of some 65,000 unsettled refugees living outside of camps, about 20,000 were in need of help.

Mr. Schnyder told the Council that the largest part of his 1961 program was devoted to the latter group. Contributions received or pledged for their aid has thus far amounted to only half of a $6,000,000 target, he said.

He reported that slightly less than 6,000 European refugees remained in mainland China. Of that number, he added, nearly 5,000 have been promised visas. But, he said, it would require an additional $1,300,000 for the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to transport them all to new homes.

The U.N. High Commissioner observed that there was still a "large deficit" in his agency's $7,000,000 target this year for relief work among the 300,000 Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia. That relief program is conducted jointly with the League of Red Cross Societies. (RNS, July 25.)

DR. SCHWEITZER TO HEAD SUMMIT OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS Dr. Albert Schweitzer, famed Protestant medical missionary of Lambarene, French Equatorial Africa, has agreed to serve as honorary head of a proposed summit conference of religious leaders to mobilize the world's spiritual forces for international peace.

Dr. Schweitzer's acceptance was reported in London by Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at the 12th International Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. He also announced renewed efforts for the summit meeting of the world's major religious faiths, first proposed in 1959.

Speaking at a Sabbath service at the West London Synagogue, Dr. Eisendrath told the delegates -- representing 22 countries -- that "before it is too late we need to muster the world's great religions to act as a spiritual force for world peace."

Dr. Eisendrath said that now that Dr. Schweitzer had lent his support to the proposed international meeting of religious leaders, he is communicating with leaders of other religious faiths to serve on the organizing committee. (RNS, July 7.)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Members of the High School Work Camp being held this summer in Philadelphia were guests. Bill Parsons, a member of the camp, reported briefly on the project. Below are excerpts from his account:

"After the first two semi-chaotic weeks we have developed a workable schedule for our four main projects. These are building the Mellon Playground, helping with the Play Parade, making an appearance survey of the neighborhood, and painting several houses.

"The 200' x 350' lot on which we are building the playground is located between 11th and 12th Streets on Fairmount Avenue. At first we found it quite difficult to visualize the architect's plans, and after a bulldozer had worked for two days making mounds and slopes in the right places we still found it so. The lot was covered with broken bricks, glass, rotten lumber, and trash, all of which had to be cleared before grass or trees could be planted. This seemed an endless task but now appears adequately completed. There are still numerous piles of rubbish around the playground which have to be collected by the City. Construction of a stone and brick wall around an up-raised patio has started, but we have not yet paved the patio itself with bricks. We have to wait for four tons of sand on which we will place the bricks. A sand box has been dug, and now has to be lined with bricks and filled with sand. A water fountain and a rest room have to be erected. We will be very lucky to complete the playground before we leave August 18.

"Every night anywhere from three to six work campers go to the Friends Neighborhood Guild to help with the Play Parade. This Parade consists of three U-Haul-It trailers covered with gay circus sketches and filled with toys, games, arts and crafts. Each trailer goes to a different location and carries on a recreation program for any of the kids who wish to play. We have had little difficulty finding campers to work on the Play Parade.

"We are making an appearance survey of the neighborhood in the hope that a detailed report of the condition of the streets, sidewalks, curbs, and houses will compel the City to take long-awaited steps in the redevelopment of the Poplar Area. Work on this project has progressed far beyond our expectations, and perhaps we may be able to survey the whole area before we have to leave.

"We have helped the people paint their houses when it has been convenient for the residents to paint with us. In this way we hope that they may paint their houses themselves when it is necessary in the future."

Eric Engelman said the purposes of the Camp include extending brotherhood and giving participants an opportunity to "see how the other half lives," the development of new values, interests, and ideals; the molding of group purpose through the unity of common possessions; and the restoring of self-respect in the people of the neighborhood.

John and Varley Crist, leaders of the Camp, spoke briefly.

June Bohannon, dietitian of the Internes in Industry Project in Philadelphia, said that all 16 of the participants have secured jobs which give them a varied experience.

Nick Paster, executive secretary of the Middle Atlantic Regional Office, said the recent institute at Camp Sunnybrook was one of the largest held. About 350 participants included 25 peace caravaners and 42 high school students. Literature sales of over $1,100 set a record, he said.

ORGANIZING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION This is the title of a new handbook by Charles Walker, college secretary in the AFSC's M.A.R. office. It is "designed to be of practical use to those groups on the American scene now adopting nonviolence in the struggle for peace and social justice."

The booklet includes chapters on the selection and clarification of objectives, learning the method of nonviolence, training sessions, publicity, and the development of leadership. There are bibliographies throughout.

Charles Walker was previously Middle Atlantic regional secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and is an associate editor of LIBERATION. He is active in public witness projects and is co-chairman of the Vigil at Fort Detrick.

Copies of the handbook may be obtained from Charles Walker, Cheyney, Pa., for 50 cents each.

order received 8-7-61 711A

U.S. WORRIES ABOUT AFRICA DISCRIMINATION, IGNORES OWN An Augustana Lutheran Church missionary who has served in Tanganyika for 30 years charged in St. Paul, Minn. that American church people seemed more concerned about racial disturbances in Africa than in racial discrimination found in the United States.

The Rev. Elmer R. Danielson charged that the "awful discriminatory situation in the United States is a powerful contributory factor toward anti-white, anti-American and anti-church feeling in that awakening giant of Africa."

Speaking before the annual conference of the denomination's Board of World Missions, the missionary said: "Few church people and ministers in America seem to be disturbed about the awful situation in our country in the attitude and laws of discrimination against the colored Americans. Yet these same people become very troubled by what they read of the disturbances in Africa..." (RNS, July 25.)

ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? The truth is that the vast majority of ministers in the South are compromising what they believe, diluting or suppressing their convictions, for motives ranging from self-preservation to preservation of the church. Instead of speaking the truth in love, we soft-pedal it in fear. (From an article by Robert Paul Sessions in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, May 13.)

FOCUS

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PENDLE HILL MEETING EXPLORED WIDER USE OF NONVIOLENCE Sixteen AFSC Peace Education Committee members and staff persons met at Pendle Hill July 22 to explore a concern for greater emphasis on nonviolence. The idea was first proposed to the committee by Lawrence Apsey.

The following excerpts on the meeting are from a report prepared by Stewart Meacham, Peace Education Secretary:

The discussion was opened with a brief statement by Lawrence Apsey in which he said that he felt that the weakness of the peace movement today was due to the fact that we were not using the resources of power in nonviolent resistance to evil and nonviolent support of good. He said that nonviolent action which is morally and spiritually motivated as exemplified by Gandhi has the power to transform apparently hopeless situations and make solutions possible. He said that it is necessary for us to find the way to make this kind of power relevant and actual in tension situations. He called for a research and study center where nonviolence can be examined and made clear, where the history of nonviolent struggles can be studied, where tension situations can be appraised, and where a corps of committed people can be trained and readied to meet conflict situations and crises nonviolently. He said that teachers to teach and train in nonviolence should work through the AFSC regional offices, that nonviolent recruiting centers should be set up in various areas of the country, that people, properly prepared to function in tension situations, should go and demonstrate practical uses of nonviolent power, and that all AFSC projects and programs, particularly the overseas work, should be used as a means of spreading this idea and this approach.

During the discussion that followed there was general acceptance of the observation that this was an area which had not really been explored in the peace education work of the AFSC nor in the other AFSC programs, though the nonviolent resistance movement in the South has brought the Community Relations programs somewhat closer to the actual scene of nonviolent resistance than has been the case with other programs.

The AFSC relationship to public witness projects was discussed. It was recognized that AFSC participation has largely arisen around the periphery of AFSC life; that there is not a clear mind within the Executive Board of the AFSC as to the degree or manner of AFSC involvement which is appropriate or desirable.

Toward the end of the morning discussion Gene Sharp, who has been doing research on nonviolence at the University of Oslo, and who will be continuing his studies at Oxford during the coming year, suggested that four areas of work had been urged during the discussion, including research; general public education; intensive training of a corps of volunteers; and action projects, including direct nonviolent action, public witness, etc.

Most of the ensuing discussion related to these four areas:

(continued on page 2)

Research. The need for extensive research into nonviolent action was generally recognized. There have been scores of instances in history where people have engaged in nonviolence. First of all those need to be studied; the lessons to be learned both from success and failure need to be considered; and the relevance of experience from the past to present and future problems, particularly in the area of tensions and conflicts among nations, must be understood.

Secondly, there is a need to analyze the theoretical problems which the nonviolent approach must meet successfully in the nuclear age. Third, the materials presently available on nonviolence need to be listed and digested so that their availability may become actual. Last, nonviolent research is needed to study, measure, analyze, and clarify nonviolent resistance in process.

General Public Education. There is a need to give greater emphasis to nonviolent power in the peace education program of the AFSC. For the past several years there has been a needed emphasis on challenging concepts of war and violent power. "Speak Truth to Power" has been the conceptual base of this challenge and a great deal of the AFSC peace education program has been devoted to this task. The "Speak Truth to Power" task is necessary and it cannot be laid down. But it is also limited, unless it is positively related to a fully developed nonviolent power emphasis. It is not enough to be negative; to expose the self-defeating features of war and violence is only half the job. The peaceful alternative also needs to be brought home. The importance of relevant public education was emphasized. It can reach out to new people, keep the total program from becoming doctrinaire and isolated, and provide a broad base of acceptance which can give support and active participation in nonviolence in crisis situations and symbolic action projects.

Training. There seemed to be a general awareness and sense of need for the development of a corps of people who would be equipped by training, understanding, experience, and commitment to engage in disciplined nonviolent action in specific situations.

Action Projects. The fourth area considered at Pendle Hill, and already touched on in this report, was action projects. These would fall roughly into three main categories:

1. Those resistant to the uses of violence by the state to which the resister is subject. (Polaris, Ft. Detrick, tax refusal, Pentagon vigil, etc.)

2. Those resistant to violence against the state from outside. (Norwegian teachers against Hitler.)

3. Those resistant to non-state internal violence. (Children facing mobs in the South.)

It was agreed generally that the unprecedented need for nonviolent solutions in international conflict situations finds us inadequately prepared. We are able to say with certainty that in some situations, at least, nonviolence is effective against domestic violence and oppression. (Gandhi, Martin Luther King, etc.) We are less able to relate nonviolence to problems of international war. The decision-making process for

(continued on page 3)

war is remote, the processes of preparation for war are all-pervading and seemingly irresistible, the moral issues are often confused and ambiguous. Only rarely, as with fallout and civil defense, does the individual feel a sense of specific encroachment or injury to which he can directly respond. As an act of faith it is possible for committed pacifists to declare that nonviolence can transform international conflicts, even as it demonstrably can do with internal conflicts. The future of mankind very likely depends upon whether there can be a yield of actual experience in nonviolence internationally which will validate this faith and provide a basis for confident rejection of war by nations. It would be the job of the action phase of this four-point program to find ways to test out nonviolence in actual situations, particularly situations falling under category 2 above.

The Pendle Hill discussion ended with two conclusions:

1. That Lawrence Apsey's concern had assumed proportions in this discussion which warranted full and mature official consideration by the Peace Education Executive Committee of the AFSC.

2. That a smaller group, selected by Stewart Meacham and Lawrence Apsey, should be brought together in September to propose programmatic steps which the AFSC should consider with respect to nonviolence. Such a group would report its recommendations to the Peace Education Executive Committee. Mention was made of Gene Sharp's possible availability for a September meeting.

HIROSHIMA DAY VIGIL AND FAST HELD IN PHILADELPHIA Two hundred forty persons took some part in the 48-hour continuous Hiroshima Day Vigil and Fast on Reyburn Plaza, Philadelphia, between 12 noon of Friday, August 4, and noon of August 6, the following Sunday. About 70 per cent indicated some organizational connection, and of these 115 were from one of 44 Friends Meetings, 9 were of some other denomination, and 36 listed a variety of organizations including 14 from the AFSC.

A contribution of $125, above costs of the project, was sent to the United Nations to be used for technical assistance. Fasters were asked to contribute a sum equal to the cost of food they would have eaten.

The project was organized by the Working Party on Public Witness of the Friends Peace Committee with the approval of that Committee's executive board.

On Friday, about 50 persons gathered in the Race Street Meeting House for a period of meditation and orientation. They then walked in line to the Plaza where they took positions facing the City Hall. There a continuous line was maintained until 11 a.m. Sunday when the 110 persons present gathered at another point in the Plaza for a meeting for worship. Despite the noise of traffic and the voices of the curious this was a meeting of real depth and centering that attracted many others from the park.

Those on the Vigil line held signs to identify the project and the sponsorship. Other signs read: "Negotiate Berlin Crisis," "Continue the Test Ban," "Peace Is an Adventure in Overcoming Evil with Good," "48-Hour Continuous Vigil for Peace."

(continued on page 4)

Approximately 5000 pieces of literature were distributed and endless hours of discussions were carried on by persons freed from line duty with the curious, the friendly, and the antagonistic. Some of us now know that vigorous conversations can go on at 4:30 a.m. on a Sunday morning.

For this writer a few moments on a line with 25 others at about 5:30 a.m. Sunday will long remain as a memory of truly a gathered meeting for worship. (Roscoe Giffin)

AFSC GETS PLAQUE ON CHICAGO PEACE DAY EVENT The AFSC received a plaque in recognition of its "important contributions ... in promoting international understanding so essential to world peace" during World Peace Day at the Chicago International Trade Fair last week.

Sumner Mills, a member of the AFSC board of directors, received the plaque on behalf of the Committee.

Ralph Bergsten, managing director of the fair, made the presentation and spoke of the Committee's "unique reputation in meeting both spiritual and material need wherever it arises, without regard to nationality or religious qualifications. Because of this strict impartiality in relieving need, representatives of the AFSC have been able to cross and re-cross battle lines."

Recalling the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the AFSC and Friends Service Council, London, in 1947, he quoted from the Nobel Committee's statement about the AFSC: "They have demonstrated the strength which is founded on the faith in the victory of spirit over force -- it is the silent help from the nameless to the nameless which is their contribution to the promotion of brotherhood among nations."

Sumner Mills expressed appreciation to the hundreds of persons who make the Committee's work possible and said its work is rooted in "an unfailing optimism about the capacity of the human spirit to respond to sincere and demonstrated good will."

JESUIT ASKS SUPPORT FOR U.S. DISARMAMENT AGENCY Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews were urged by a Jesuit in Rensselaer, Ind., to unite in support of administration-backed bills in Congress to establish a United States Disarmament Agency. The call for prompt joint action in behalf of Senate Resolution 2180 and House Resolution 7936 was made at the Young Christian Workers' National Study Week by the Rev. Edward A. Conway, S.J., director of the Peace Research Center at Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.

Asserting that "it is absolutely imperative that this agency be approved in this session of Congress," the priest said: "Both officially and privately the religious groups of this country should press Congress to complete action before it adjourns. The reasons for cooperative action are megatons more important than they were 18 years ago." (RNS, 8-8)

Alex Mooney

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AMB file

"IMMEDIATE" WEST-SOVIET CONFERENCE ON BERLIN URGED In its lead editorial of the August 30th issue, the CHRISTIAN CENTURY urged the United States and its Western allies to propose an immediate conference with Russia on the Berlin crisis. It said that such a conference should be called even if it were to prove embarrassing to West Germany where federal elections will be held September 17.

The magazine said, "To wait until after the elections might mean waiting until it is too late." (The Berlin crisis) "poses a threat to the peace of the world which has not been equaled in recent years. The risk is so frightful that every legitimate and honorable step which can be taken to avert it should be taken," the editorial stated.

"Confrontation with the Soviet Union in an immediate conference would not eliminate the danger, but it would buy time, which is important when we are being carried toward universal disaster on a stream of deeds and threats.

"Premier Khrushchev's letter--its contents undisclosed as of this writing-- to President Janio Quadros of Brazil is reported by a Brazilian spokesman to be 'the most terrible message one can imagine about the Berlin crisis.'

"This," said the CHRISTIAN CENTURY "can hardly mean anything else but a threat of war, and another such threat is only another gambit in the propaganda offensive...Germany's need for a postponement of discussion in the interests of a quiet election must yield to the world's need for decision before the time passes when a decision is possible."

Another call for negotiations on the Berlin crisis was made by Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who said the world powers should settle the tensions over Berlin and other issues through the United Nations or vis-a-vis negotiations.

In a Rosh Hashana message to some 630 Reformed Jewish temples in the Western Hemisphere, Rabbi Eisendrath said the vision of world peace, "which underlies both Judaism and Christianity, has been darkened by grave events and gathering storms in many parts of the world, and especially in Berlin. At this momentous juncture in the history of the world when the two greatest powers seem to be moving in a trancelike state on a grim collision course, which, if not altered, could well mean the suicide of the human race, it is incumbent upon nations as well as individuals to take stock and search their ways.

"There can be no further delay in bringing the explosive question of Berlin into negotiations at the United Nations or in face-to-face relationships between the contending powers," he declared.

The I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY said in its issue of August 21 that "It looks as if the worst is over in the Berlin crisis." The following excerpts are from the article:

(continued on page 2)

There is more understanding than appears on the surface that the outflow of refugees from East Germany forced action, and since the deed had to be done, it was best that it was done quickly. Indeed this unilateral action removed what appeared to be the one real stumbling block of the negotiations. The West seems pretty much resigned to accepting the status quo in East Europe for the time being anyway, and that may be a long time. The East seems ready to leave Western rights in and to Berlin alone, again at least for the time being. Premier Khrushchev has made it clear on several occasions that this can be had for de facto recognition of East Germany. Thus despite all the hullabaloo, the shape of a settlement is already visible. The sticking point was the right of East Germans to flee into and out of Berlin. The West could hardly be expected to accord this at the bargaining table. Mr. Khrushchev by creating a fait accompli and taking the odium on himself has in this brutal sense cleared the way for negotiations.

THE NATION, August 26, said editorially:

Negotiations over the Berlin question are already in progress. The two sides are negotiating with border closings, repressions, demonstrations, propaganda, military and economic threats and mobilizations. Unavoidably, this stage--a necessary prelude to a gathering in a large room with a large table and comfortable chairs--is a noisy one. There may be some shooting, but, if so, it will most likely be the shooting of obstreperous civilians by well-armed soldiers. Even this, however--should it occur--must not take our minds off the really crucial question of the moment, which is not Berlin, not Germany, but what the great powers are going to do about disarmament, and specifically what the United States is going to do.

DEADLIEST FALLOUT CALLED LOCAL TYPE A Nobel Prize chemist formerly of the Atomic Energy Commission said in Los Angeles that, although the possibility of world-wide radioactive fallout caused the most fears, the local type was the deadliest.

Dr. Willard F. Libby, in a statement released by the University of California at Los Angeles, put fallout from nuclear explosions into three main types: local, tropospheric, and stratospheric.

Local fallout comes down quickly and in heavy doses following a nuclear blast, he declared, generally covering an area of 200 to 300 miles down-wind from the explosion.

As much as 80 per cent of total fallout may come down within the first few hours after a bomb burst, he said, particularly if it explodes on the surface, hurling large bits of soil into the air to absorb the bomb's fission products.

In past nuclear tests local fallout has been controlled, he stated, but in a nuclear war it could represent the greatest danger to civilians. (UPI, 8-27)

QUAKERS HOLD VIGIL FOR INDIANS A "last-ditch" silent vigil was launched by a small group of Quakers in protest against construction of Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa., which would inundate Seneca Indian land.

Sponsoring the vigil, expected to last through Labor Day, Sept. 4, was the Treaty of 1794 Committee, composed of "16 concerned people in Philadelphia and New York."

Under that pact the U.S. government guaranteed the Senecas permanent use of thousands of acres of land in New York State. The Quakers are particularly concerned over the dam because the Indians signed the pact only after the Religious Society of Friends had assured them that the federal government would always honor the agreement.

Construction of the 179-foot dam, largest in the state, will inundate about 9,000 acres or two-thirds of the usable land on the New York reservation of the Seneca Nation of Indians. As a result about 550 Indians are expected to be displaced along with 1,000 white persons.

Don DeVault of Philadelphia, coordinator of the Quakers' vigil, said the demonstration was not expected to bring any change in plans for the dam, scheduled to be completed in 1965.

He said, however, that it would be a "mistake" to erect the dam on the proposed site which "will continue to haunt us.

"We'll realize this when we see the Communists advertising it to the world and also when we examine our conscience on how we treat the Indians."

President Kennedy, meanwhile, has stated that the project cannot be halted because the need for flood protection in the area was "real and immediate." He has promised federal assistance to the Indians, including the possibility of providing land "suitable for tribal purposes and uses" next to what remains of the Seneca reservation. (RNS, 8-15)

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, Aug. 30, took notice of the President's decision against the Senecas. In an editorial it said, in part:

"The President has noted that the legal right of the United States to take the land has been upheld by the courts. He has directed departments of the federal government to help the Senecas relocate. But this does not help the people of the United States, whose honor is being sacrificed because of political pressure from interests in Pittsburgh and the Upper Ohio Valley. 'Great nations, like great men, should keep their word,' as Justice Hugo Black said last year in a dissenting opinion on a similar case raised by the Tuscarora Indians. The Quakers are sponsoring a silent vigil at the dam site until Labor Day. They invite us all to 'examine our conscience on how we treat the Indian.' We recommend daily self-examination as a way to join this vigil. Then, if 'godly sorrow leads to repentance,' we suggest you write the National Congress of American Indians, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., asking how you can help. Enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope: the Indians' own organization is so poor that you may not get an answer unless you do."

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY IS DEFIANT Prince Edward County, Va., has decided to continue its effort to keep its private segregated school system despite a court order. THE NEW YORK TIMES, August 29, said that the private foundation, which has been conducting schools for white children during the past two years, has announced an appeal for $300,000 to provide scholarships to supplant the state and county tuition grants which have been declared illegal.

The foundation's decision came after Federal Judge Oren Lewis had ruled against the use of public funds for the private schools. Plans were under way for the opening of the white schools September 5. There will be no schools for Negro children, public or private.

Public schools were abandoned by Prince Edward County in 1959 in anticipation of a court order to desegregate. For two school terms there have been no schools in the county for some 1,700 Negro children. During the last school term, 47 of the county's high school students were relocated in 10 communities outside the state by the AFSC's Emergency Relocation Project. Four of the students graduated from high school.

Prince Edward County was one of the five original defendants in the cases ruled on by the United States Supreme Court in 1954 when it declared "school segregation unconstitutional."

FEDERAL COURT STRIKES DOWN LOUISIANA LAW A three-judge Federal Court in New Orleans struck down Louisiana's school-closing law this week. The law had permitted citizens of school districts to vote to abandon public schools that were faced with desegregation orders. The Court ruling referred to the state's grant-in-aid program to assist private segregated schools but did not rule the grants illegal.

The opinion said, "This is not the moment for the state to experiment with ignorance. When it does, it must expect close scrutiny of the experiment."

ATLANTA'S GOOD EXAMPLE The people of Atlanta and their public officials are to be congratulated on the display of sanity and good sense in that city yesterday. Long months of careful preparation and public education paid off richly when token integration of Atlanta public schools began and nine Negro children entered previously all-white schools without any serious incident. Atlanta has provided a new and shining example of what can be accomplished if the people of goodwill and intelligence, white and Negro, will cooperate to obey the law and to benefit the children, regardless of color. (Editorial in THE NEW YORK TIMES, 8-31)

BURMA COMMUTES 98 DEATH SENTENCES; BUDDHISM BECOMES STATE RELIGION Burma's government marked the establishment of Buddhism as the state religion by remitting the death sentences of 98 convicts to life imprisonment. The U Nu regime also reduced the sentences of many other prisoners. Meanwhile, delegations of non-Buddhists, who had protested the recognition of Buddhism as the state religion, were refused admission to register their opposition to Premier U Nu.

The government announced that all protests against the state religion had been dismissed. (RNS, 8-30)

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SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS CITE NEED FOR UNDERSTANDING A news release prepared jointly by the participants in the Experimental International Seminar called attention to the need to improve mutual understanding. The seminar, held at Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., was attended by young men and women from 13 countries--the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Chile, Denmark, England, France, Ghana, Hungary, India, Japan, Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, and Yugoslavia.

The release said, in part:

> The participants recognized the need to improve mutual understanding, to expand fruitful contacts among the youth of distant countries, to undertake energetic action to insure peace through universal and complete disarmament, to solve youth's urgent economic problems, and to achieve and strengthen the national independence of all peoples and countries. The seminar participants discussed seriously and frankly the problems of colonialism, expressing sympathy for the youth of those countries striving for national independence.
>
> The seminar participants were of the opinion that international problems should be resolved peacefully, with respect for principles set forth in the United Nations Charter--sovereign equality of states, noninterference in internal affairs, and international cooperation.
>
> Serious attention was devoted to the problems of economic aid to underdeveloped countries. The participants in the seminar expressed their convictions that such aid should be granted to underdeveloped countries on a basis of full cooperation between equal partners. Such aid should be directed toward solution of the fundamental problems facing these countries and toward their attainment of economic independence.

FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE NAMES AFSC STAFF MEMBER Blanche W. Shaffer, since 1958 director of the Friends International Center in Geneva, was elected the new general secretary of the Friends World Committee at its recent meeting in Kaimosi, Kenya. She succeeds Herbert M. Hadley of Washington, D. C., who will become secretary of the committee's American Section. James F. Walker of Philadelphia, the section's outgoing secretary, was named committee chairman.

The committee approved holding a World Conference of Friends in 1967 in North Carolina. Specific dates and city will be selected later.

Founded in 1937, the Friends World Committee is a standing body of 142 members representing 203,000 Quakers in 33 countries. It has headquarters in Birmingham, England. It will hold its next triennial sessions in Ireland in 1964.

The sessions this year marked the first time the committee had met in Africa.

REPORT ON A CALIFORNIA WORK CAMP The odor of sewage still hangs heavy on the air of this 109-year-old mudflat village, but because of the job that 15 unselfish kids finished here Friday the future looks brighter.

Alviso is Santa Clara County's problem child. It's an often-flooded bay-end community, composed mostly of dilapidated and jerrybuilt wooden homes, perched on pilings and stilts, lacking a sewage system, economically depressed, yet proud of its history as one of the State's oldest chartered cities.

The 15 high school juniors and seniors who left Friday after six weeks of painting and fixing up the town left behind a more valuable gift than their work alone:

A new attitude among 1,200 townspeople who previously had thought that nobody did "somethin' for nothin'."

The teen-agers came from all across the country, the majority recruited from private schools in the East. They came under a unique American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) program called "work camping."...

The work campers came to Alviso about Aug. 1 to help with the town's worst problem, the lack of a sewer system....

The 15 work campers came planning to dig ditches and help on sewage plant construction. A bond issue had already been passed and plans drawn but the job was not ready to begin so they worked at brightening the town and cheering its inhabitants instead. (Excerpts from an article in the SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, 8-21)

AFSC ASKS KENNEDY TO POSTPONE TESTS; TAKE ISSUE TO U.N. In a letter sent to President Kennedy and published as an advertisement in THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 15, the AFSC asked that nuclear tests be postponed indefinitely and the issue taken to the United Nations.

The letter was signed by Harold Evans and Colin Bell.

It told the President that the Russian resumption of tests and the American intent to do so "is utterly tragic" and to claim that peace will be protected in this way "is to seek moral justification where it cannot be found." No man or nation, the letter said, is able to comprehend the dimensions of the tragedy which would flow from the use of weapons now being tested.

"The United States has not yet actually set off an explosion. There is still time to announce an indefinite postponement. There is still time for you, as President of the United States, to announce that the entire issue of testing will be submitted to the conscience of mankind in the only forum available for its expression, the General Assembly of the United Nations. There is still time to pledge that the United States will abide by the result.

"The Soviet decision has dramatized a moment of opportunity for a new level of world leadership. That moment ends when we test our first bomb."

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Several participants in the East-West Seminar held recently at Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., were introduced by Nora Booth, director of international seminars and conferences. The group which visited Philadelphia left to join other participants in Washington and were to spend a few days in New York before returning home.

One group of participants visited in North Carolina and the other in the Boston area following the seminar. Both visits were arranged by AFSC regional offices.

Mikhail Drobyshev spoke appreciatively of the opportunity to participate in the seminar and to "see with my own eyes how youth in America live, work, and play." He also said he was glad to become better acquainted with the historical sites in Philadelphia--the birthplace of American independence.

Recalling the seminar conducted in Leningrad in 1960 by the U.S.S.R. Committee of Youth Organizations and the AFSC, he said he could understand the difficulties encountered by the AFSC in staging the seminar, which he said was "successful despite the hot weather."

He concluded his remarks, which were translated by another seminar participant, by expressing the hope that the "ties between the organizations of youth of the two countries will continue to strengthen."

Mikhail Drobyshev then handed out several gifts of appreciation. The first one was presented to Steve Cary for Colin Bell. Steve accepted with the hope that future seminars will be conducted in an atmosphere more cordial to international seminars and wished that the seminar method will be used by leaders of nations.

Other gifts were presented to Harold Evans, chairman of the AFSC board of directors; Louis Schneider, associate secretary for program; Barrett Hollister, secretary of the International Affairs Division; and Nora Booth.

At the end Mikhail, speaking in English, thanked his interpreter for her "excellent translation."

John Curtis, AFSC comptroller, shared some observations on his recent trip to France and England where he visited some of the AFSC programs and among Friends groups and organizations in Great Britain.

He observed, he said, more concern in England for the international situation than there is in the United States.

Eric Johnson reported on the conference of Young Friends of North America held recently in Minnesota. About 130 Young Friends and 40 leaders were present.

One new project adopted by the conference, he said, will attempt to render service, in work camp manner, to small Meetings.

Eric talked about some of the new things he learned at the conference. One of these is that Friends is sometimes pronounced with two syllables--similar to "Free-ends."

(continued on page 4)

He passed along a joke, apropos nothing he had said and told to him by Jim Bristol during the conference. The scales at an airport were rigged to announce the weights of passengers. A Methodist weighed in at 165 pounds. A Presbyterian mounted the scales and the weight was announced as 195 pounds. A weighty Friend got on the scales and the voice from the scales said, "One at a time, please."

Irene Jacoby, a participant in the East-West Seminar spoke inviting visitors to the Friends Center in London where she is warden.

Five young people who will be going to Haiti as VISA volunteers and four appointed to community service units in Mexico were introduced.

Personnel introductions: Wil Hartzler has transferred from the High Point office, where he was serving as interim executive secretary, to the national office, where he is director of the U.S. Projects Program. Hermann Roether will resume his responsibilities as assistant director of the program.

Frederick Echelmeyer has joined the staff as director of program publicity for Community Relations and Peace Education in the Information Service. Most recently he has been associate editor of the DELAWARE COUNTY DAILY TIMES.

Vail Palmer has been appointed assistant to Nick Paster in the Middle Atlantic office. He has served in the Chicago office and had earlier experience as a Friends pastor and has participated in an AFSC project.

Willie Little is working as offset machine operator in Central Duplicating. He has worked with the Stanford University Press and with a commercial firm in San Francisco.

Colette Palierne is a secretary in the School Affiliation Service office. She has been a secretary in the SAS office in Paris.

Kenneth Kirkpatrick has been appointed a peace education secretary in the Seattle Regional Office. He was formerly college secretary in the Des Moines office.

Florence Smith is transferring to serve as secretary to Harold Chance in the Friends Peace Service Program.

EXPRESSWAY THREATENS PENDLE HILL A proposed expressway through mid-Delaware County west of Philadelphia threatens the future of Pendle Hill, the Quaker study center. In a statement expressing its opposition to the plan, D. Robert Yarnall, honorary chairman of the Pendle Hill Board, said the proposed route of the expressway would "destroy most of the eight buildings, located amid 18 acres of the Quaker study center's property, including a new $100,000 dormitory and a recently purchased $50,000 retreat center. We could not survive this route."

The board asked that more planning be given to the proposal and said a special committee to carry out this end had been formed.

Pendle Hill is frequently used by the AFSC for meetings of staff and committees.

alex Moniey

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American Friends Service Committee
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AN EPITAPH FOR DAG HAMMARSKJOLD In his column of Sept. 20 in THE NEW YORK TIMES, James Reston recalled an epitaph Dag Hammarskjold wrote for himself six years ago when in Bangalore. He saw some Indian dances based on the theme of a poem by Tagore:

"Listen to the rumbling of the clouds, O heart of mine, Be brave, break through and leave for the unknown...."

Reston said that Hammarskjold recommended this theme as a model for the United Nations and quoted the late U.N. secretary-general as follows:

> I think that these lines express in a very noble way the attitude we must take to this venture called the United Nations. We may listen to the rumbling of the clouds, but we can never afford to lose that kind of confidence in ourselves and in the wisdom of man which makes us brave enough to break through and leave, always leave for the unknown....

RELIGIOUS LEADERS MOURN HAMMARSKJOLD Dag Hammarskjold was mourned by churchmen across the length and breadth of the United States. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders were as one in saluting the memory of the man who had led the United Nations as its secretary-general through the most turbulent era in international relations.

Throughout his years of dedicated service to the U.N., Mr. Hammarskjold had said that secular efforts for peace would be fruitless if they were not supplemented by the prayers and spiritual backing of churches and churchmen.

U.N. success, he said in 1953, rested on its being "blessed by Almighty God and founded on changeless religious principles," and he often attested to the "tremendous help" provided the U.N. in its quest for peace and global stability by the world's churches.

In 1957, addressing members of the World Council of Churches' Central Committee at the United Nations building, he epitomized his feelings on the need for religion in the campaign for peace: "What we do here is of little avail without the support of the world's spiritual leaders and those who have the courage to follow them." (RNS, 9-18)

EARLE REYNOLDS PLANS PROTEST TRIP TO RUSSIA Earle Reynolds, who sailed his yacht "Phoenix" on a protest voyage into the U.S. Pacific nuclear test area in 1958, announced recently that he and his family would sail on a similar mission to the Soviet Union.

Reynolds now teaches at Hiroshima Women's University. He has sent a telegram to Soviet Premier Khrushchev informing him of his intention to sail into the Soviet port of Vladivostok, on the Sea of Japan. He will make the voyage in keeping with a promise he made in 1958 to sail into a Russian port if Soviet testing resumed.

RADIOACTIVITY INCREASES SHARPLY A sharp increase in ground level radioactivity in 12 eastern and northern states and the District of Columbia was announced this week by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Abraham A. Ribicoff said that such fallout did not pose a public health threat "unless radiation levels of this range are sustained over a long period of time."

THE NEW YORK TIMES article of September 19 quoted Mr. Ribicoff as saying that the radioactive increases "unquestionably represent fallout from the current series of Russian atmospheric tests, presumably the multimegaton bursts that have been reported."

His report was based on field tests by the radiation surveillance network of the Public Health Service during the week of September 11-17.

The sharpest fallout increases were recorded in Connecticut, North Carolina, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island.

Marked increases also were noted in New Jersey, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.

The next day, Sept. 20, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported a large increase in fallout in six southern states. These new readings, the TIMES said, were much larger than those reported for 12 eastern and northern states and the District of Columbia.

The highest reading was reported in Montgomery, Ala. Other sharp increases were reported for Pascagoula, Miss.; Columbia, S.C.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Atlanta, Ga.; and New Orleans, La.

NO C.O. PROBLEMS SEEN IN NEW MILITARY MOBILIZATION Although the current military mobilization may double the number of conscientious objectors ordered to take alternative civilian assignments in lieu of military service, there is no shortage of positions to which they may be assigned, Dr. J. Harold Sherk, executive director of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, said in Washington.

Dr. Sherk said that until the recent increase in military draft calls, an average of about 800 men a year have been taking conscientious objectors' work assignments.

As draft calls are increased, the number of young men taking the C.O. position will also increase. However, Dr. Sherk said that a significant number of these young men have been volunteering to their draft boards to take their work assignments early and fulfill the requirements. Thus, lowering of the draft call-ups from 23 to 22 will not have much effect on the conscientious objector program.

"The type of institutions in which our men are serving are chronically short of help," Dr. Sherk said, "and there is no difficulty in finding suitable work assignments acceptable to Selective Service."

A recent survey showed that of 1,567 men called up as C.O.'s in the last two fiscal years, ended June 30, 1961, more than half went directly into mental hospitals and other hospitals to work as orderlies. Some 928 men took such assignments, he reported. (RNS, 9-12)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING John Seybold, who returned recently after serving as director of international seminars in Europe, with headquarters in Paris, shared some of his experiences and impressions. He returned, he said, "less articulate" than when he left. The problem of communicating in French was partially responsible. He said that by the time he had organized the grammar of a thought to be expressed, the occasion to say it had often disappeared.

He stayed in Europe long enough, he said, to get rid of some of the conclusions he held on arrival but not long enough to get new ones.

During his period in the European assignment he traveled extensively recruiting for and organizing seminars and contacted participants who represented about 30 nationalities.

"Seminars create a real sense of community and what happens can have real significance," he said. About 5,000 seminar "alumni" are scattered in about 100 countries and are available for consultation and contact with Quaker concerns. These individuals have lasting memories of the changes which occurred within them at the seminar.

John Seybold said he was impressed with the "fortunate position Quakers occupy, though it may not be deserved." This advantage gives a ready access to others and makes it easy to come directly to the point of discussion. Despite the small size of the Quaker group in Europe, they are making significant contributions and stand ready to make others.

James Walker, new chairman of the Friends World Committee, reviewed the triennial conference held recently at Kaimosi, Kenya. The conference pointed up, he said, the fact that despite diversity among Quakers they should try to have a common experience with God. It gave attenders an opportunity to explore the manner in which Friends can serve in tension areas of the world. Another asset of the conference in Kenya was the fraternization it made possible with the Kenya hosts.

Plans were laid, James Walker said, to hold a World Conference of Friends in 1967 at Greensboro, N.C.

YOUTH DISTRIBUTES PEACE LITERATURE AT FAIR; IS ASKED TO LEAVE Officials of the Duchess County, N.Y., Fair, held in August, asked a youth to leave the grounds or be ejected for distributing peace literature at a civil defense fallout shelter exhibit without permission. He had applied for permission the day before the fair opened but fair officials did not have time to act on the request.

The youth was David W. Pilbrow of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., son of Myron Pilbrow, of Oakwood School and a former AFSC staff member.

A civil defense official at the fair complained to police that attendants at the shelter were being heckled.

THE PEACE AGENCY: WHAT'LL THEY CALL IT? The disarmament agency approved this week by the House had three name suggestions: Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security, The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for World Peace, and U.S. Arms Control Agency.

LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER INVESTIGATES MIGRANT SITUATION In a series of five articles published in August, NEWSDAY examined the conditions under which migrants live and work on Long Island in New York. In the article published on August 31, the writer, Harvey Aronson, asserted that very few groups are actively working to make life easier for the migrants. There are many more promises than actual performances he said. He criticized officials who make superficial gestures toward solving the problem and political figures who appear to be more interested in sensational headlines than in genuinely helping. "There are also do-gooders," he said, "who mostly do nothing, or even do bad." He closed the article with the following three paragraphs which describe the work of a summer work camp project sponsored by the AFSC this past summer:

> The most impressive social group actually working inside the migrant world consists of young people from everywhere except the North Fork of Long Island. It is a group of 19 college students from throughout the U.S. and abroad, who are taking part in a work project sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Only Mr. and Mrs. Scott Crom, leaders of the group, are Quakers. The others are Jews, Protestants, Moslems.
>
> The students, who pay their own expenses, are working with children from slums and migrant camps, and have also started a program for adults. The resultant scenes are heartwarming. Barbara Brandt, a pretty coed from Brooklyn, plays her guitar and sings to an appreciative audience in a migrant camp. A reporter who is taking part in an afternoon project with the group feels the curious stares of white sunbathers as he stands on a beach with the students and about 50 or 60 Negro children from the shacktowns of Riverhead. One white woman moves angrily down the beach, and talks to other bathers. She points at the slum group.
>
> But the students are oblivious. The colored children run on the shore and jump in the water, splashing and squealing. And Hormoz Alizadeh, from Iran, recounts an experience he recently had while on the beach with the slum children. "A woman came up to me and said, 'What are you doing here? Why don't you keep them where they belong?'" Alizadeh said he told the woman, "Madam, they belong everywhere."

100 YEARS OF NEGRO FREEDOM This is the title of a new book by the well-known Negro author, Arna Bontemps. (Dodd, Mead; $3.50) It describes the American Negro's efforts to make real the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, in terms of a series of studies of some of the men who led this struggle. Arna Bontemps is librarian of Fisk University.

EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE That is the title of a new book by Charles Herbert Stember, published by the Institute of Human Relations Press, New York. It is described as a pioneer study of the influence of schooling on racial and religious prejudice. The author identifies the conditions under which education is most likely to produce democratic attitudes, as well as the limits set to its effectiveness by cultural factors. His findings suggest that, at deeper levels and in subtler ways, the highly trained sometimes are as prejudiced as the uneducated. The book sells for $3.20.

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MABB. file

MANY SOUTHERN STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN AFSC PROJECTS Nearly 100 students from the Southeast participated in regional or national seminars and youth projects during the past year, it is revealed in information from the AFSC office in High Point, N. C. Of the number, 35 attended a weekend world affairs seminar near Chapel Hill, N. C. Another 13 took part in a one-week work camp at Camp Buckeye Cove, N. C. A total of 38 attended one-week or three-day seminars in New York and Washington, and 11 attended AFSC summer projects.

The value of these projects is immeasurable, a staff member reported. Many of the students received their first interracial experience at the projects. For others it was the first opportunity to discuss world problems from more than one viewpoint. Most of them left more encouraged that they could do something about some of the problems.

Another asset was the preparation some received for pioneering adventures in desegregation. At least three of the girls who attended seminars are pioneers at North Carolina colleges which have admitted Negro students this fall for the first time. Oralene Graves is at Mars Hill College; Etta Mae Whitner is at Asheville-Biltmore College; and LaVerne McIlwaine is at Charlotte College. About ten are attending desegregated public high schools. Some of them have been leaders in the sit-in movement. Most of the pioneers are Negro students but a few have been Indian or white.

KINZUA PROJECT NAMES STAFF WORKER Jack Preston, a former resident of Salamanca, N. Y., has been assigned by the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to assist the Seneca Nation of Indians in problems of community planning that will confront them if their land is taken by the Kinzua Dam, now under construction in Pennsylvania.

Jack Preston will also have available the services of Walter Taylor, national representative for the American Indian program of the AFSC. Walter is being loaned by the AFSC for part-time work with the Senecas through an arrangement with the Yearly Meeting committee.

During the past few months the Quaker committee has protested vigorously the construction of the Kinzua Dam. They stress now that neither the Senecas nor the Quakers acknowledge the moral or legal right of the United States to take Seneca land without consent. While the protest will continue, it is recognized that with the dam actually under construction some plans must be made to help those who must be relocated by the flooding which seems inevitable.

AFSC BOARD GETS THREE NEW MEMBERS Three new members of the Board of Directors of the AFSC were approved at the body's meeting last month. They are: Elizabeth M. Jensen to fill the unexpired term of Gilbert White; John W. Seybold to fill the term of Mary Hoxie Jones; and Bliss Forbush, to fill the term of Ralph Connor.

COMMENT ON THE CONFERENCE OF THE NONALIGNED What happened at the conference of the nonaligned nations held recently in Belgrade? Some of the answers may be found in an article by Frederick Kuh appearing in the Sept. 23 issue of THE NATION. The following concluding paragraphs from the article suggest the writer's thoughts about the conference he observed for the Chicago SUN-TIMES.

> And yet: the conference has important achievements to its credit.
>
> Until now a number of the smaller new nations have been wandering aimlessly in the rain and lightning of a dangerous world. These orphans have found a warm, comforting shelter under the roof of the nonaligned group.
>
> The uncommitted world is growing and is exerting magnetism. Until lately it was limited to Asia and Africa. Now suddenly Europe--through Yugoslavia and Cyprus--has wedged itself into the community. And Latin America--through the Cuban delegation and the observers of Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador--has also established a foothold.
>
> Finally, even if today it is merely a glint: the birth of a Third Force (not, the neutralists keep saying, another bloc) does create a cushion between the two giants. True, one delegate did remark skeptically, "How can we hope to safeguard peace between East and West when we can't even prevent Portugal from massacring the Angolans?" Nevertheless, here is a new, important moral factor in world affairs. The United States and the Soviet Union can disregard it only at their peril.

QUAKER TEAM AT U.N. HAS FULL STAFF George Loft, formerly director of the AFSC Africa Program, has replaced Elmore Jackson as director of the Quaker United Nations Program. Elmore Jackson resigned to accept a position as special assistant to Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Robert Cory, new program associate and on leave from Denison University where he is professor of political science, replaces Tartt Bell, who has resumed his duties as executive secretary of the Southeastern Regional Office.

Thelma Babbitt, formerly with the AFSC Community Relations Program, will serve as coordinator of seminars, succeeding Margaret Beidler, who went to Earlham College as dean of women. Cecil Evans continues as program associate.

Three Friends from overseas will join the group for the current session of the General Assembly. David Hodgkin will be with the group from October 2 to 31. He is clerk of Australia General Meeting and registrar of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Australia National University, Canberra. Grigor McClelland will serve with the group from October 19 to November 24. He is a member of the East-West Relations Committee of London Yearly Meeting and was a member of the British Quaker Mission to China in 1955. Finn Friis of Denmark, who for several years was Quaker International Affairs Representative in Vienna, will be with the group from November 5 to December 2.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING Colin Bell admitted that it was unusual for Friends Meeting Houses to be decorated with Bunting but that was being done for this gathering of AFSC staff.

There followed a tribute to Hannah Bunting, who concluded today 21 years of service to the AFSC. From 1932 to 1944 she served in the old Social Industrial Section and from 1952 to the present she has been clerk in central files.

Colin Bell praised her meticulous devotion to the job of handling some 80,000 cards in the AFSC mailing files.

Clarence Pickett, executive secretary emeritus, recalled Hannah's earliest days with the Committee when the entire staff could meet in his office in the Twelfth Street Meeting House. He quipped that she had indulged in large-scale "card playing" during her second period of employment.

Olcutt Sanders, former director of Information Service who happily was visiting the AFSC, spoke of Hannah Bunting as the AFSC link to 80,000 persons and said that she always "maintained a concern for the people" and was eager to keep in touch with them and to insure their continuing association with the AFSC.

He recalled one of his visits to Hannah Bunting's office when her reply to his inquiry about whether she was glad to see him was disarmingly frank. "Well, yes and no," she answered. "Every time you come it means changes."

Colin Bell quipped that he harbors notions of Hannah Bunting with thousands of cards "up her sleeve." He presented her a letter from the Board of Directors expressing their appreciation for her service.

Barbara Hinchcliffe, chairman of Staff Representatives, introduced members of the organization and announced plans for the annual bake sale. Plans are being made, she said, for a staff newsletter and invited interested persons to make their interest known.

She described the work of the group, which acts as a channel of communication between all employees and Staff Council, helps orient new staff members, and plans social events. New suggestions being considered regarding the structure of the organization will require examination of the way members are chosen and the departments or segments of the Committee they will represent.

Colin Bell cautioned against the "pseudo-expert" but offered some observations based on his three-week travels in Mexico and Guatemala last summer. During 22 years of experience in Mexico, the AFSC has established firm relations which "we are not often able to do," he said. One gets a feeling of being in a country facing problems and it recalled for him some of his reactions to China.

The Castro revolution seems to have reminded Mexico that it is 50 years ahead of Cuba but may be in danger of losing its leadership unless it moves fast enough in economic development.

(continued on page 4)

An impressive observation, he said, was seeing a young Guatemalan taking the leadership in an AFSC work camp, demonstrating to the group how manual work should be done.

MEMORIAL HELD FOR LATE STAFF MEMBER At the end of staff meeting, September 18, AFSC staff members joined in a memorial tribute to the late Ada Stitt, who died in August. She was in charge of correspondence files in the Finance Department. Hugh Moore and Paul Turner spoke words of appreciation for her years of service and the meeting closed with a period of silence.

KENNEDY EXPRESSES HOPES FOR ARMS CONTROL AGENCY When President Kennedy signed the bill creating the new United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency this week, he said the act "symbolizes the importance" the United States places on these undertakings. Excerpts from the statement read by the President follow:

> Our ultimate goal, as the act points out, is a world free from war and free from the dangers and burdens of armaments, in which the use of force is subordinated to the rule of law, and in which international adjustments to a changed world are achieved peacefully.
>
> It is a complex and difficult task to reconcile through negotiation the many security interests of all nations, to achieve disarmament. But the existence of this agency will provide new and better tools for this effort....
>
> The new agency brings renewed hope for agreement and progress in the critical battle for survival of mankind.

GUIDE FOR OCCUPATIONAL PRACTICE A resource for persons interested in requirements for professional practice is a volume published by the Committee on Integration of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference. The booklet contains information for architects, dentists, engineers, lawyers, librarians, musicians, nurses, physicians, teachers, and veterinarians. Copies may be obtained from Richard Smith, director of the AFSC Refugee Program in the United States, for $1.00 each.

A RESOURCE ON THE SIXTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY "Issues Before the Sixteenth General Assembly" is the theme of the September issue of INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, just published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is described as the most comprehensive preview of the issues before the United Nations General Assembly. Special treatment is given to the schemes for reorganizing the Secretariat, including the Soviet "troika" proposal. Copies of the publication may be secured from the Taplinger Publishing Company, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y., for 50 cents per copy.

BERT BIGELOW DEFINES 'THE WHITE PROBLEM' An article by Albert Bigelow in the September issue of LIBERATION discusses some current issues in American race relations from the angle of the white man's responsibility. The changes coming, he says, are "part of the unfinished business of the American Revolution...a revolution that is nonviolent, Gandhian, and deeply religious...."

Alex Morrison

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MBB - file

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
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ERIC JOHNSON OUTLINES VISA PURPOSES Eric Johnson, director of Voluntary International Service Assignments, reviewed at staff meeting, October 9, the new program which is sending more than 40 young people to assignments overseas and in this country this year.

VISA was organized, he said, to provide opportunities for young people to serve with the AFSC. The program is in the tradition of the first volunteers who went to Europe at the end of World War II and many other young men who served in Civilian Public Service. Despite the Committee's need for staff persons with a high degree of special ability, many others who want to serve have not yet reached the stage of vocational specialization, he said.

The VISA program helps meet the need of young Americans who can go abroad during their formative years and be exposed to the culture of those in other countries. While there they can demonstrate some of the Western values which may be useful in the underdeveloped nations.

Eric Johnson said the AFSC project is nonpolitical, nonnational, and does not seek experts. He admitted that the AFSC is not yet certain if the task is "worth doing" but has plans under way to evaluate it.

One of its purposes, he said, will be to help strengthen communications between local governments and the masses of people who so often are not in close contact with their leadership.

The number already arrived or en route to the following countries are as follows: Tanganyika, 12; India, 6; Pakistan, 3; Guatemala, 4; Haiti, 5; Germany, 6; France, 1; and the United States, 2. Those assigned in this country are working in Louisville, Ky., and Twin Buttes, N.D.

Eric Johnson closed with some excerpts from VISA volunteers already in the field. The following excerpts are from a letter written by Helen Tyson in Tanganyika.

> There I sat across the road from here watching a dog have ten puppies under a tree stump and when I looked above the tree stump I could see Kilimanjaro reflecting another beautiful sunset. It's then I ask myself where are we anyway?
>
> We want to live understanding both sides of the fence and never to the exclusion of either the European or the African, but as the situation exists here, a middle-of-the-road position will get us nowhere--it only antagonizes both sides--and we have to choose a side, which, in our case, is the African.

(continued on page 2)

I only wish I could talk to them about more than the weather--but that time will come. We can say lots now and with pretty good grammar, but it takes about an hour and a half to get our idea expressed. The Africans are wonderfully patient while we try--and really like it when we try, because the settlers are famous (infamous) for not bothering to learn much of the language.

This is the first time I've been in such a minority; guess we look pretty curious to them too. Quite often we get stared at--a big, blank, wide-eyed stare; and the only way to break it is to timidly mutter "Jambo" and they break into a terrific smile and begin a rapid stream of greetings in return. When you stutter a few replies back, they break into laughter (they laugh at everything here) and shake your hand a long time. It's a thin friendship, but it's better than nothing and will have to do until we can express ourselves more adequately.

Brief comments on a dinner held last week by Swarthmore Monthly Meeting to honor AFSC program participants were made by Colin Bell, Earle Edwards, and Eleanor Clarke. The Meeting arranged the dinner to call attention to the members of the Meeting who have completed assignments recently or started them. The affair was suggested as a prototype of what may be done by other Meetings to draw them closer to the AFSC. The Swarthmore Meeting plans to write each member and invite them to contribute to the AFSC projects in which their members have been or may be involved.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, OCTOBER 2 Reports from two distant nations pointed up some of the communications problems with which the AFSC has been involved. Japan was the setting for one report, while the other was from Spain.

David and Betty Jean Elder shared experiences and observations based on their two years in Japan where they directed the AFSC work camp program. David Elder spoke first of the problems of establishing relationships with the work camp program managed by the Japanese and of having four committees set up to increase participation. Language difficulties plus the misunderstanding of basic purposes also added to the difficulty.

The problem was further illustrated by the Japanese approach to discussion. To them an open discussion carried overtones of a quarrel and had to end with a loser, which is not considered polite in that country. There were other differences about the discussion topics for work camps. In the end it was decided that the Japanese programs would continue and the AFSC would develop its own programs.

Betty Jean Elder said the summer work camp and seminar programs in Japan were unique as international projects. Of the total about 30 participants were from Southeast Asia, Korea, and the United States. Seminar participants, she said, spoke English fluently and thus had broader contacts with international matters. Work camp participation does not require facility with the English language, yet a "good deal" of nonverbal communication was conducted among individuals who had less knowledge of international affairs.

The work camp program, she said, helped participants have an opportunity for leadership, share intracamp communication, establish communications with community residents, and experience formal and vital meditation.

(continued on page 3)

An AFSC work camp in a rural community was the first of its kind and gave many of the campers from urban families their first opportunity to communicate with farmers. Both groups were impressed with each other and came to realize the gulf which exists between them.

The success of the projects may only be reflected in the individual lives as they go about their daily work, she said. "There is importance in the dissatisfactions which have been aroused in the participants. Some have gone home to start new exchanges among Asians. Although there is a good bit of exchange at the diplomatic level, there is hope for more at the private citizen level," she said.

The Elders will be going to Hong Kong next spring to head the AFSC Community Service Program among refugees from the Chinese mainland. They visited the program en route to the United States.

Nancy Negalspach presented a vivid and sobering report of her experience in Spain where she and her husband, Gerard, were co-leaders of a six-week work camp in 1960. The other leader was a Spaniard who had "no idea of democratic methods."

The American students entered the camp with enthusiasm and expected it to be of the Quaker type. Other students came without orientation but were willing to work hard. Still others came with no idea of what a work camp is and expected it to be an "international summer."

The job for the group was to fix up a palace on a beach for use as an international summer camp. There was insistence on work being done on the facade of the structure which would be visible to visitors but the "inside is still rotting away," Nancy said.

One positive value was that the camp "was held." Although the group had no contact with villagers, a storekeeper said that the group had been an example to the residents.

Nancy said that in the year following the camp they were able to understand better what had happened at the camp when they lived in a small village where they met people in various vocational and economic levels. She recalled one peasant who carried in his pocket a copy of President Kennedy's inaugural address.

Spain is a "sad country, with no freedoms--a country with a closed mouth," she said. More liberties are being asked by peasants whose lives are miserable. Franco's answer to some demands is the exportation of men to Germany for work. They are paid when they return. Some two million were sent this year and many will return with a different idea of freedom, she said.

There are a few Quakers in Spain but they must meet "underground." All have found Quakerism indirectly and they hold hopes for the establishment of a Friends school in Barcelona, but Nancy thinks this may not be possible because of the limitations imposed by the State.

PERSONNEL INTRODUCTIONS Ida Resnick has transferred to the Peace Education Division as secretary to Louise Andrews. She was formerly in Program Division Administration.

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Gladys Turnbo has transferred to Program Division Administration and will be working with Martha Beard. She was with the U.S. High School Seminar Program.

Paula Gooder is the new secretary to Marty Dickson in the Personnel Department. She is a 1961 graduate of Earlham College.

Two new regional staff members were introduced to staff on October 9. David Cheal is serving as peace interne in the Pasadena region. He has been a junior high school teacher in California and for two years served as a conscientious objector with the Brethren Service Commission.

Charles Gardiner is serving as High School Secretary in the San Francisco region. He has been an employment counselor with the California Department of Employment.

Ian Hyde has joined the staff as Director of Program Publicity for International Service-International Affairs. He has been assistant editor of the LONDON FRIEND.

WASHINGTON SEMINAR HEARS TALK ON CONFERENCE OF EAST-WEST SCIENTISTS Despite the political maneuvering of their national governments, top level nuclear scientists of the East and West continue to meet and discuss the mechanisms of nuclear disarmament.

This was the theme of an AFSC Washington International Affairs Seminar for journalists held recently. Wayland Young reported on the recent Conference on Science and World Affairs held at Stowe, Vt. He is secretary for information and publicity of the conference and a columnist for the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

Wayland Young said that the nuclear scientists of East and West countries attending the conference shrugged off implications of the resumption of nuclear testing and pushed ahead in their discussions for nuclear disengagement.

Among the steps toward disarmament suggested at the Stowe conference were: (1) immediate cessation of the manufacture of fissionable and fusion material; (2) reduction in the manufacture of nuclear rockets; (3) steps to maintain the strategic balance of major nuclear powers as the process develops; and (4) weighing the political reconditioning necessary to make disarmament meaningful and understandable to the world's political units.

THE PANGS OF CONSCIENCE A letter received in the AFSC office in High Point included a check and the writer's explanation for the contribution.

This individual's church in Farmville, Va., is soliciting funds to maintain its Sunday School building, which has been used by the private school foundation now operating classes for white children. The contributor said he could not "in conscience" support his church unless he gave an equal amount to the AFSC "which has done so much to keep hope for public education alive in this county." He added that two of the AFSC workers in the county "have done inspiring work here, and I hope my contribution will help to continue that work."

Alex Morisey

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HBB-file

VOLUME VI Number 33 October 27, 1961

MONDAY MORNING STAFF MEETING, OCTOBER 23 Margaret Jones reported on the 11th School Affiliation Service International Teachers Conference held last summer at Culham College near Oxford, England. The general theme, "Atlantic Values and the Culture of Old and New Countries," was discussed by about 65 attenders at the conference.

Among the speakers at the conference was Henry J. Cadbury, who spoke of ways in which the AFSC may share in the development of western Europe where there seems to be a leveling off of economic opportunity. A panel of teachers who had been in the United States, and another for students who told of their experience in American schools, were presented during the sessions and there was ample opportunity for general group discussion, Margaret Jones said.

One point of concern for the group reviewing their experiences in the United States pointed up the difference between American and European schools in the amount of time allowed for extracurricular activities. The teachers, however, realize this limitation and make the best of the opportunities they do have.

Margaret Jones emphasized the strong feeling of community which was established during the conference and commended the excellent work being done by the SAS staff in Europe.

* * *

Wil Hartzler, director of U.S. Projects, announced three special tributes or commendation received by the AFSC during the past few months. One was a special citation from the city of Philadelphia, expressing appreciation for the work camp last summer which helped develop a recreation area in the West Poplar community. The citation was presented at a dedication ceremony near the end of the work camp.

Another work camp, at Greenport, Long Island, received a tribute from Puerto Rican agricultural workers who expressed their appreciation for the job done in improving their recreation building, and then conducting a program for young people. It was signed by about 32 persons.

Wil Hartzler then read excerpts from a letter from an official of the Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, who wrote of the "invaluable contribution" made by the work campers who were at Lame Deer reservation last summer. Among its comments were the following:

"I can only say that I have never known outsiders to become as quickly trusted and accepted by the Cheyennes. There were no criticisms that I heard. Most important, I heard warm praise and the constantly expressed hope that the work campers would return next year. I pray this may be so.

(continued on page 2)

"Experience has taught me that Indians place much emphasis upon the constancy their acquaintances show in returning to visit them again and again. The mark of a friend is that he or she shows such faithfulness. With the trust the Cheyennes now have in AFSC, it would be a pity if you had to end the venture at this point. To the tribe, you are friends in more than name only; and friends keep close and constant contact with the Cheyennes.

"Incidentally, another proof of the warmth of the Indian attitude towards you is the wish they expressed to a number of us: that Cheyenne teen-agers be allowed to work with the AFSC campers."

MONDAY MORNING STAFF MEETING, OCTOBER 16 "Yogi Bear" made a pitch for the AFSERCO Credit Union, which last week was co-operating with the international observance of Credit Union Week. A promotion campaign was conducted during the week in the AFSC offices and included specially prepared labels which challenged the viewer with the daring phrase, "Let's CU join!"

* * *

David Hodgkin, who is now with the Quaker United Nations Program, tried to do something about American "ignorance of Australia which is abysmal." He is Clerk of the Australia General Meeting.

There are about 850 Friends on the continent and while contact over such a wide area is difficult, they are a cohesive group and have a status of a Quarterly Meeting of London Yearly Meeting, he said. The publication, AUSTRALIAN FRIEND, is a principal medium of contact.

The vigor of the Friends group in Australia is reflected in several recent developments David Hodgkin cited. Steps are being taken for the General Meeting to assume the status of a Yearly Meeting. A group of young Friends is active and about 50 of them attended the Yearly Meeting. Consideration is being given to a creation similar to the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Several new Meeting Houses are under construction. Another encouraging development is the growing Friends Service Council of Australia, which has among its principal concerns work in Southeast Asia, Japan, and Korea. It has a strong peace interest and sent cables recently to President Kennedy and other world leaders, protesting the resumption of nuclear testing. Contributions to the Council's work are at the rate of $2 per capita for each Friend in Australia, he said.

* * *

Charles Walker gave a report on the National Student Association Conference held last summer in Madison, Wis. He was unprepared, he said, for the liberal cast of the leadership he observed at the conference, which was attended by about 1,200 students from 388 colleges. He observed that a new pattern of prestige is present among campuses today in which a leader is expected to be knowledgeable of world affairs. A key word during the conference was "involvement" he said.

Charles Walker thought the conference took an unfortunate position on disarmament and nuclear tests in trying to be realistic on the issues. The conference expressed a hope that the United States would not resume testing unless forced to by her enemies.

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The conference was clearly in support of sit-in demonstrations and other nonviolent protests but declined to affiliate with the nonviolent coordinating committee.

ABOUT FALLOUT SHELTERS: THIS AND THAT FROM HERE AND THERE One can dig in on almost any page of a newspaper and come up with a story on fallout shelters. One this week was found in the business pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The fallout shelter industry is having marketing troubles. Manufacturers have started ambitious advertising campaigns. One promises a "lifetime guarantee" for his shelter. The TIMES raises these questions: Would they really provide protection in an era of multimegaton weapons? Was it a good idea to encourage private shelters versus public shelters? Finally, what standards should be imposed on shelter manufacturers?

THE SATURDAY REVIEW and THE NEW YORKER have decided not to accept fallout shelter ads at the present time.

* * *

What is the best thing to do in case of nuclear fallout? A four-man team of architects in Oxnard, Calif., recommended going to jail, after an inspection of the new thick-walled, windowless, concrete prison in that city.

* * *

Two men testing a fallout shelter narrowly escaped death in Hampton Beach, N.H., when the oxygen gave out in the concrete structure. The men entered the above-ground shelter and had planned to stay inside for five days. One of them called his wife--in their adjacent home--over an intercommunication system and told her he was having trouble breathing. She told them to release themselves immediately and rushed to the reinforced steel door. Her husband finally managed to open the heavy door, and fell to the ground beside her.

* * *

In Halifax, N.S., the City Works Committee decided that a fallout shelter could not be classed as "habitable rooms." That means that under housing regulations they cannot be legally used for sleeping, working, or recreation.

* * *

Mrs. Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union is making no effort to build air raid shelters. "There is no defense in a nuclear war," she said, "therefore we are not building any bomb shelters. We are not getting ready."

She made the statement to the San Francisco-to-Moscow peace marchers, when they visited her in Moscow early this month.

* * *

A news wire story reported recently that Washington is the first state to set up a "National Emergency" food-rationing plan, with 750,000 families due to register in November for layaway purchases. It recalls that seven tons of "fallout crackers" are already stored in the basement of New York State's capitol in Albany. Even bad times, it appears, can make good business for some.

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A Charlotte, N.C., man had the blessings of his wife recently when he entered a fall-out shelter for a week-long test of isolation living. "For once in his life," she said, "he ought to get enough sleep and learn to cook better."

* * *

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS reported from London this week that Americans newly arrived on the Continent or in Britain find something missing; for example:

"The signs pointing to air raid shelter areas, the official urgings to build fallout protection, the question, indeed, of whether there may be another tomorrow, or only the ashes of a nuclear destroyed world."

* * *

Then there is the controversy over the morality of a family defending by force its shelter against unsheltered neighbors. A committee of the National Council of Churches strongly condemned that idea.

Bishop Angus Dun of the Protestant Episcopal Church said that family fallout shelters are unrealistic in a nuclear war and said the theory of using violence to bar neighbors is "immoral, unjust, and contrary to the national interest." He said that if shelters are needed they should be built on a community basis.

GUILFORD TO ADMIT NEGROES Guilford College, a small Quaker school, said today it would enroll several "well qualified and carefully selected Negroes." The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People petitioned the Quakers last summer to begin admitting Negroes to the school. (UPI, 10-18)

THE INVISIBLE HARVESTERS The Harvesters: The Story of the Migrant People by Louisa R. Shotwell (Doubleday, 242 pages, $3.95), is "an immensely controversial book, written with humor and warmth and understanding," a NEW YORK TIMES reviewer said.

The author wrote:

> Migrancy is unobtrusive. It lacks the visibility of large-scale housing developments or city slums. Neither its erstwhile barns and henhouses nor its barrack compounds nor yet its newer cinder-block housing units stand near the superhighways. In its trekking, migrancy does not frequent toll roads. Unlike suburbia, it imposes no patterns of living on the national culture; its way of life does not invite imitation.

What makes Miss Shotwell's book so readable, the TIMES said, is that she makes human beings the measure of all she has to say.

FIVE COUNTRIES DONATE TO ALGERIAN REFUGEES PROGRAM New relief contributions from five countries for Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia were announced in Geneva by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He said the latest gifts came from Ghana, Greece, Laos, Sierra Leone, and India, which donated sugar and clothing. (RNS, 10-17)

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MPB-file

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MONDAY STAFF MEETING, DECEMBER 4 Mary Elizabeth Flock, SAS program director for France and Britain, reported on a recent trip abroad in which she visited schools in England, France, and Germany. She said teachers in Paris, who had attended the SAS school conference in England, spoke glowingly of the rich rewards to them, and their conviction that it was one of the "most worthwhile projects conducted by the AFSC."

During the trip she had an opportunity to get reactions from foreign students who had participated during the past summer in U.S. projects, including work camps, and said they were eager to participate in other AFSC programs in Europe.

She described an impressive experience in a one-room Friends school where she was a guest at dinner with some 60 students who were learning, in addition to their academic studies, the art of being good hosts to visiting guests.

Anna Brinton shared with staff some of her observations during a visit to the 30th anniversary of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and the 3rd annual meeting of the Mexican Friends Service Committee. She attended the former as the liaison person with the Canadian Friends Service Committee and the AFSC. Regarding the trip to Mexico she said she was "completely on my own."

Spicing her report with the distinctive Brintonian humor, she described the CFSC as bilingual because it can talk with the Friends Service Council as well as with the AFSC so that "they both know what they mean." Discussions during the meeting, she said, involved a review and plans for future CFSC work which is similar to that of the AFSC.

In Mexico City she attended the Yearly Meeting of the Mexican Friends, which she said was unique because it meets every year and a half. Some 100 Friends attended the sessions, which she described as a "jolly time at meals and a solemn time at meetings." She spoke to the group on the subject, "The Role of a Small Religious Society." In the talk she emphasized the opportunity to be a "conscience" for other groups, a service as a channel of communication, and stressed the point that "caring matters most."

She said the Yearly Meeting has no business to transact but some 50 moral questions were raised and discussed at various sessions.

She also had the opportunity to visit in the area with Ed and Jean Duckles. In closing she wryly quoted from a writer who has said, "A pilgrimage is an occasion for a journey and a journey is an occasion for a spree."

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, NOVEMBER 27 Finn and Bodil Friis of Denmark, who have been spending some time with the staff of the Quaker United Nations Program in New York City, spoke of the stored-up capital of good will

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Quakers have in high governmental places of the central and eastern European countries.

Finn Friis spoke of his first connection with AFSC when he and his wife were assigned to Quaker Center, Vienna, just at the height of the Hungarian refugee and Suez crises in 1957. He described contacts with Roumanian and Bulgarian officials who had been recipients of Friends relief and rehabilitation following both major wars and are now in top policy positions. They remember their contact with Quakers to a point where they are anxious to cooperate in humanitarian projects, he said.

Finn's wife, Bodil, spoke of Quaker activities in her native Denmark, where the Yearly Meeting has but 50 members, including children. She said there are two meetings, one in Copenhagen and another just outside the city. There are two schools which may be considered Quaker.

The Scandinavian Quakers, Bodil said, make a determined effort to support each other. There is a meeting in Sweden, and the one in Norway that is very old. Friends in the three countries try to attend each other's Yearly Meetings, and four times a year they publish a quarterly which keeps Quakers abreast of activities in the countries.

Bodil added later that significant contact had been made with German Friends as well, with more delegates appearing on one occasion than either she or Finn thought or expected possible.

* * *

Nora Booth, director of AFSC's International Conferences and Seminars Program, contributed some reflections and evaluations of the Reciprocal East-West Seminar in Poughkeepsie, New York, last August.

She spoke of the advantage of the recreational facilities that Oakwood Friends School provided the participants, who included 12 from the Soviet Union and 4 other Soviet invitees plus 12 Americans and 8 other AFSC invitees.

Nora Booth said that more attention must be paid to the insistence the Soviet and other eastern European nationals place on formalism, a structure which often frustrates the more direct and informal American.

As an agenda of future study and consideration for seminars, Nora Booth had five suggestions:

1. An effort should be made to get the discussions to relate more to basic values than to political subjects.

2. Ways must be found to shorten the plenary sessions and provide more discussion groups.

3. Measures should be found which will provide the non-American and non-Soviet delegate with more important roles in the seminars.

4. Ways should be found to integrate travel in the country with the seminar.

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5. In some fashion, results of such gatherings should be made available to a greater number of people.

NOTES FROM THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS ROUNDUP The Pacific Southwest Regional Office was host to approximately 60 representatives of the AFSC Community Relations Division of the American Friends Service Committee at Loch Leven, a mountain retreat in the San Bernardino range, from Nov. 12 to 16.

The roundup opened with the national picture of the four major areas of interest: equal housing opportunities; the migratory farm worker; the southern program, which embraces all aspects of desegregation with particular emphasis on education and merit employment for minority citizens; and the educational and economic problems of a half million American Indians.

Charlotte Meacham, AFSC national housing program director, warned that although the new administration campaigned upon a strong housing plank, the reluctance of President Kennedy to sign an executive order providing that federally financed housing programs should be open to all applicants indicates that "we don't have it made." There is hope, however, in the gradually changing opinion on equal housing. Many opponents, she said, confess integrated housing is "inevitable" and the real estate industry, upon occasion, admits it is the captive of its own fears. She stressed that housing is not an isolated program but cuts across many phases of community life. Charlotte urged that there is a unique opportunity for AFSC to contribute the peace testimony to the entire aspect of community relations, for the relationship between peace in the world and peaceful understanding of the ideal community stems from the same respect for the dignity of the individual.

Constance Pennington, national representative of the Farm Labor Program, spoke of the plight of some 4,000,000 migratory farm laborers involved in a struggle for existence within the structure of industrialized agriculture. She stressed that this condition may become worse because of the continued stride in automation, which is depriving many more thousands of marginal workers of their source of income.

Jean Fairfax, national representative of the AFSC Southern Program, spoke about the increasing aggressiveness of the Negro in the South as he faces more sophisticated, cleverly contrived methods of avoiding integration in all levels of social contact. She emphasized also that the United States Government is "getting tougher" with southern evasion, and that more rigorous interpretations are being made in the realm of civil rights. These factors, she said, point to the increasing use of legal machinery to activate the 1954 Supereme Court decision.

Walter Taylor, national representative of the American Indian Program, isolated the mores of our dominant Christian society as the key to many of the antagonisms whites show not only to all minority races but to their own kind. He stressed that the guilt complexes and taboos which debase our physical and spiritual love make us go out in anger rather than compassion.

Hallock Hoffman, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, discussed the pressures from the extreme rightist groups, and reviewed their history beginning before the rise of McCarthyism. He said that inasmuch as the United States

(continued on page 4)

is in a "nationalist frame of mind" such groups may be expected to arise. His advice was to keep alert to their techniques, and be prepared to offer aid and support to many persons in our society who tend to panic before the attack they encounter from extremist factions in their PTA, United Fund, or other community activities.

NUCLEAR WAR THREAT MAY REDUCE SENSE OF HUMAN WORTH Years of living under the possibility of a nuclear war will reduce mankind's sense of human worth and dignity, a report prepared by a section of the World Council of Churches Third International Assembly warned in New Delhi.

"The habit of thinking of persons as potential victims or destroyers in a nuclear war will surely reduce sensitivity to their worth," the report said. The sectional report said the church must continue to warn governments of the dangers of a nuclear arms race and must combat the idea that the use of mass destruction weapons has become inevitable. Other parts of the report denounced both new and old forms of tyranny, racial and economic discrimination in society and in the church, and the creation of false images of nations produced by isolation and lack of communication. (RNS, 12-1)

QUAKER 'SELF-TAX' PROVIDES $60,000 FOR UNITED NATIONS Quakers in the United States, Canada, and Mexico have given more than $60,000 to the United Nations in the past year, it was reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES, December 3.

Many of the gifts represent a self-tax of one per cent of incomes as a pledge in the faith of the United Nations as the "one tangible symbol of the world community." The idea now is responsible for a flow of checks from 25 states, Canada, and Mexico that averages $5,000 a month.

The latest development in the giving to the United Nations is a gift of $1,000 from Mrs. Wayne Elwood, Sr., of Palo Alto, Calif., who gave the amount she said it would have cost to build a fallout shelter. At the same time, families and individuals in Chapel Hill, N.C., have pledged to contribute to the U.N. the money a shelter would have cost each of them.

The self-tax idea began in 1959 with Quaker families in the Urbana-Champaign area.

'RISKS' FOR PEACE ASKED BY WORLD CHURCH COUNCIL The World Council of Churches ended its Third International Assembly in New Delhi this week with an appeal to all nations to run "reasonable risks" for peace. It also called on church members everywhere to "go together in the way of Christian unity."

In its appeal to governments, the Council said that nations must now be willing to take chances in their quest for a peaceful world. The Council said that any equitable basis for disarmament would involve two risks: the danger of an inspection and control system that "cannot be foolproof" and the danger that inspection may exceed its specific duties.

"Those who would break through the vicious circle of suspicion must dare to pioneer," the appeal asserted. (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 12-6)

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VISA VOLUNTEER WRITES FROM TANGANYIKA: "The biggest hurdle I must cross now is learning Swahili, which will probably require an hour or so study per day so that I can build up my vocabulary along with an all-out drive to pick up as much Kipare, the local tribal language, as I can, for folks of more than a generation ago or less than three years education are unable to speak Swahili. It will come slowly; I've already gotten some of the basic greetings down in order to break the ice, but then after saying hello, must revert to my rather halting Swahili.... The one single foremost impression that these people have of Americans is that they are rich, not that they are human beings who are really capable of doing the things that Africans do, and for this reason I have become a novelty when I play soccer for Usangi soccer team on Sunday afternoons before crowds of sometimes 1000 people, and live alone doing my own cooking and washing. The time passes quickly among these very keen and interested people.

"Whenever I go up here in the mountains the people are most cordial, and they either give me vegetables, a meal, or some tea before I leave. During these past three or so weeks I have had dinner with the German pastor and his family in Same; I have visited several times and eaten with the headmistresses of the Usangi Lutheran Girls School (they are Norwegian); I have had an African dinner, corn meal and beans; and have played soccer for the Usangi soccer team. Having mentioned corn, I might just say that the people are really sincerely grateful to America for the corn which they are sending during this period of starvation. I have heard several people say that they don't know what they would have done if it weren't for the American maize." (From a letter written by Werner Muller.)

METHODIST COUNCIL APPROVES METHODIST PEACE CENTER AT THE U.N. The final stamp of approval was given in St. Louis to the Methodist Church's proposed Church Peace Center at the United Nations. By unanimous vote, the Church's Coordinating Council authorized the denomination's General Board of Christian Social Concerns to proceed with construction of the $2,150,000 center.

Planned as an interreligious center, the building will house the Methodist U.N. offices and similar offices of other religious groups. The 12-story building is expected to cost $1,700,000; purchase price of the land was $450,000. (RNS, 11-29)

DR. KING ASKS FOR SECOND 'EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION' Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., called upon President John F. Kennedy to issue a second "emancipation proclamation" for Negroes. Speaking in Cleveland, Dr. King said he had visited the President at the White House in mid-November to make the request. He said the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 freed the Negroes from bondage but, he said, they were now in another kind of slavery "covered up with niceties." (RNS, 11-29)

BRITAIN'S GUERRILLAS-FOR-PEACE James D. Garst, an American writer living in Britain, has an article in the December 16 issue of THE NATION, in which he examines the British campaign against nuclear weapons. He says the effort is "breaking new ground" and acting impartially against British, American, Soviet, and French weapons.

Since February, he says, seven major actions of disobedience have been conducted under the sponsorship of the year-old Committee of 100. Bertrand Russell is president of the committee.

The rising public consciousness against nuclear weapons led in 1958 to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and its Aldermaston marches at Easter. The current policy of C.N.D. is shared by the Committee of 100. These groups advocate that Britain unilaterally cease to manufacture, store, or test nuclear weapons.

The writer concludes: "The Committee of 100 is a very small--though still growing--minority in Great Britain. Its supporters are challenging a democratically constituted government to overrule them on an issue with which it has not before in history been confronted: human survival."

GAINS MADE IN ANTI-BIAS LEGISLATION Twenty-one states passed anti-discrimination laws this year, more than in any other year, the American Jewish Congress reported in releasing its biennial survey of state anti-bias legislation. The survey noted that the 21 states had passed 39 laws this year covering racial and religious discrimination in employment, education, housing, and public accommodations.

"Figured either by the number of states, the number of bills, or the breadth of their scope," the report said, "the year 1961 sets records for state civil rights legislation not achieved in any preceding year."

According to the report, principal anti-discrimination measures in employment were passed in Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri. The Missouri law is particularly significant, it added, because it is the first such measure to be enacted in a border state.

Five states--Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire--passed laws prohibiting discrimination in significant portions of the housing market, the survey found. Connecticut and Massachusetts strengthened their fair housing laws, it was reported.

Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Wyoming were added to the states which bar discrimination in places of public accommodation, such as hotels, railroads, theaters, and bathing beaches. Pennsylvania and Ohio were found to have strengthened their laws in this area.

Among the other anti-discrimination measures passed during the year, the report noted that Pennsylvania had enacted broad legislation prohibiting bias by colleges, universities, and other educational institutions. (RNS, 11-27)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, DECEMBER 11 Personnel had arranged for staff to see the Bell Telephone film on telephone courtesy, MANNER OF SPEAKING. The color film presented its message through a series of familiar scenes in the life of an office, and the confusion that can result from an inadequate understanding of telephone etiquette.

After the film Allen White explained the new system of transferring phone calls and also answered questions.

Barbara Hinchcliffe announced that the national office Christmas party would be held December 21 and that Staff Representatives will again collect Christmas gifts from staff for patients at Philadelphia State Hospital. Barbara reported a personal appeal from one of the hospital's social workers for gifts for a family of seven children, whose mother is presently hospitalized. Gifts for the children were also requested.

Hylan Davis introduced Dorothy Martiny, who is working as an assistant file clerk in Personnel Files. Before this she had worked at the Central Philadelphia YMCA.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, DECEMBER 18 Eric Johnson, who returned recently from a trip to visit VISA projects in Guatemala and Haiti, said satisfactory progress is being made as the volunteers make the adjustments demanded of them.

The four volunteers in Guatemala have had a "tough time," he said, due principally to attacks of typhoid and flu. One member suffered from appendicitis. They experienced disappointment in the proposed work program. The group had expected to help build a dormitory in a school of rural social work but before the volunteers arrived the school was closed.

Problems of adjustment include having to live in small quarters, using a new language, understanding a new culture, and the absence of privacy in living conditions.

Work assignments for the volunteers in Guatemala will be with cooperative organizations and with the country's agricultural extension program.

Eric Johnson said the volunteers in Haiti have done an excellent job of "learning to live" in the country and in a short time have developed close friendships with Haitians with whom they live.

Two of the volunteers will work with an agricultural cooperative in an isolated village and will teach homemaking skills, child care, and possibly give some literacy lessons. The boys will work in an erosion control area and help promote proper grazing practices and land use. Another member of the group will be assigned to southern Haiti for work in a community development project assisting a Haitian leader who advises on child care and home economics.

Eric said the trip had impressed him with the "extreme importance and difficulty" of the VISA undertaking and emphasized the need to choose the "very best" volunteers. The program provides an excellent opportunity to work with and know indigenous people and help them with locally initiated programs which show promise for the future.

(continued on page 4)

Henry Cadbury shared some experiences and reflections on his recent three months in Europe and Great Britain. During the period, he attended an International Student Seminar in West Germany and the School Affiliation Conference in England.

During his stay in England he tried to imagine himself an English Friend and "hung on the fringes" of Quaker activity there. He heard a good deal about the relationships between American and British Friends and expressed the hope that the latter will "improve their concept of the AFSC."

Henry Cadbury said he was completely surprised to come home and find a climate with so much preoccupation with shelters. There are some possible useful aspects of such changes and climate in America. One is the evidence that there is an adaptability to new interests and concerns. Another is a welcome by-product. Many more people have started to think about the problems of war from a somewhat different angle and it may be a wholesome angle, he said.

DON'T BUILD SHELTERS, AID HOUSING ABROAD, PACIFISTS URGE The International Fellowship of Reconciliation has launched an appeal to Americans to donate money for housing in underdeveloped countries instead of building fallout shelters.

Called "Shelters for the Shelterless," the program is endorsed by such people as Aldous Huxley, famous novelist; Dr. Henry J. Cadbury, formerly chairman for 25 years of the Board of directors of the AFSC; John Raitt, Broadway singer and actor; and Maxwell Geismar, literary critic and biographer. (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 12-12)

HENRY CADBURY'S PRE-CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO AFSC STAFF The following story was told by Henry Cadbury when he spoke at the last staff meeting before Christmas:

> Colin has reminded us that we are approaching the Christmas season and I'm glad we have this annual reminder. It might seem--what with the commercialism of Christmas on the one hand and the very unpeaceful state of the world about us--a bad time to be thinking about Christmas. It is not.
>
> There is a picture at Oxford University that has interested me for 60 years or so. It is a well-known picture by Holman Hunt called "The Light of the World." Every time I go to Oxford I like to go up to Keble College chapel and take a look at it.
>
> This year they seemed to be doing repairs all over Oxford, trying to clean up the buildings everywhere or make other repairs. And up in Keble College there was a sign out to the effect that "The Light of the World" was not accessible--could not be seen.
>
> Well, I take it all of us in this room...might put it in this way...our concern is that as soon as possible "The Light of the World" might be visible.

Sincere best wishes for the season - Alex Morrisey

FOCUS
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

AFSC file

VOLUME VII Number 1 January 5, 1962

REPORT ON A HIGH SCHOOL SEMINAR Although we don't often give it much thought, each of us is aware that nearly everything we read in our daily paper or hear reported on newscasts is subject to editorial bias. A full week of probing into the influence that mass media exerts on our society produced some rather disturbing facts for nine students, participants in a recent AFSC national high school seminar held in Washington and New York. Digging beneath the surface shed new light on these voices of power in our lives. It was Will Rogers who once said, "All I know is what I read in the papers." The students were quick to realize the truth in this reasoning and the awesome responsibility of the press in our society. All agreed that getting the truth was most important. After all, how can our democratic system of government work as it should if the people are not kept accurately informed?

After a tiring day of mental gymnastics one seminar participant remarked, "I wish I were back in Indianapolis where everyone thinks the same!" Caught up in the struggle of trying to be a public servant and operate a profit-making organization at the same time, publishers are pressured by many forces in determining what appears in their papers. Obviously, someone must decide what we read or hear over the air. This decision is always subject to bias of one form or another. The cases of outright dishonest reporting are not as prevalent as is the well-meaning publisher who has lost touch with his community and reflects this lack of knowledge of the truth in his paper. Times change and people's thinking changes too. If a publisher doesn't keep up with the times he's out of business.

Ben Bagdikian, Washington correspondent for the PROVIDENCE (Rhode Island) JOURNAL, cited for the group an example of bias in news reporting. The wire services, and in turn their subscribing papers across the nation, have persisted in referring to the nuclear debris from recent Russian tests as deadly fallout while that resulting from U.S. atmospheric tests was reported at the time simply as fallout. The obvious question would be is Russian fallout more deadly than ours? The students reasoned, if a free press can't give us the truth, what about the government press? During an interview, U.S.I.A. officials took a firm stand for "the truth even if it hurts." But a specific question on how the Voice of America handled the Cuban invasion in its broadcasts brought a clearly evasive answer.

In New York, students interviewing editors of THE WORKER and THE NATION found both to favor admission of Red China to the U.N. How can this be? they asked. After discussion the group realized that people can often favor the same thing for entirely different reasons and that this often results in erroneously labeling people as Communists. Nearly all said that it was a common practice in their schools to call a person a Communist if you didn't like him or disagreed with what he said or did.

(continued on Page 2)

Two leading New York papers offered an excellent opportunity to compare reporting of identical news events. Obvious editorializing on the part of one was apparent in news stories dealing with the Security Council vote on the Goa question and the release of Martin Luther King from jail in Albany, Ga. Yet during an interview with a top executive of this paper, students were told that all editorial opinion was strictly limited to the editorial pages.

Up to this point the group had talked almost exclusively to persons in the mass media. On the next to last day they met with Granville Fletcher of the UN public information office, a person who is a source of the news. Recently returned from seven months in Katanga where he headed the UN information staff, he told of gross misstatement of facts and purely erroneous reporting by newsmen under pressure from their editors to get a story to justify the cost of their being in Katanga. Few retractions ever appeared even when factual information was available to prove the earlier stories false. It was a severe condemnation of the American press and something that cannot be dismissed lightly.

The students took away from the seminar many new ideas. The realization that they, as high school students, could talk with important persons in government and the mass media simply by asking was perhaps foremost in their thinking. All had thought these persons to be unapproachable. A need to learn the truth about Communism was strongly felt by the group--a difficult task in our nation today. The importance of reading several good newspapers and news magazines while taking into consideration the editorial point of view each expresses will be a lesson long remembered. (By Jim Weaver, director of program publicity for AFSC Youth Services, who took part in the mass media seminar as a resource person.)

GAINS IN CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION CITED America has achieved its greatest legislative advances in civil rights since the Civil War during the seven years following the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision in 1954, the American Jewish Committee declared in New York City.

The period has also witnessed, for the first time, widespread use of popular demonstrations--such as sit-ins and freedom rides--to achieve racial equality, the committee noted in its annual summary of civil rights advances in the U.S.

The summary is contained in the 13th edition of "The People Take the Lead," which is devoted this year to a review of civil rights developments since 1954. It listed the following gains during 1961 as especially noteworthy:

1) For the first time since the Supreme Court ruling, school desegregation was accomplished without incident in Atlanta, Dallas, Memphis, New Orleans, Little Rock, and other cities of the South.

2) Congress extended the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission for two more years.

3) Twelve new law suits were initiated by the Justice Department in southern counties to insure Negro Americans the right to vote.

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4) Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania joined four other states in outlawing discrimination in private housing.

5) Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Wyoming barred discrimination in public accommodations, bringing the total number of states with such statutes to 28.

6) Enforceable Fair Employment Practice laws were passed by the Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri legislatures, bringing the total to 20.

7) The challenge offered to continued segregated travel by the Freedom Riders. (RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE, 12-14)

U.S. INDIANS SHOW INCREASE The Indians of the United States can no longer be considered vanishing Americans, the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported.

During the past ten years, the Indian population has been growing faster than the U.S. population as a whole. However, it still is far less than it was when the white man arrived.

Historians estimate about 850,000 Indians were in the area now occupied by the United States when Columbus stumbled on the Western Hemisphere in 1492.

The blessings of civilization almost proved the undoing of the red men, as smallpox, tuberculosis, whisky, and wars of extermination steadily reduced their numbers to less than 250,000 by the end of the nineteenth century.

From that low point the Indians have been making a steady comeback. There are now 509,147 Indians, of whom 285,000 live on reservations. This does not include 14,000 Indians living in Alaska, since the Alaskan Indians weren't counted in the pre-Columbus estimate either.

Between 1950 and 1960 the annual rate of growth for the Indians was 2.5 per cent compared with 1.7 per cent for the U.S. population as a whole. (AP, 1-2)

COMMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF LISTENING "Let's Listen to the Russians," is the title of an article in the December issue of MINUTES, a magazine of Nationwide Insurance Company. The author is S. I. Hayakawa, professor of language arts at San Francisco State College who proposes non-evaluative listening as a way to break the "communicative deadlock" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Here is a quote:

> If, however, we genuinely believe in ourselves, our way of life, and our inner strength, we do not have to be rigid. We can listen to the Russians and perhaps make them less rigid in the process. In a general relaxation of rigidities, then, we may begin to create a new kind of atmosphere in which new information may be exchanged, new perceptions made, and a resolution found to some of the differences.

THE CASE FOR FALLOUT SHELTERS Those who seek the other side of the debate over fallout shelters can find it in an article with the above title in the December 21 issue of THE REPORTER. The author is Nicholas Rosa.

NEW BOOK DISCUSSES PREJUDICE AND EDUCATION A new book with some arresting assertions about the value of education in curing social ills has been published by the Institute of Human Relations Press. The title is EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE--THE EFFECT OF SCHOOLING ON PREJUDICE AGAINST MINORITY GROUPS by Charles Stember. 182 pages, $4.00.

Writing in the January issue of COMMENTARY, Lewis A. Coser says that many professional social psychologists have dogmatically assumed that prejudice within a population invariably decreases as the level of education increases.

"The main merit of Professor Stember's excellent book, however discomforting its results, is to show that such assertions simply do not stand up when confronted with available evidence.... His results show clearly that there exists no simple unilinear relation between education and prejudice."

HOPE MURROW WINS MADEMOISELLE MERIT AWARD Hope Murrow is one of ten young women selected this year to receive Merit Awards by MADEMOISELLE magazine. The announcement is in the January issue of the magazine. Hope Murrow and her husband Dan are co-directors of the AFSC Friends Neighborhood Group in New York City.

WCAU-TV WILL BROADCAST 'STRANGERS TO HOPE' The AFSC's new film of its work with Algerian refugees in Tunisia will be broadcast by WCAU-TV in Philadelphia at 7 a.m. Saturday, January 13.

AFSC STATEMENT OPPOSES CIVIL DEFENSE ACTION A statement issued recently with approval of the AFSC Board of Directors expresses the Committee's opposition to all current civil defense activity and declared that "the only shelter is peace." The Committee said that it could not take part in civil defense preparations because it believes:

"1. Civil defense helps to make the idea of nuclear war tolerable to the American people. Nuclear war is not tolerable.

"2. Civil defense makes nuclear war more likely. Men think they must build shelters to be secure and then, feeling less vulnerable, they tend to become more belligerent. And if the Soviet citizens are going through the same process, they too will increase the harshness of their position and the futility of deterrence becomes evident.

"3. Civil defense threatens us with inward moral collapse in the name of strengthening us against outward danger. When Americans seriously debate shooting each other to insure the privacy of their shelters, when suburbia thinks to save itself with no thought of the crowded city, when theologians seek an ethic that releases us from the dilemma of our neighbor's needs--we are not engaged in defending our values; we are involved, personally and intimately, in their destruction. When these things happen, our democratic society begins to die."

Alex Morrisey

FOCUS
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AFSC CORPORATION MEETS: ELECTS OFFICERS

PUBLIC MEETINGS REVIEW YEAR'S WORK

Editor's note: This issue of FOCUS presents a summary of the series of annual meetings and activities over the past weekend. This material may be adapted for local use. Note identification of new Board members for possible release to press.

CORPORATION MEMBERS VISIT AFSC FOR 'OPEN HOUSE' In response to the invitation to visit the AFSC and see its "backstage" operation, some 23 corporation members, with additional wives and guests, visited the national offices Thursday, Jan. 11. The guests moved through the offices freely and took advantage of the opportunity to discuss with staff members programs of particular interest, ask questions, and get better acquainted.

The visitors were guests of local Friends and their evening was free for assorted social engagements. More than 40 corporation members representing 18 or more Yearly Meetings registered during the two days.

HAROLD EVANS RE-ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF AFSC Harold Evans was re-elected chairman of the AFSC at the official meeting of the corporation on Friday, Jan. 12. Named vice-chairmen were Anna Brinton, Wallingford, Pennsylvania; M. Albert Linton, Moorestown, New Jersey, former president of Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company; and Delbert E. Replogle, Ridgewood, New Jersey, president of Molecular Dialectrics, Inc.

Colin W. Bell, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, was reappointed executive secretary. Also returned to office, as treasurer, was William A. Longshore, senior partner, I. Reifsnyder Son and Co.

Henry J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pennsylvania, continues as honorary chairman and Clarence E. Pickett, Haverford, as executive secretary emeritus.

New members named to the AFSC Board of Directors are: Lawrence S. Apsey, attorney, New York City, member New York Yearly Meeting; Elizabeth Marsh Jensen, La Grange, Wyoming, member Nebraska Yearly Meeting; Oscar O. Marshburn, Whittier, California, member California Yearly Meeting; James Perkins, Howard, Kansas, Kansas Yearly Meeting; Willard H. Ware, Worcester, Massachusetts, treasurer Hobbs Manufacturing Company, member New England Yearly Meeting; Bliss Forbush, Blue Ridge Summit, Pennsylvania, clerk of Balti-

(continued on page 2)

more Yearly Meeting, headmaster emeritus Friends School, Baltimore, Maryland; and Eleanor Zelliot, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, member Iowa Yearly Meeting.

The following persons were re-elected or named to terms on the Board after periods of absence from its membership: Henry C. Beerits, member of the law firm of Morgan, Lewis, and Bockius; Mary Evans Bethel, Philadelphia; Alan R. Hunt, Moylan, Pennsylvania, member of the law firm of Duane, Morris, and Heckscher; Richard R. Wood, Riverton, New Jersey; Mary Hoxie Jones, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Edna Legg, Sandy Spring, Maryland; and John W. Seybold, executive director Printing Industries of Philadelphia.

CIVIL DEFENSE DISCUSSED FRIDAY NIGHT A panel discussion on Friday night examined the question, "Security Through Civil Defense?" Joseph Conard, professor of economics at Swarthmore College was moderator.

Dr. William Davidon, head of the physics department at Haverford College, playing the devil's advocate, urged careful examination of arguments against civil defense which has some value in the saving of human lives. He said that Americans could work for disarmament while also making civil defense preparations. Opponents of civil defense, he said, must prepare for a "long struggle" and should not grasp indiscriminately every anti-defense argument. For example, he said that proponents of machine gunning neighbors are only a small minority of the population. He suggested that the United States support the social revolutions around the world which will help remove international tensions.

Arthur Waskow, a former congressional legislative assistant, said there are two schools of thought on nuclear war in the military establishment. One advocates attack only against the enemy's nuclear potential and the other supports the all-out deterrent theory without emphasizing civil defense. The political decision is neither of these, he said, but an "insurance" program that tries not to be provocative.

Dr. Jerome Frank, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, said the United States fear of the Soviet Union is matched by their fear of us. "They interpret our every act as aggression," he said. Civil defense preparations encourage a psychological reaction of distrust and predisposition to panic and our acts stimulate the Russians to build bigger and better bombs as a defensive measure.

Wilmer Young, who is active with the Committee for Nonviolent Action, stressed the moral implications of civil defense. He said that while we formerly expected the military to protect the civilian population, that responsibility is now being placed on the citizen. Civilians are tacitly joining in an alliance with the military when they participate in civilian defense preparations, he said.

SATURDAY PUBLIC MEETINGS REVIEW AFSC PROGRAMS Public meetings on Saturday attracted large audiences for both morning and afternoon sessions. Most of the attenders also saw two new AFSC films during the noon hour--WHICH WAY THE WIND and STRANGERS TO HOPE.

George Loft, director of the Quaker United Nations Program, said at the afternoon session that the United States is challenged to "continue as a staunch supporter of the U.N. even when it may move counter to what are considered specific U.S. interests."

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Noting the growing tendency of Americans to criticize the United Nations, he said that the United States will continue to be extremely influential in U.N. affairs but may no longer be able to count on predictable results.

"To support the U.N. only so long as it is a reliable mechanism of U.S. foreign policy would be to justify the Communist criticism of the U.N. on this very point," George Loft said.

Criticism of the United Nations, George said, reflects honest concern over three main trends in the United Nations: (1) the rising influence of the newer members of the U.N. with an apparent drop in the influence of the United States and other Western countries; (2) the role of the U.N. in the Congo; and (3) the indifference to U.N. procedures and directives by various members.

"If the newer members of the U.N. are not perfect, they have not had perfect examples to follow. Most of them, however, are trying to find the best international course for their own countries to follow in this early stage of their independence. Weakened United States support for the U.N. may not result automatically in pushing these newer states into the Communist camp, but it is hardly likely to strengthen their allegiance to the West."

In regard to U.N. operation in the Congo, he said the organization found itself unexpectedly charged with restoring law and order in a deteriorating position from which it felt the only escape was drastic military action. "It was projected into a situation whose profound instability was the result of decades of colonial action and inaction. The U.N. was plagued by dissension among its major members, and by the sheer physical problems of international peace keeping at this stage of world development.

"It may have been naive to expect that the U.N. could function as the nonviolent agency of an essentially violent world. Americans should not be too disappointed if, at this stage of events, the U.N. turns out to be something less than perfect."

West, East, and neutrals are guilty of ignoring or flouting U.N. procedures and directives, he said. He cited Russia and France, which refuse to pay their share of the U.N. Congo budget, and a threat of similar action by Britain.

"The U.N. can be effective only to the extent that its big-power members wish it to be effective," he said.

Colin W. Bell, executive secretary of the AFSC, said that today, 2,000 years after men were called upon by Christ to use the power of love in their lives, they are "obsessed by a stupendous new power--the power of the atom.

"Except in spots, during 2,000 years we have never tried love," he said. "It does not fail, but men fail love."

Dr. John Pixton, assistant director of the Ogontz Campus of Pennsylvania State University, described AFSC programs in Morocco and Tunisia which aid some 300,000 Algerian refugees who have fled the war zones of their country. He directed the program in Morocco for more than a year.

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The Service Committee programs of direct relief and service provide some reason for refugees "to stay alive in a world of sun, sand, soldiers, and uncertainty," he said. The programs are well received, he said, because they have an obvious utility and have earned the respect of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the host governments, the Algerians, and other voluntary agencies working with the refugees.

Laurama Pixton, acting director of refugee programs overseas, supplemented the report of John Pixton with a description of the work being done in sewing centers sponsored by the AFSC in Morocco. She discussed the changing role of women and illustrated it by the comment of a boy. He told an AFSC worker how his sister used to do nothing but sit at home all day but now, he said, "She sits at home all day and knits."

Esther Rhoads, former field director in Tunisia, said that Committee programs in that country are trying to help the refugees to keep hope alive. Water, housing, and food are their major problems. The problem of helping them is complicated because they are scattered over a large area rather than in established camps. The greatest need is bedding and the AFSC is helping meet this need through the shipment of blankets.

Participants in AFSC youth projects reflected on their experience, providing vivid accounts of the impact on their lives and others in projects. One was a German student attending Horace Mann School in New York City. Another speaker had been a member of an internes in community service project in Oakland, California. The other student participated last summer in work camps in Italy and Germany.

Eric Johnson, director of Voluntary International Service Assignments, described the new program which has about 40 young men and women volunteer participants.

Charlotte Meacham, national representative of the AFSC Housing Program, said that when we take discrimination out of our neighborhoods and work for integrated communities we begin to communicate in an atmosphere of mutual respect. "The power that is moving through America today to overcome racial discrimination is a nonviolent power. It relies upon the orderly processes of law, on the decent impulses of people. It is a kind of power that can win without stooping to hate or recrimination," she said.

Barrett Hollister, secretary of the International Affairs Division, pointed to the complexity of the situations in which the AFSC becomes involved on the international scene. He observed that there is a tendency to oversimplify them, but we must avoid this approach to work effectively in this area. "In no sense are the problems isolated," he said.

SIDE LIGHTS Rather grim humor was injected into the meeting on civil defense. The story was told of the fuel oil delivery man who pumped 1,000 gallons of oil into a family's shelter through its air vent.

Another story was told which advised that in case of attack family pets may be killed before entering the shelter. If not, they should be fastened near a cement wall with a two weeks supply of food left in covered containers.

George Loft recalled an earlier assertion of Henry Cadbury's when he talked on the international situation. Answering a critic of Quaker naivete, Henry Cadbury had said: "In a world that has been so messed up by the hard-headed realists there may be a place for soft-headed Quakers."

Alex Morrison

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
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MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JANUARY 8 George Loft, director of the Quaker United Nations Program, discussed internal and external changes noticed in the United Nations during the past few months.

Among the internal changes he called attention to the increase to 104 members of which 52 are in the Afro-Asian group. These latter nations, he said, "are largely nonwhite and young and have evolved out of a vigorous colonial past." Their impact on the policies and procedures of the United Nations are sometimes reflected in harshness and in somewhat demanding petitions. The reaction of older members is sometimes supportive and at other times negative.

Among the seminars recently held at Quaker House have been a series discussing what small nations can do in the field of disarmament and another on the future of the United Nations. Coming soon will be a series to be attended by young diplomats of Afro-Asian countries studying in this country under sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

* * *

Jim Bristol presented some reflections on a recent five-week trip into five regions where he spoke extensively on college campuses, at Friends Meetings, and other occasions. Trips of this kind require considerable versatility in order to enable one to "roll with the punches" so that his contributions will be germane to the assigned topic. On one campus he was scheduled only for an early morning chapel talk but was engaged throughout the rest of the day in several informal conversations with student and faculty members.

Jim said he was encouraged by the greater openness to our point of view and the effort among some students and faculty members to look at the world through the eyes of other people and even to challenge the assumptions on which our social order is founded. In contrast there is also a growing conservatism on the campuses, he said.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JANUARY 15 The meeting was devoted to a discussion of civil defense and featured a summary of the meeting held Friday, January 12 as one event of the AFSC Annual Report Meetings. Eleanor Zelliot, chairman of the Information Service Committee and a member of the ad hoc committee which prepared the AFSC statement on civil defense, summarized the January 12 meeting. Steve Cary presided at the staff meeting and led the discussion which included contributions from several members of the AFSC staff.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JANUARY 22 Loren Tesdell, director of the AFSC Social and Technical Assistance Program, reported on his recent three months trip during which time he visited the Middle East, Africa, India, and

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East Pakistan. Loren was in Tanganyika for the first evaluation of the VISA volunteers who gathered in Moshi after a month of work in the field. They shared experiences and commented on the isolation, the lack of privacy, and the way of life in villages where they are working. The morale, he said, is high but maintaining good health may be a serious problem in some of the places where they are assigned.

Loren visited the VISA group in India where they will be working in a large educational institution and at a leprosy mission.

Loren observed that the VISA volunteers are being highly appreciated and warmly accepted. They make an impression because they do their own work instead of hiring servants and practice equality in the way they live. VISA assignments are all "tough" he said, and the volunteers are being put to a test under difficult circumstances. The physical problems are not as difficult as was expected but the "fishbowl existence" and social loneliness, plus the challenge of learning a new language, are problems of major concern.

In Jordan Loren saw the AFSC project in agricultural credit and marketing which he said is trying to get at the "heart of the Jordanian agriculture problem."

The Quaker Center in Dacca, East Pakistan, has moved in recent years more toward a social service project, Loren said. Bernard and Pamela Klausener, directors, described their role as "enablers" who are helping the Pakistanians there to conduct their program. Two VISA volunteers, John and Donna Wise, are members of the center staff.

Loren said that plans are being made to close the Barpali Village Project after ten years and turn the work over to Indian staff. An evaluation of the project is also being planned by the AFSC he said.

* * *

Stewart Meacham, secretary of the Peace Education Division, reported that at the recent roundup there was less feeling of urgency and obligation for public witness projects than was the case a year ago. This is due, he said, to a feeling that much more is being done in this area now and the AFSC role can be somewhat less. Another point of discussion at the roundup was a consideration of the role of Peace Education Division in encouraging study and use of nonviolence as a power in international conflicts. Bob Gilmore, peace education secretary in the AFSC New York office, reviewed the recent meeting in Beirut, Lebanon, where it was suggested that a "world peace brigade" be organized.

Stewart discussed the AFSC relationship to the Turn Toward Peace movement which is attempting to pool resources and interests for a stronger peace movement in the United States. AFSC support for the project has varied in the regions where some offices have been more active than others.

Another strong concern was reflected at the roundup for the new film version of WHICH WAY THE WIND, which it is hoped, can be broadcast on a national television network.

Two new proposals being considered by the Division include the research project in Denver, where it is hoped a three year test project to study the effectiveness of

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Return to MMB

peace education can be developed with a full time staff. The research will be conducted by a university. Another proposal includes a peace education project in Chicago which will attempt to involve industrial and white collar workers and will also include an evaluation of the undertaking.

There was agreement, Stewart reported, that a large opportunity is available for peace education work and more people are ready to respond to ideas. However, it was the rising articulateness of right wing opinion that may be troublesome in the coming year.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JANUARY 29 Wilbur Lew, executive vice president of Friends Suburban Housing, Inc. outlined the work and objectives of this organization formed about five years ago to offer, on a nondiscriminatory basis, a full line of real estate services. After a slow start, in which only one house was sold the first year, the firm now has completed seventy sales, mostly in Philadelphia suburban communities. Of the total, fifty-one were to Negro buyers and seventeen to white buyers.

Wilbur Lew said that the major "stumbling block" in the operation is the difficulty of obtaining listings of good suburban property. Many sellers, including persons who cooperate with the organization and are active in race relations activities, find it impossible to offer their property on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Dick Taylor, who works with the educational program of the Friends Suburban Housing, said his efforts are directed toward helping the minority buyer move peacefully into a new community and participate fully in its life, and toward working in neighborhoods to find "friendly neighbors" who will support integrated housing.

* * *

Charles Walker reported on the Brummana Conference held at the Friends School in Brummana near Beirut, Lebanon, on December 28th to January 1st. Its considerations related to the question of whether nonviolence can apply to conflicts between nations. He was one of four AFSC related individuals who attended on their own initiative and at their expense.

Charles Walker said that a declaration was issued by the conference announcing the formation of a World Peace Brigade for Nonviolent Action "to bring the liberating and transforming power of nonviolence to bear more effectively in our world." The declaration stated the intention "to organize, train, and keep available a brigade for nonviolent action in situations of actual or potential conflict, internal and international, against all world preparations for war, and the continuing development of weapons of mass destruction." He said the energy and initiative which made possible such an ambitious decision emerged as a result of the developments within the movements for nonviolence during the past fifteen years in various parts of the world.

Three projects were approved in broad outline by the conference but further developments are necessary before they are undertaken. One would seek reconciliation between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. Another will dramatize a menace of nuclear war through initiating world-wide protest on a chosen day. A third project, plans for which are already being implemented, is aimed at achieving national liberation from oppressive rule in southern Africa.

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The organizational structure for the World Peace Brigade was set up immediately and for the next few months its headquarters will be in London with Arlo Tatum of War Resisters International serving as interim staff.

RAY WILSON WILL BE FCNL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY EMERITUS E. Raymond Wilson, who has served as executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation for 18 years, will now be executive secretary emeritus. This action was taken at the annual meeting of the General Committee, held in Washington, January 19 - 21. In this new capacity he will continue many of his previous activities in the field of world disarmament and meeting human needs at home and abroad.

Edward F. Snyder, for six years the Committee's legislative secretary, was made executive secretary at the meeting.

HOWARD K. SMITH STARTS NEWS ANALYSIS ON ABC FEBRUARY 14 Howard K. Smith, formerly Washington correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting System, will begin a weekly program of news analysis on ABC Television February 14. (7:30-8 p.m., EST). The program will be sponsored by Nationwide Insurance Company of Columbus, Ohio.

In announcing the new program James C. Hagerty, ABC vice president, said he asked Mr. Smith to join the network because of its policy "to report not only what has happened in the news, but how it came to happen and why and, to the extent possible, how it might affect the future." He acknowledged that Mr. Smith's analysis or interpretation may not please everyone but said the commentator will "have complete freedom of expression."

WIRE AWAY! IT'S YOUR 75¢ Western Union Telegraph Co. has a reduced rate Monday to citizens who have something to say to Washington.

The Company will wire 15 words of anybody's opinion to the nation's capital at a cut rate of 75 cents, plus tax.

The service is an experimental one for "personal opinion messages," intended for those who want to express their views to President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson, or any senator or representative.

From anywhere in the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, the cost of a message of 15 words or less, followed by a sender's name and address, and title and organization if desired, will be 83 cents, including the 8-cent Federal tax. (AP 1-22)

RECENT STAFF INTRODUCTIONS Dorothy Martiny, appointed assistant file clerk, Personnel Department on a part-time basis; formerly clerk-typist at Philadelphia YMCA.

Susan Feldman, peace interne in the Middle Atlantic Regional Office is a student at Antioch College and will serve until the end of March.

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VII Number 4 February 16, 1962

WHAT THE PEACE MOVEMENT NEEDS That is the title of an article in THE NATION, January 27, by Charles D. Bolton who says that the period since mid-1961 has seen the greatest proliferation of peace activities since the 1930's. Among the reasons for this, he says, are the Berlin crisis, the deterioration in the United Nations, and the Soviet test resumption. But the major reason, he thinks, is the "realization, yet hazy for many, that powerful elements in American society are mentally and morally capable of starting a nuclear war, or at least of knowingly taking actions involving the highest risk of one." The author complains that the lasting power of the movement is in doubt because of the very individual spontaneity which has been its initial strength. The new peace workers direct their anguish at crises of the moment but few look beyond 1962 to any specific program for attaining peace, he said.

"Winning the peace will almost certainly require persistent effort over a period of years. Can individual responsibility be sustained simply by crises, without the morale and ideology of organized groups? Will it operate during periods of low international tension, which is actually when the most political progress can be made? The new peace workers have been concerned largely with registering their own protests and encouraging like-minded people to register theirs without, for the most part, addressing themselves to the organizational and tactical questions involved in influencing the general public. The movement still thinks in terms of the $2.00 contribution. There are no spokesmen who speak in ringing terms, no symbols of evil, no enemies decried.

"Perhaps the fundamental internal problem of the peace movement is the character of its leadership. There are no important political names among its active leaders. Clergymen and union officials, with certain notable exceptions, have provided little leadership; and considering their organizational contexts, not much can be hoped from them. A major source of leadership remains with pacifist-oriented groups like the Friends, and their record of quiet, consistent effort is admirable. ...It is extremely difficult for persons ultimately committed to nonviolent resistance to accept the conflict-group theory of influence. Yet it is doubtful whether political decision makers can be swayed without concerted organizational persuasion, whether popular stereotypes about international affairs can be changed without publicly raising questions about the integrity and commitment to democracy of the power blocs promoting the ideology of the military state."

The article is "must" reading.

QUAKER BACKGROUND OF LINCOLN TRACED Henry Cadbury, honorary chairman of the AFSC, declared recently that he is convinced that Abraham Lincoln had a Quaker background. Writing in the FRIENDS JOURNAL, Henry Cadbury asserted that if Lincoln's paternal great-grandfather was not a Quaker, he married into a family that was Quaker on both sides.

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NEWSPAPER FEATURES WORK CAMPS Jim Syphers, new Pittsburgh youth secretary of the Middle Atlantic regional office, was recently publicized in connection with his weekend work camp efforts in a lengthy article in the PITTSBURGH COURIER, a Negro weekly newspaper.

"Some white youngsters come who've had no association with Negroes. One fellow came expecting to be shocked by a very low standard of living, but in working with people in Homewood, he discovered that most of them had a greater concern for their neighborhoods than did most of his own neighbors.

"This same fellow found that though the people didn't live in mansions, their homes were very well kept inside and that they were truly solid citizens. It became apparent that they did not fit into a stereotype and that many of the things he had heard about Negroes simply weren't true.

"In working together, a sort of communication is established between the people of the neighborhood and the youngsters themselves, because all are having a hand in something worthwhile."

In all instances they work with people, never for them.

All of this is aimed at broadening the outlook of these citizens of tomorrow. Syphers has said, "Our whole approach is one of learning, not to want to educate one to his own views, but to come to understand each other's views."

TRIPARTITE WORK AND STUDY PROJECT AFSC, Friends Service Council of Great Britain, and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR will sponsor a community service project to be held in England. Time will be provided for discussions and trips during the project which will be held for 3 or 4 weeks during July and August. Each group will send 10 participants. The cost is $600 which includes transportation, maintenance, insurance, orientation, and participation in one additional work camp. Americans in Europe may also apply for this project. Volunteers must be 20 or over, and knowledge of Russian and previous project experience are desirable. In 1963 and 1964 similar projects will be held in Russia and the United States.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS REQUEST FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION Tartt Bell, executive secretary of the AFSC office in High Point, was one of several spokesmen for religious groups who called on Congress recently to consider legislation to promote equal employment opportunity by eliminating bias based on race, color, and religion. In presenting the position of the AFSC, Tartt Bell said voluntary efforts are inadequate in achieving equal employment opportunities for Negroes and that federal legislation is needed to outlaw racial and religious discrimination in employment. He said that the AFSC has found no industry in the Southeast free of "flagrant employment discrimination" and that restricted opportunity is the primary factor in the migration of qualified Negroes from the south.

(continued on Page 3)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, FEBRUARY 5 In duscussing the problems confronting the American Indians, Walter Taylor, national representative of the AFSC Indian program, said other Americans are challenged to avoid being part of the "Indian problem." Indians, he said, have suffered every imaginable atrocity based on greed, "progress", and a misguided desire to civilize heathen savages. Some of this is due to a misunderstanding of the Indian's religion and of his allegiance to land.

How to "speak truth to power" in expressing concern for American Indians is a problem which requires a thorough knowledge of Indian needs as well as the legal, anthropological, and political aspects of the situation. Too often, he said, we have too little truth to speak and the additional problem of deciding where the power is that must be spoken to. Walter Taylor feared that our voice is too often only a "squeak."

He suggested the need to first listen carefully to those we wish to help, as well as to those who hold power. What if we are the power that truth is being spoken to?

He closed with the following paragraph taken from the June, 1961, issue of the SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW and written by Alexander Lesser of the Department of Sociology at Hofstra College:

> Meanwhile, the best we can do, as Felix Cohen once put it, may be 'to get out of the way' of the Indians, to stop hampering their efforts to work out their own destiny, and especially to stop trying to make them give up their Indian identity. In a world which may be moving toward greater internationalism, in which we hope that peoples, however diverse, will choose the way of democracy, we cannot avoid the responsibility for a democratic resolution of the American Indian situation. Our attitude toward the Indians, the stubbornness of nonconformance among us, may be the touchstone of our tolerance of diversity everywhere.

* * *

Colin Bell displayed a citation presented to the AFSC by the Japanese National Conference of Social Welfare last fall. The citation, written in the best calligraphy, expressed appreciation for the distribution of relief goods in Japan during the past nine years.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, FEBRUARY 12 Nancy Duryee reported on her January trip to Columbia, Guatemala, and Mexico. In Guatemala she was the AFSC representative at the Inter-American Seminar on Educational Travel Programs, an event sponsored by the United States Council on Student Travel and the Columbian Institute for Advanced Training Abroad.

The conference considered problems faced by students transferring from one culture to another. Concern was expressed about the need for more orientation for these students. For example, Nancy described an informal discussion with a group of Latin American students who asked many questions about segregation, desegregation, imperialism, and

(continued on Page 4)

Cuba. It is important, she said, for Latin American students to understand that the social position they enjoy in their own countries may not be recognized in America. Some of the differences between institutions in Latin America and in the United States are reflected in the poor libraries of the Latin American universities and the limited number of courses available to students.

Nancy Duryee reported that the VISA volunteers in Guatemala were adapting themselves satisfactorily to their work and had overcome the initial siege of illness. They had finally concluded, she said, that it was impractical to have their meals with village families. Some difficulty was reported in getting materials for their teaching assignments. The future of the program is bright and the four volunteers in Guatemala will be joined by four others later this year.

RECENT STAFF INTRODUCTIONS Joan Walker, secretary to Alex Morisey and Fred Echelmeyer in Information Service, formerly worked on temporary assignments in general administration and Youth Services Division.

Vera Walker transferred within the Youth Services Division to begin as secretary to Jim Bristol.

Paul Miller, general and assistant mail clerk in the Central Mailing and Duplicating Department under the supervision of Austin Gaugel. He formerly worked as a clerk in the U. S. Government.

KENNEDY COMMENTS ON NUCLEAR WAR "Now, if someone thinks we should have a nuclear war in order to win, I can inform them that there will not be winners in the next nuclear war if there is one, and that this country and other countries will suffer heavy blows. So that we have to proceed with responsibility and with care in an age where the human race can obliterate itself." (President Kennedy at his February 14 news conference.)

NINE JAILED FOR PICKETING AT WHITE HOUSE Nine "walkers for peace" were arrested Monday, February 6, in Washington while picketing in front of the White House and chose to go to jail for ten days rather than pay a fine of ten dollars each. They were charged with violating the Washington law prohibiting demonstrations within 500 feet of embassies or grounds or buildings occupied by foreign dignitaries. They were members of a group sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action and were seeking to present appeals to President Kennedy to end nuclear bomb tests. They were marching on the sidewalk in front of the White House when Congolese Premier Cyrille Adoula arrived for a conference with Mr. Kennedy. The picketers had been asked by Washington police to move their march across Pennsylvania Avenue while Adoula was a guest of the President. Six of the marchers complied with the request and the other nine refused saying to the police that "we know we are in violation of your statute but we believe our cause is more important than your statute."

Among those who went to jail were Lawrence Scott, director of the Peace Action Center in Washington and Robert Gilmore, of the AFSC New York office.

Alex Morisey

MJ-file

FOCUS

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SEMINARS DISCUSS "DETERRENCE" SERIES Peace Education Division's new contribution to peace literature, the "BEYOND DETERRENCE" series, got off to a good start at two study-discussion seminars, one in New York City on January 30, and the other in Washington, D.C., on February 8.

University of Minnesota's Mulford Sibley, professor of political theory, was present in New York while his study on "Unilateral Initiatives and Disarmament" was reviewed in a nonpublished session.

D. F. Fleming's "Does Deterrence Deter?" received similar consideration at Davis House in the nation's capital, with a representative of the defense department and state department and others in attendance.

Comments, favorable and otherwise, are being collected and many will be included in the published form of the pamphlet to serve as a discussion guide for study groups.

The first Sibley pamphlet will be published February 28 with Fleming's shortly thereafter. They will sell for 35 cents a copy.

In addition to the two named previously, there is in preparation: "Disarmament and the Communist Threat" by Fred Warner Neal; "Unintended War" by Arthur Waskow; "Revolution and Cold War" by Sidney Lens; and "One World--One Man" by Erich Fromm.

EXCHANGE STUDENTS JOIN SAS SCHOOLS HERE Two more countries now have exchange students in the United States under the School Affiliation Service program. Joanna Collumbell from the Arundel High School of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, is at St. Helen's Hall School in Portland, Oregon.

COMMENT FROM VISA VOLUNTEER ON INDIAN RESERVATION Jill Albert teaches grades one through three in a government school on an Indian reservation in North Dakota. She wrote recently: "It would be wonderful if I could be teaching a small fraction of what I am learning.... There just isn't time in a day for half of what I would like to be doing. I meet with six reading groups, arithmetic on each grade level, and spelling and writing each day. Unfortunately, that leaves little time for anything else. Art, music, science, and health are only squashed into the program.

HUMOR IN SWARTHMORE IS REALISM IN WINSTON-SALEM The story has been going the rounds in this area of the family that had oil pumped into its fallout shelter by mistake. It happened recently in Winston-Salem according to a story by the ASSOCIATED PRESS.

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ISU PARTICIPANTS COMMENT ON EXPERIENCE College students who took part recently in an AFSC weekend Institutional Service Unit at Morningside Hospital, Portland, Oregon, told what the experience meant to them. The hospital newsletter, MORNINGSIDE MIRROR, reported the following comments made during evaluation sessions.

"This has been one of the most educational days I've spent. The information I received has answered the misconceptions I had.....I truly wish more of these weekends could be offered to college students. This should be an important requirement for education majors as well as others."

"Informative far beyond my expectations. Today I have been able to form a realistic concept of mental illness. The degree to which the experiences of today have affected my opinion of both mental illness and mental institutions is inexpressible."

"I feel I understand much better now the mentally ill and have lost all fright of them. The importance of a loving relationship to a psychotic person was reinforced in my mind.....I was also very impressed with the staff-patient relationship as well as the personal attention given to us as visitors."

"The day has been a wonderful experience in sharing with fellow human beings. The day was especially rewarding in that it showed that any human will respond to sincere friendliness and interest. It has given me a real understanding of the mentally ill and what can be done for them, and what is being done. I especially enjoyed getting to know the people who work with these patients. They all seemed to show a wonderful kind of love and sense of humor toward their patients which I hadn't expected."

"...An enlightening, thrilling, and admittedly somewhat depressing weekend. But there is much more hope than depression!"

"I would like to do volunteer work in a mental hospital now that I have seen its operation as being humane and sincere, rather than scientific and impersonal. The staff was so considerate, I felt their interest and the need to communicate this feeling about patients into the outside world. The friendliness and companionship rather than a 'superior-inferior' type of relationship was very good both for the patients and for us."

"I am now more determined than ever to go ahead with my social studies so that I can be of real service in mental hospitals."

THE CASE FOR GERM WARFARE The following letter is reprinted in its entirety from the January issue of FOR's magazine, FELLOWSHIP:

Dear Editors:

Like, I have nothing against germ warfare--I mean, that's their business--it's when people go "buggie" and fight among themselves that's degrading. (Theodore Lent-Koop, Royal Oak, Michigan.)

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MONDAY STAFF MEETING, FEBRUARY 26 Morris Keeton, chairman of the International Conferences and Seminars Committee, discussed the aims of the programs which he described as, "an investment in individuals with a view of transformation of their cultures, the better to fulfill men socially and spiritually."

AFSC conferences and seminars, he said, are conducted with the hope that they can make timely impact upon the significant choices governments and societies must make. The program recognizes that the encounters it arranges may raise threat to the sense of values held by some participants. Hence, they exercise extreme caution to secure those values.

Morris Keeton stressed the need for constant reinvigoration and refreshment which may be gained by hand-and-head contact with the individuals whose distresses and experiences will determine the degree of success for our endeavors.

He said the expense of the conferences and seminars in talent, time, money, and facilities may be compared with the effort and investment today in applied physical sciences. The scale of AFSC venturesomeness is small, he said, but we need not worry about the comparison. Instead, we should enlist all the help we can reach in the planning and implementation of our programs.

* * *

Clarence Pickett reported on a recent meeting at Davis House in Washington where an evaluation of the Washington International Seminars program was undertaken. The program was established about 10 years ago, with the purpose of bringing to the attention of persons in government and journalism the results of valuable research in the social sciences on problems related to their work.

The participants, all who had attended the seminars over a period of years, agreed that no other agency could render the same service with the same amount of freedom as the AFSC. They discussed the question of the advantages and disadvantages of representatives of both the administrative and legislative branches of government attending the same seminars. It was concluded that it was better for both to meet together though not as representatives of their respective branches of government.

It was suggested that future topics might include the effect of automation on American society, the problems of certain small, unattached, and vulnerable land areas, and the relation of religion to world affairs.

QUAKER EDITOR SEEKS CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATION Robert E. Wilson, publisher of a chain of country newspapers in central Illinois, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination to Congress from his state's 22nd district, where he is both editor and farmer.

During his campaign, Robert Wilson has made clear his membership in the Religious Society of Friends and his C.O. status during World War II. A campaign photograph shows him wearing an AFSC lapel button.

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CATHOLIC PACIFISTS SPEAK TO STAFF GROUP Hildegard Goss-Mayr and her husband, Jean Goss, widely known European Catholic Pacifists and founders of an international center for East-West relations in Vienna, told an AFSC luncheon group of 40 this week that the deGaulle Government has agreed finally that there should be a law protecting the rights of conscientious objectors in France. This law will be presented after the Algerian war ends.

The couple, missionaries of Christian pacifism and nonviolence, have been working with associates on behalf of French conscientious objectors, many of whom are serving prison terms as long as 15 years for refusal to participate in the Algerian war.

Hildegard and Jean talk with bishops of the Roman church, prominent Protestant leaders, and members of the government in this work.

Presently they are on a four-month visit to Latin America where they will appeal to the Catholic clergy and influential laity, the intellectuals and those in government to alleviate the conditions which prevail among the peasantry before utter frustration forces violence which may go to the extreme right or left.

Their thesis is that Christianity, working as Christ intended it to, makes violence unthinkable and unnecessary. Jean says they sow the seed of nonviolence and do not ask when and where it will germinate for they are certain its effect is being felt.

WHICH WAY THE WIND TO BE READY APRIL 1 The film version of "WHICH WAY THE WIND", Philip Lewis' DocuDrama on the search for alternatives to violence, will be available for public scheduling by April 1.

Reduced in time to 28 minutes, the play is interpreted in a tense, clipped manner by four Hollywood actors, John Raitt, Marsha Hunt, James Whitmore, and Robert Snyder. They volunteered their services, memorized their lines when they could find time, then in one short, continuous session in a rented studio, filmed the play.

The film extends the current interest in the drama indefinitely after the stage performance had completed two coast-to-coast tours and numerous groups have used it locally. It was shown at the peace secretary's roundup at Yucaipa, California. Plans are being explored to have the film used widely on television.

Arrangements for showing the picture may be made through regional offices or the Information Service, AFSC national headquarters.

FLASH! T.V. PROGRAM ON QUAKERS SET FOR JUNE We have just had word that the long-awaited T.V. documentary on Quakers in America has been definitely scheduled for Friday, June 8, from 9:30 to 10:30 p.m. Check your local channels for this NBC program. The title of the show is "The Gentle Persuaders." Initiated and produced by the news division of NBC, the show is expected to include, for example, portions on AFSC, Pendle Hill, Friends Hospital (Philadelphia), and Earlham College, as well as scenes of Friends worship in both the East and the Midwest.

Alex Mooney

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
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PAULINGS SPEAK ON TRIP TO SOVIET UNION At every gathering Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling attended during their recent visit to the Soviet Union, they were asked how Russians could work for peace. This they reported at a luncheon here last week.

The Paulings had been invited to participate in an anniversary celebration by the Soviet Academy of Science in November.

Dr. Pauling was asked at the luncheon meeting, how the Russians viewed the resumption of nuclear testing by their own government, and he said he had received the same stock answer there as used in this country: "We had no other choice."

The scientist did say, however, that the initiative in the arms race has been with the United States, pointing out that we used the atom bomb first, built up the first stock pile, developed and detonated the first hydrogen bomb, conducted the first 100 megaton test.

He called the recent Presidental decision to resume above ground testing "appalling," and said it reduced materially the chances of the world's escaping a planned nuclear holocaust in the next ten years.

Dr. Pauling told the group that before returning home he had testified in Old Bailey, London, on behalf of the civil disobedience defendants who had entered a restricted military base.

Although he is qualified as an expert in military explosives as well as in nuclear and biological fields, he said the judge would not admit his testimony.

The Paulings are on a nationwide speaking tour for the Peace Education Division of the AFSC.

THREE DISCUSS PEACE MOVEMENT Peace education secretary Stewart Meacham, AFSC peace education committee member William S. Davidon, and Dorothy Hutchinson, president of the American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, discussed the U.S. peace movement with radio commentator David Crane over WIP, Sunday evening, March 11.

The program grew out of the protest staged at City Hall March 5 in response to President Kennedy's announcement that above ground nuclear testing would be resumed.

A tape of the 55-minute interview which presented the pacifist point of view on testing and disarmament and on a citizen's duty to speak out to his government in moments of disagreement is being obtained by Information Service.

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STUDENTS PLEA ELICITS APOLOGY FROM BARBER The following letter, written by thirteen students of Glen Rock (New Jersey) High School and delivered to a local barber who had refused to cut the hair of a Negro student, resulted in an apology by the barber to the students:

> This is a letter of concern not anger. We, being the young, find ourselves in the position of accepting our parents' world with all its misunderstanding and hypocrisies, and we are expected to continue and agree with what has gone on before us. However, we will not continue and we will not agree. There are too many changes occurring to remain stationary.
>
> In this new, turning world of ours, we cannot quibble about the color of our neighbor's skin, we cannot argue about classes or equality, we cannot be unjust, because there is not time or room for this.
>
> Last week you refused to give a Negro a haircut in your shop because you feared it would damage your business. Most of us, upon hearing this, were surprised and very much concerned. We realize the social pressures of discrimination, but new values and ideas from the young now oppose these pressures and it becomes necessary to make a decision between the two. We feel that mere security and money is a weak replacement for human decency, that it would be much more rewarding to follow a principle and endure any consequences, than to yield and accept an injustice. Deciding either way will make you lose some business; it is a difficult situation and it is your choice.

The barber was quoted as saying: "It was one of those quick reactions that you know in your mind is wrong. These boys are my friends. If I have to choose between 100 would-be friends and 10 positive friends, I'll take the positive friends. I'll back up these youngsters wholeheartedly and if a lead has to be taken, I'm happy to be a pioneer."

NEW BOOKS Jessamyn West has compiled THE QUAKER READER, a volume published this week by Viking press. It traces the origins and spread of Quakerism. It includes the writings of George Fox, William Penn, John Barclay, Walt Whitman, Rufus M. Jones and Elizabeth Gray Vining.

VISA PROGRAM SEEKS BOY SCOUT MANUALS The AFSC VISA program needs 20 copies of the BOY SCOUT FIELD MANUAL for the use of volunteers. The manual is out of print and will not be reprinted for a year. Persons wishing to contribute copies may send them to the VISA program in the AFSC national office. If desired, the program will replace the manual when new ones are available. The manual has material which will be useful to VISA volunteers living in under developed areas and includes first-aid and survival information.

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MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MARCH 5 Thelma How reported on the fifth Asilomar Conference on Human Rights which she attended recently in California. A total of 496 high school students attended the gathering sponsored by the San Francisco office.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy of Atlanta and John D. Rockefeller IV were the principal speakers. Rev. Abernathy got a rousing welcome from the conference. He stressed the need for individuals to learn to respect and to live with their fellowmen. American Negroes, he said, have decided to have freedom now--with nonviolence. He rushed away from the conference to go on trial in Albany, Ga., for an alleged offense he described thus: "Some of us thought it important to pray."

John D. Rockefeller IV described his "easy life" until he experienced the impact of an AFSC work camp in Japan. He then ironically said his life had been "messed up" since then. He talked about the physical softness of American youth and their complacent attitude toward world problems. He commented on his surprise at seeing conditions in New York's Spanish section of Harlem and said they were worse than in Asia.

Thelma How, who admitted some initial skepticism about the usefulness of large conferences of young people, said she had been convinced that many students had been reached in some depth.

* * *

Steve Cary reported on the recent meeting of Representative Council in Chicago. He indicated some of the internal matters of business which were discussed, and emphasized the importance of the opportunity for fellowship and communication it afforded among staff, committee, and board members across the country.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MARCH 12 Wil Hartzler, director of U.S. Projects, said two programs this summer will be related to urban renewal efforts in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia where residents will be helped to rehabilitate residential properties. The improvement of water resources will be undertaken on Indian reservations at Cherokee, N.C., Lame Deer, Montana., and Tule River, California.

An Internes in Community Service project in Nashville, Tenn., will permit participants to work with social agencies that are in the process of desegregating staff and services. Another project is being planned in the south in which young people will work with voter registration campaigns.

* * *

Mary Elizabeth Flock reported on some observations made during her recent visit to regional offices and School Affiliation Service programs in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Pasadena. She also attended conferences of teachers and leaders participating in the SAS program.

She noticed particularly, she said, the similarity of the topics and problems which get the attention of groups attending SAS conferences each year. It was suggested at the Seattle Conference that sometimes exchange materials from the United States may be so elaborate as to overwhelm the recipients, for example, an elaborate yearbook from an American school. "We need not always be so generous," she said.

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PERSONNEL INTRODUCTIONS Julie Nevius Young will transfer to U.S. Projects from the Refugee Program-Overseas and will be working for Wil Hartzler and Eleanor Hall on a temporary assignment.

Dorothy Collier will transfer to the Refugee Program-Overseas from the Africa Program as secretarial assistant.

Marjorie Seely was appointed secretarial assistant to Thelma How and Barbara Brecht in the Youth Services Division. Her recent work experience was in the advertising department, Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Paul Buck has joined the staff of Information Service as audio-visual materials coordinator. He formerly made medical motion pictures for American Cyanamid Company in Danbury, Conn.

THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR Howard E. Gruber is the author of an article entitled, "Man or Megaperson?" which appeared in the October 1961 issue of the BULLETIN published by The Committee for World Development and World Disarmament. Dr. Gruber is associate professor of psychology at the University of Colorado. The following excerpts are from the article.

"One of the great social discoveries of man is the need to struggle for what we believe, sometimes even at the cost of life itself. In the thermonuclear age, the morality of human survival confronts most sharply the morality of struggle for principle. Now, in defending a principle with your own life, the presumption is made that you preserve the principle for other men to enjoy. If, however, your struggle takes a form that kills other men by the millions and creates conditions that make the principle meaningless, your death is worthless. Therefore, forms of struggle must be found that defend the principle without destroying life itself. The failure to recognize and resolve this dilemma has led to the pathologically one-sided morality which sees thermonuclear war as a potential solution to political problems.

"There is a kind of Gresham's law about moral behavior. The number of casualties acceptable in war is determined as much by the going moral standard as by military capability. Remember, when we prepare ourselves militarily to inflict 20-40-60 million casualties upon another country, we prepare them morally to inflict a like number on ourselves.

"Those who have learned to think in terms of megaton bombs have also learned to think of survival and death in terms of megapersons. For me, an individual life is not a small fraction of a megaperson, it is an individual life. If we abandon that fundamental unit of moral analysis it is only to provide ourselves with a rationalization, an intellectual facade, because when all is said and done, no matter how tough we are, we have not yet learned to look squarely at the human horror of thermonuclear war..."

FORMER STAFF MEMBER HAS TV COURSE ON FAR EAST Hilary Conroy, a former director of the International Student Seminar program in Japan, is teaching a television course on the history of the Far East twice weekly on WCAU-TV in Philadelphia. The program is broadcast on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 6:30 a.m.

Alex Morrison

NJ-file

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
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COMMENT ON AFSC FARM LABOR PROGRAM It is interesting to see AFSC programs through the eyes of others. A recent example is a monograph by Dr. Cyrus H. Karraker, president of Pennsylvania Citizens Committee on Migrant Labor, Lewisburg, Pa., on the "Agricultural Seasonal Laborers of Colorado and California."

Dr. Karraker said that Bard McAllister, of the AFSC Farm Labor Project, "helped me a great deal not only in showing me around but also in making very useful contacts for me in my research."

Dr. Karraker asks: "How can the problems of the agricultural laborers be solved except through their own self-improvement? This requires guidance from experienced persons and such service is provided by the American Friends Service Committee Farm Labor Project.

"The Farm Labor Project has worked with the farm laborers of Tulare County (California) the past five years laying the major emphasis on community development. The success of its efforts is evidenced by the formation of Community Improvement Associations at Teviston, Goshen, and Beacon. Adequate water supplies at reasonable rates, adult education, and recreational facilities are some of the community gains that have resulted.

"All efforts are 'directed toward helping a farm laborer to gain confidence in himself by becoming a responsible member of an improving community.' Now these ideas are catching on. Citizens' groups are active in planning other self-help projects for communities that will include health, education, recreation, and other benefits."

Dr. Karraker says the Farm Labor Cooperative, directed by Russell Curtis is "...basic to democracy and one that shows great promise for the future. It is composed of farm laborers and is under their control. Its purpose is to obtain year-round employment for its members at the best wages and under the best working conditions possible, and to provide dependable labor for growers. As growers have their cooperatives, so can farm laborers have them, and the one functioning through contracts signed with growers is proving quite successful in its program of keeping wages up and providing employment the year around."

INDIAN AIDE ASSIGNED TO HELP THE SENECAS Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, announced this week the assignment of Sidney M. Carney to work with the Seneca Indians of New York on problems resulting from the construction of the Kinzua Dam near Warren, Pennsylvania. Mr. Carney, of Choctaw and Creek descent, is a career employee of the Indian Affairs Bureau. (United Press International, March 22.)

(Continued on Page 2)

DELAWARE COUNTY PERSONS SIGN OPEN-OCCUPANCY COVENANT More than 100 residents of a large area of Delaware County, to the south of Philadelphia, have advertised their willingness to "welcome any responsible family in our neighborhood without reservation concerning color, creed or national origin."

This statement of "open occupancy" was sponsored by Media Fellowship House, which for over 15 years has been working for better inter-racial and inter-religious relationships.

The statement says, "We would not hesitate to buy a home next to such a responsible person." The advertisement appeared in the WEEKLY VISITOR, a small newspaper delivered to all homes in the area, and there is a statement which promises new names next month.

ADVICE FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT An examination of the peace movement with some forthright suggestions on some of its needs is offered in a "memo to the peace movement" entitled, "An Alternative to Slogans," published in THE NATION, March 24. The authors are Anatol Rapoport and J. David Singer. The following are excerpts from the article:

"To begin with, the peace movement in America has become a reality and is gathering momentum. For the first time since Pearl Harbor, peace-oriented periodicals are burgeoning, increasing numbers of scholarly articles on disarmament are appearing, letters to editors are no longer dominated by professional patriots, ad hoc pressure groups are springing up, and even the allegedly apathetic college generation has been able to mobilize a massive demonstration in Washington.

"Second, the peace movement is no longer the exclusive domain of pacifists, that is of people who see only the moral issues of violence and refuse to establish a common ground for discussion with any who do not share their ethical conviction. Nor is the peace movement dominated by an 'America is always wrong' attitude. There is in it sufficient political sophistication to dismiss the simplistic idea that either power is primarily to blame for the arms race. There is, in short, an increasing understanding of the inherent dynamics of the present impasse.

"In these two factors--a spontaneous growth on the grass-roots level and a respectable measure of political sophistication--lies the strength of the present peace movement. In the days to come, it will be important to use the strength wisely.

U. S. STUDENTS PRESS PETITION FOR PEACE A petition for peace and an end of the armaments race which was originated at the Woodstock Country School in Woodstock, Vermont, is circulating among high schools and colleges in the United States and eight foreign countries. It has acquired 4,800 student signatures. The plea will be presented to the United Nations delegates at the end of the school term in June when a group will start out on a 250 mile walk to New York.

The petition asks the delegates to secure international agreements to end the armaments race and requests a "rational outlook in the present to secure a future for ourselves and our children while there is still time." (New York Times, March 27.)

(Continued on Page 3)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MARCH 19 Brent Howell, editor of AFSC Peace Literature, discussed the new BEYOND DETERRENCE series of pamphlets being published by the Peace Education Division. The first pamphlet, UNILATERAL INITIATIVES AND DISARMAMENT, by Mulford Sibley is off the press. The second will be D. F. Fleming's DOES DETERRENCE DETER?

Brent said the question has been asked about what would happen if the disarmament agreement were signed in Geneva. "We'd joyfully put down the project," he said.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MARCH 26 Ed Duckles, AFSC field commissioner for Latin America, said the impact of the Cuban Revolution has been felt everywhere in Latin America and has promoted new faith in violence as a way of effecting social change. The reactions of Latin America have resulted in greater demands for social reforms and impatience with the pace of change.

Another problem in Latin America, he said, is the unpopularity of governments among their constituents who suffer from repressive measures. Teachers who have incomes that are too low are among the most antagonistic in the population, he said.

The unrest in Latin America is reflected in a comment often heard that "the good is an enemy of the best." Latin Americans, he said, are afraid that if they accept the good steps toward social change, the best will be postponed indefinitely.

Ed Duckles said that the students are among the most neglected segments of the population and that we should be greatly concerned with their welfare. The responsibility is to help them find alternatives to violence and more constructive ways of pursuing their goals.

A hopeful aspect of the Latin American situation is the fact that more stable leaders are coming to the fore and constructive governments with more civilian control are emerging. Ed Duckles also said the AFSC has many friends scattered around Latin America who have had varied experiences with the AFSC and are willing to help the committee begin its work there. He thinks we may help strengthen those institutions which are responsive to the social change and have shown a willingness to meet the needs of the people.

* * *

Eric Johnson offered some observations on a recent trip into the south where he paid particular attention to the recruitment of Negro students for the VISA program. He was disturbed, he said, with the lower educational standards that seem to exist in Negro institutions. His observations, as well as comments from others, suggested that there are many "underdeveloped areas in our own country" which need the kind of help the AFSC may be able to provide. Better support of ongoing AFSC programs in the region may help us expand our outreach there. He suggested that a high priority be given to applications of Negro students who live in or study in the south.

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SONG OF A MODERN VIGILANTE

I sometimes fancy, as I spy,
That I excel the FBI.
Right now I'm making little lists
Of folks I think are Communists.
I have no proof on anyone
And yet the lists are lots of fun.
All friends of foreign aid, I think,
Must be set down as rather pink.
A little pinker, not far off,
I list perforce and college prof.
And pinker yet the student crowd
That lauds the Bill of Rights out loud.
U. N. Supporters, as I've said,
Are always ipso facto red.
And redder still on my red lists
Are all the integrationists.
Just for good measure, in my labors,
I add a few of my close neighbors.
Thus I rejoice that loyalty
Resides alone in you and me
Although before my work is through
You may, good friend, be listed, too.

Bradley L. Morison
Minneapolis Tribune

NAACP RESOLUTION SUPPORTS KINZUA DAM PROTESTS The national board of the NAACP adopted a resolution last month endorsing opposition to the Kinzua Dam. The statement said: "The proposal to dispossess the Seneca Indians from their ancient ancestral home in New York state, in violation of a solemn treaty with the United States Government ratified in 1794, for the development of the Kinzua Dam project is deplored by all Americans who believe in the sanctity of treaty obligations whether with weak or powerful nations. Moreover, competent and responsible engineers have hinted that there are nearby sites more desirable for the construction of the proposed Kinzua Dam. Accordingly, the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls for reconsideration of the Kinzua Dam Plan with the view to utilize a site which will not deprive the Seneca Indians of their homelands and which will equally meet the need for development of such a dam."

FRIENDS SUBURBAN HOUSING ANNUAL MEETING SET Friends Suburban Housing, Inc., Pennsylvania's only nondiscriminatory suburban real estate firm, will hold its sixth annual shareholders meeting at the Wayne Methodist Church April 3, 1962 at 8 p.m. Roy McCorkel, an AFSC finance secretary, is president of Friends Suburban Housing.

The firm has sold 70 homes in the last five years in suburban counties, of which 50 were bought by Negro families, two by Oriental families, and 18 by white families. It has rented six homes, four of which were rented to nonwhite families.

Alex Morrison

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VII Number 8 April 13, 1962

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, APRIL 2 Ed Wright, director of Summer Projects Abroad reported an increase in interest among applicants who feel that the AFSC projects can be a useful experience if they later decide to volunteer for the Peace Corp or the AFSC Voluntary International Service Assignments program.

The AFSC summer projects are basically a "channeling program" which assigns young people to projects of other organizations. This summer's appointees will be sent to projects in Japan, Mexico, and countries of Europe and Africa. In Nigeria, he said, a work camp is planned for the erection of that country's first school for delinquents near Lagos.

A new project this summer will be the tripartite work and study project in England sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Friends Service Council, and a committee of youth organizations in the U.S.S.R. A problem in connection with this project is the difficulty of finding qualified leaders as participants, he said.

Ed Wright said that there is an apparent lack of interest in Africa among the applicants and only 9 per cent have indicated a preference to be assigned to that continent.

* * *

On the eve of his third trip to the West Coast since January, Norman Whitney shared some observations on his first two trips. In Chicago there was great interest in the pacifist point of view. He was impressed with the maturity of the students he saw at the Chicago Theological Seminary where his topic was "Christian Responsibility in the Age of Nuclear War." At a high school on the Chicago north shore, he was asked to speak to parents and explain to them why it was necessary for the students to be for peace, and that it is not Communism. During a weekend institute in Houston, Texas, a local newspaper invited three of the resource participants for an interview. Three years ago, he said, the same newspaper had published an attack on the AFSC.

Among his interesting experiences in California were visits to the Rand Corporation, and to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and an appearance in Southern California where members of the John Birch Society undertook to dominate the question period.

In conclusion, Norman Whitney said that he had found a real sense of urgency about the present crisis and expressed the hope that concerned Americans will find the strength and courage to stand clearly and publicly in every type of witness available to them.

(Continued on Page 2)

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, APRIL 9 Colin Bell proclaimed an SAS/AFSC Day at the Committee with the feature being the presence of School Affiliation Service exchange students from several foreign countries and those from the United States planning to go abroad next year. Myrtle McCallin, SAS director, introduced the students and several spoke briefly.

Cornelia Nitzke, of Germany, is a student this year at Friends Central School. Her first impression of the United States was influenced by seeing the Statue of Liberty which she said symbolized the United States as a people united in freedom. She was pleasantly surprised by the experience of becoming associated with a group of students that included a Negro, a Korean, and a Jewish girl. She said the experience helped her to gain "self freedom" to judge other individuals as persons and a stronger feeling that "man in the world is not divided."

Tautumo Owaki, of Japan, who is at the Horace Mann School in New York, said that one of his most difficult problems was becoming accustomed to the American practice of "ladies first." Besides gaining 25 pounds, he said great changes in his thinking, observations, and attitudes had occurred. In comparing his nation with the United States, he said his outlook had been broadened and he has begun to ask himself a crucial question, "What is Japan?"

Peter Smith, of England, who is at Swarthmore High School, came to this country with apprehension based largely on the image of America which was gained from movies. He found the quiet and peaceful nature of Swarthmore a welcome contrast to the haste and traffic in New York City. He was surprised to find his classes launching immediately into assignments because in England, the first three weeks are used to become settled at the beginning of each term. Some American students, he said, seemed to work beyond their capacity in the competitive spirit which dominates so much of American life. He contrasted a five-day schedule of football practice in America with the one-day-a-week practice schedule for soccer in England.

Silvia Garcia, of Mexico, who is attending Abington Friends School, reported that a work camp experience has helped her to understand problems of the lower classes in her own country. "I think I can help my country now that I have had this experience," she said.

Jean Paul Hautecoeur, of France, who attends school in Bridgeton, New Jersey, listed three impressions of America. These included the diversity of races and nationalities, the many religions and churches, and the great amount of social life.

Two students who had been in schools overseas last year shared some of their observations.

Deirdre Rhoads, of Abington Friends School, said her year in Mexico had helped her re-evaluate her thinking of the United States and to understand that there are "more people in the world than Americans." The exercise in re-evaluation also involved trying to understand better the Mexican thinking about such things as the invasion in Cuba.

Advice to the students preparing to go overseas was given by Paul Wise of Radnor High School who was in France last year. Whether they like it or not, he said, they will help to create the American image in the eyes of people in other countries. The first months will be difficult, he said, but they are in a fortunate position and instead

(Continued on Page 3)

of asking what is to be expected from the year abroad the question should be, "What do you expect of yourself?" He reminded the group that, "man must carry knowledge with him if he is to bring it home."

* * *

Richard Stenhouse, who is leading a seminar at Pendle Hill on "The Way of Love and Areas of Tension," introduced members of his group who were present. Among them were four students recently suspended from Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana for their activity in desegregation demonstrations. They are Claudia Edwards, Irene Davis, Landry Williams, and Pearl Andrews.

A STORY FROM MOROCCO ABOUT HOTEL SOAP Many bars of used hotel soap have found their way into the hands of Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia. A recent letter from Bronson Clark, AFSC field director in Morocco, tells of an experience in the village of Lazeret near the Algerian frontier. This is his account of a recent experience:

"Last week we were carrying a box of hotel soap to replenish the supply at Foyer, Lazeret. Unfortunately the bottom was weak and as we unloaded it in front of the Center door, the bottom gave way and the soap spilt to the ground. We quickly picked up the soap until finally there was nothing on the ground but hundreds of tiny bits of pieces, none bigger than a penny. As we turned to enter the Center, the tiny street urchins, who had been watching our every move, closed in. We counted ten of them, some no more than five years old carrying a younger sister on their backs, down in the dust picking up the pieces of hotel soap with tiny fingers. Even though some of us have become hardened to sights of poverty, as indeed we must if we are to work effectively, we stood there silently watching. Within the space of two minutes you would never have guessed the bars of soap had been spilt. Not a scrap was left. Not a single piece of whatever size. Off through the dirt streets of Lazeret ran the children carrying the bits of soap to their homes. We thought of those who had contributed this soap. Could they, in any possible way, realize the value of their gift?"

SHELTER SALE HAS NO BIAS W. T. Hennings, a court clerk in Knoxville, Tennessee, appointed receiver to dispose of 16 concrete fallout shelters, said recently that he could find no takers even though the price of the shelter had been reduced from $1,000 to $250. (United Press International, March 27.)

CHURCHMEN ISSUE A PEACE PROGRAM More than 500 ministers and laymen issued a 3,000 word statement recently outlining what they described as the Christian approach to nuclear war and listing seven "concrete proposals" for peace. The statement advocated the withdrawal of the United States from the arms race as "the only way to break the terrible circle of armament and counter-armament in which the world is trapped."

The statement was published and distributed by the Church Peace Mission whose headquarters is in New York City. The AFSC is one of several pacifist organizations related to the Church Peace Mission. (New York Times, April 2.)

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WHAT? A SUB NAMED FOR WILLIAM PENN? It must have been spring. Perhaps all the researchers of the Department of the Navy were sunning themselves in the pentangle of the Pentagon on Monday, April 9. Otherwise, they would have known you couldn't name a modern, nuclear-armed polaris submarine for the great Quaker colonizer William Penn.

But this is just what happened, or almost happened up in New London, Conn., at the Electric Boat Co.'s shipyard. Evidently the news was leaked to a confidential few in New London by a boat company employee. The new keel was to be laid with due ceremony shortly, celebrating this great man of peace with the Navy's most fearsome sea weapon.

Among those to hear were Harvey and Juliana Perry and Patricia (Mrs. Carlos) Smith, members of Westerly Friends Meeting, Rhode Island. They, and a few other Friends, drafted a protest for publication which appeared last evening in three area newspapers.

Electric Boat Co. was electrified, naturally, and put a call through to the very same Department of Navy, where the researchers were still sunning themselves in the Pentagon pentangle. The alert was sounded. Battle stations were manned.

In seconds, the Navy spokesmen were informing the communication media that they never had intended naming the nuclear killer sub for the founder of Pennsylvania.

Perhaps that researcher, in his hurry, read the biography of William Penn's father and jumped to conclusions. In any event, it would seem that the Navy goofed!

Is the fate of the world in such unsteady hands?

(Frederick Echelmeyer)

LETTER EXPRESSES THANKS FOR AID DURING SPANISH CIVIL WAR A letter received recently at the Quaker Center in Geneva expressed appreciation for Quaker relief during the Spanish Civil War. The text is as follows:

"Dear Quaker Brothers,

"Greetings! In the religious column of the paper I have seen with deep joy the announcement of the Meeting for Worship of our Quaker Brothers. When I was a child during the Spanish Civil War, I lived in the Republican Zone. The Quaker Brothers helped our school and savedus from dying from hunger. We are now grown-up men and your work will always live in our hearts. I am now 37 years old, a workman in Geneva, and I would like to contribute what I can to your work in eternal memory of my Quaker Brothers who in those days, saved the life of many Spanish children. I shall always keep this memory in my heart with sincere and warm gratitude.

"I hope to hear from you and greet you with deepest joy."

Alex Morisey

FOCUS
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VII Number 9 April 27, 1962

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, April 16 Bernard Klausner, director of the Quaker Center in Dacca, East Pakistan, said AFSC work in that city faces a challenging opportunity although its efforts may be "misroscopic" by comparison with the budgets of other big agencies. The importance of Dacca will expand even more as it becomes the parliamentary capital for both East and West Pakistan, he said.

The program of the center, Bernard Klausner said, is changing to permit closer cooperation with the Pakistani government. The center is the only private agency equipped to accept student trainees in social work. There are few precedents in Pakistan for governmental agencies in the field of social work and the Quaker Center will be developing a few pilot projects which can later be transferred to government sponsorship.

A unique project for the country is a program working with former prisoners.

* * *

Jean Fairfax, national representative of southern programs of the Community Relations Division, reviewed recent developments in civil rights. One of the significant moves was the appointment of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. The greatest disappointment, she said, has been the Administrations failure to issue an order banning discrimination in housing.

She spoke of the program of voter education which is being developed by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with other agencies.

A recent gathering of AFSC southern field staff in Atlanta emphasized the importance of pursuing merit employment goals through work with the school systems. School boards must be encouraged to offer "quality programs" which will be helpful in overcoming the "remnants of a segregated system," she said.

Commenting on the AFSC involvement in Prince Edward County, Jean Fairfax said that Harry Boyte, a new staff member in the county, is concentrating on work with the white local and state leadership. She said a ray of hope in the situration is "some disenchantment with the system of white private schools" which was organized after all public schools were closed two years ago.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, APRIL 23 Charlotte Meacham, AFSC's national housing representative, explained the Service Committee's proposed housing integration program scheduled to start this fall in Washington, D.C.

She said the project represents one aspect of the Program Priorities Committee's decision of 1961 to concentrate on civil rights, the other aspect being the development of merit employment work in Atlanta.

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Charlotte Meacham recalled the history of AFSC's concern over housing inequalities in Washington, beginning with the late Mrs. Bancroft Davis, who opened her home to visitors from distant lands who could not find adequate quarters in the nation's capital.

Mrs. Davis later gave her home (now Davis House) to the AFSC, an act which led to the creation of International Student House across 'R' Street from Davis House. This prepared the way for the upcoming program, Charlotte Meacham said.

She told how Burns and Elizabeth Chalmers arranged meetings for her in Davis House with concerned persons in the city as the challenge was weighed. Conferees included persons associated with the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Baltimore Friends Meetings, Middle Atlantic Region and others.

Charlotte said the meetings revealed a tremendous reservoir of good will established by former and present AFSC activities in Washington, particularly the work done in the school integration program by former staff member Irene Osborne. The need for integrated housing opportunity found such strong support that it was referred to the Social Order Committee of Washington Friends Meeting.

The Social Order Committee representatives then called a meeting which involved Charlotte Meacham, Marjorie Ware, of Neighbors, Inc., Walter Lewis of the Urban League, and Wilbur Lew of the National Housing Committee of the AFSC.

Many agencies were queried and the sentiment evaluated. They included the Urban League, NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the Washington Planning and Housing Administration, and George and Eunice Grier, former AFSC staff workers, both authorities on housing.

Government officials were visited, particularly John Duncan, first Negro Commissioner of the District, as well as representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor.

A group in Montgomery County, on the periphery of the city, which had been enthusiastically considering such a project in the white suburbs, joined with the planners and, Charlotte Meacham said, she felt AFSC had a definite call to move into the capital city.

Here, Charlotte emphasized, was the tenth largest city in the Nation, the fastest growing metropolitan area along the East coast, 54% of its population Negro, yet here it was virtually impossible for a Negro to purchase a home in a new development or rent an apartment in any but the most sub-standard areas.

She said the AFSC has offered its service as a catalytic agency to work at the grass roots level. Specifically, the objective is to provide a climate and the mechanics for Negroes to get the housing they desire on citizenship alone rather than portfolio, and to be able to obtain rental quarters imperative for transient government employees and visitors who might otherwise be rejected.

Charlotte said that when the activating funds are available, AFSC will work to loosen the white suburban noose around the city, encourage and inform the Negro community and its leaders of new housing opportunities, and seek to persuade real estate brokers to accept listings on a non-discriminatory basis.

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Colin Bell discussed the concern the AFSC feels over an absence of communication between this country and certain other countries, notably Cuba and Mainland China. He explored the various attitudes that may foster or militate against the establishment of such communication. He said a thoughtful search is continuing to find some role, however small, which AFSC might have in creating a climate in which communication might grow.

PERSONNEL INTRODUCTIONS Robert Rumsey has been appointed Portland program secretary. He has been executive secretary of Wilmington Yearly Meeting, and has had previous experience with the Committee in 1940-1942 as Mid-west student peace service secretary.

OVERSEAS AID WEEK MARKED--BOARD MEMBER ATTENDS WHITE HOUSE CEREMONY William M. Maier, chairman of the AFSC International Service and Affairs Committee, attended a White House ceremony marking President Kennedy's proclamation of "Voluntary Overseas Aid Week" which began April 9th.

Among the Administration officials present for the event were Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and George McGovern, director of the Food for Peace Program. Representatives of other voluntary agencies also were present as the President signed the proclamation.

SEMINAR STUDENTS VISIT ATTORNEY GENERAL KENNEDY On Friday, April 13, high school students participating in a Middle Atlantic Region seminar joined with a group from International Student House in Washington to visit Attorney General Robert Kennedy. For an hour the Attorney General answered questions on civil rights, the steel controversy, the Peace Corps, Berlin, the Kennedy Administration, foreign aid, and cold war tensions. The session, held in his office, was very informal and the Attorney General's answers were forthright and to the point. He did not hesitate to admit mistakes made by the new administration and areas in which improvement is vital. He also admitted approval of the use of nonviolence on the international scene, but made it clear that he felt we must hold firm in our military plans in order to negotiate from power.

DAVIDON WILL LEAVE UNITED STATES William C. Davidon, chairman of Haverford College's Physics Department, has announced his resignation effective February 1, 1963. He made clear that neither dissatisfactions with Haverford nor the offer of another position brought about this action. Among the factors were his increasing dissatisfaction with the current national and governmental acceptance of the feasibility of nuclear war. It was reported that he will move to another country (New Zealand) in which a less centralized, less industrialized government is not engaged in the manufacture of weapons of mass extermination.

PICKETT DINES AT WHITE HOUSE Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary emeritus of AFSC will attend a White House dinner on April 29 with other winners of Nobel Prizes who live in the western hemisphere. He will be present at the dinner not as an individual winner but as a representative of the Committee, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 jointly with Friends Service Council in London, England.

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PEACE CENTER SET FOR SEATTLE FAIR An exciting development brought on by the Seattle World's Fair has been the spontaneous growth of the Peace Center in that city.

The center got its inspiration from a psychiatrist's wife, Virginia Kobler, who became a convert to the peace testimony two years ago. Mrs. Kobler, when plans for the fair matured, conceived the idea for a center where the millions of fair visitors could stop and "talk peace."

She enlisted a number of professional friends in her project. One particularly interested in it was William H. Matchett, poet and professor of English at the University of Washington. He is also the chairman of the executive committee of the AFSC regional office in Seattle. Bill said that while the Peace Center is not an AFSC project, "it is a community activity of a new and exciting sort."

Mrs. Kobler decided that the $25,000 necessary to have a booth inside the fair grounds was prohibitive. Instead, the Peace Center committee decided to rent an attractive store in town.

"It is only five blocks away from the exposition entrance and within easy reach of the monorail which will take visitors the short distance from the heart of Seattle to the fair," Bill said.

The center has affiliated with the Turn Toward Peace movement because it represents the composite picture of the peace movement in the United States. There will be films illustrating the peace testimony, such as AFSC's productions, WHICH WAY THE WIND and LANGUAGE OF FACES.

There is a small auditorium in the rear of the center on Third Avenue where lectures will be given and films can be shown. Mrs. Kobler rallied the artists of the city and over 70 original oil paintings, water colors, prints, and serigraphs were contributed to a gigantic art sale. The committee made $3,000 on the sale, to be applied toward costs of operating the center.

The reaction of the artists was most gratifying, Bill reports. Their characteristic response was: "I'm glad you asked me, I've always wanted to do something for peace but I'm not one for vigils. Neither can I, nor will I, paint propaganda pictures. But if you can sell some of my work and use the money for the cause, I welcome an opportunity to contribute."

At the same time, Bill was in touch with his fellow poets of Seattle and ten were selected to contribute to a special booklet of poems which was placed on sale at five dollars a copy. Copies autographed by the authors were sold for ten dollars. The amazing thing is that the poems have sold very well. This was due to the highly selective representation of the poems printed and to the attractive format devised by Diana Bower, who has also prepared the peace displays for the center.

All together, the Peace Center has raised over $8,000 including $2,000 contributed by the national Peace Education division of the AFSC.

Bill Matchett is the son-in-law of Edward and Elizabeth Cox Wright. Ed Wright is director of the AFSC Summer Projects Abroad. (Fred Echelmeyer)

Alex Morisey

FOCUS

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

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MONDAY STAFF MEETING, APRIL 30 Henry J. Cadbury made the meeting a special event by reminiscing about the founding of the American Friends Service Committee on that date 45 years ago.

Remarking that he was one of four survivors of the original assembly of less than 15 Friends, (the others are Stanley R. Yarnall, J. Barnard Walton, and Anne Walton Pennell) Henry Cadbury sketched the dilemma in which Quakers found themselves when World War I began.

The desire of Friends to express their love for their country and to serve her loyally but still adhere to the Quaker peace testimony, which finds war and the bearing of arms abhorrent, prompted the gathering.

The membership included representatives of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Friends General Conference (Hicksite), and the Five Years Meeting. The gathering took place, Henry Cadbury recalled, on the second floor of the Young Friends Building, now known as International House, located at 15th & Cherry Streets.

He said little was known of the legal rights of persons who termed themselves conscientious objectors, and avenues had to be explored to discover whether Quakers could perform a meaningful function in the war period.

Many young Quaker people thought either of joining the English Friends in ambulance and relief work or of forming an American Friends Ambulance Unit.

The result of the meeting was a decision to arrange for a headquarters, appoint permanent officers, and enlarge the committee. The name National Friends Service Committee was selected , later changed to American Friends Service Committee

Henry Cadbury told the AFSC staff that he was not going further in his reminiscing as he was merely bringing the story of this "semi-decennial birthday up to the beginning."

* * *

The influx of Cubans who have left Castro's regime is presenting a tremendous challenge to private and public agencies of the United States, according to Richard F. Smith, director of the AFSC Refugee Program in the U.S.A.

He said over 200,000 Cubans have left their homeland in the past year and a half. Of these, approximately 150,000 have come to the United States. At present they are arriving in the Miami area at the rate of 2,000 a week.

Because they have many relatives in the Dade County area of Florida, and because of other factors which appeal to them, most of the refugees are still in that area presenting a problem in housing, subsistence, and employment.

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Richard Smith said that AFSC is working with the Church World Service in resettlement work. Also active are the National Catholic Welfare Council, the International Rescue Committee, and United HIAS, a Jewish organization.

The Cuban refugees are eligible for immediate relief under subsidies paid by the U.S. Government through state agencies. This amounts to as much as $96.00 a month per family of four.

The largest relocation effort has been to New York City where 23,000 Cuban refugees have settled. Flights to Freedom, in which 100 Cubans are flown to host cities at one time for relocation, have been successful in Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Some 17 more are planned, one of which may come to Philadelphia, Richard Smith said.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MAY 7 Horace Alexander, whom Colin Bell described as a "Friend of India," reviewed the circumstances surrounding India's invasion of Goa. The act, he said, was a great shock to many who had overromanticized the India of Gandhi. He reminded the staff that Gandhi had withdrawn from the Congress Party when he realized that his colleagues were not prepared to accept nonviolence and did not think it possible for a state to disarm and be nonviolent. Gandhi had told both the British and the Portuguese before Indian independence that they would have to leave the continent. While the British agreed to go, the Portuguese objected and the Indians waited patiently for fourteen years, he said.

Horace Alexander attributed the final erruption to Portuguese tyranny in Goa, and said that many voices in India and Africa rejoiced at the action against the Portuguese. Nehru, he said, could not resist the pressures and did what seemed to be the lesser evil.

He acknowledged that India is no freer of troubles than any other country, and said that Nehru is among the wiser and more farsighted statesmen of the age. He has a vision of keeping a warless world and India is trying to help thaw out the cold war. He suggested that faith in India be retained and said it is significant that her approach to her internal problems are being pursued in a democratic manner. She can move ahead only at a pace which the masses will accept, and Nehru is working diligently to explain to them the Government's plans, he said.

* * *

Clarence Pickett shared some observations on the recent White House dinner honoring Nobel Prize winners. He represented the American Friends Service Committee, which won the Nobel Prize in 1947 jointly with Friends Service Council, London. He spoke of conversations with astronaut John Glenn, and with Pearl Buck, Linus Pauling, Robert Frost, and Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California.

Clarence Pickett was impressed with the friendliness and unconventional informality of the White House and the manner in which the President is using it to support the cultural life of America.

* * *

George Willoughby reported on another Quaker visit to the White House when six Friends met with the President for 20 minutes on May 1. They represented the 1,000 participants in the Friends Witness for World Order which conducted vigils at the White House and the State Department on April 29 and 30.

(Continued on Page 3)

Sam Levering, spokesman for the delegation, opened the discussion with the President by emphasizing that the witness was a demonstration for, rather than against, something. He told the President that the group came "out of a deep religious concern for peace and world order." Friends recognize, he said, that the world is caught in a tragic moral situation where there is no commonly accepted way of providing international justice and security except through parliaments. They acknowledged the moral complications of this and realized that the continued arms race offered no solution to mankind. The alternative, the President was told, is world order which means general and complete disarmament, peacefully enforced through a developed and strengthened United Nations.

The group told the President that they were disappointed with the new Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which has no member on its board with a commitment to disarmament in the past.

George Willoughby said the President was friendly and spoke frankly and feels there is a great need to stir the people to the need for disarmament and peace. Commenting on the significance of the visit, the delegation hesitated to assess its full impact, but is agreed that the principle accomplishment is that they have done "what they set out to do--they saw the President and laid their concern before him."

SIDELIGHTS ON THE FRIENDS WITNESS FOR WORLD ORDER A Washington newspaper took notice of the Quaker response to showers which fell on the White House pickets on Sunday. When the rain began to fall, the American Nazi party pickets scurried to cover but the Quakers continued their walking vigil.

* * *

The six Quakers who saw President Kennedy at the end of the Witness Project were anxious to make every minute with the chief executive useful for conveying their message. Their press representative and a photographer were poised for the signal to enter and make pictures of the group with the President. The opportunity never came. The group decided that their message for the President was more important than a photograph of the historic event.

* * *

Dr. Linus Pauling was the subject of editorials in two Washington newspapers. He went to the White House for the Nobel Prize dinner after picketing it hours earlier.

The Washington DAILY NEWS called it "social climbing" to attend the dinner and suggested that he should not have had "the gall to show up."

The Washington POST suggested that the President resumed testing to preserve the way of life which permitted Dr. Pauling to picket the White House and then a few hours later be a guest there.

Neither editorial commented on the fact that Clarence Pickett had also picketed with Dr. Pauling and was a White House guest at the Nobel Dinner.

* * *

Dr. Pauling is reported to have passed along the now-famous Caroline story. He said that Mrs. Kennedy asked if he thought it was right to picket out there where Caroline could see him. The child's response , her mother said, was, "What's Daddy done wrong now?"

(Continued on Page 4)

* * *

A White House guard asked for copies of the literature being distributed at the vigil. When the material was given to him, a vigil representative wanted to know if they would be delivered to the President. The guard parried the question and said he needed it for his report.

* * *

A commentary on a TV newsman: A correspondent, frequently seen on TV newscasts from Washington, was being approached about doing a story on the White House visit. Despite the fact that the two days of vigils had received considerable attention in the Washington newspapers, the newsman knew nothing of the project. It was he who arranged a TV film interview with the Quaker delegation after they saw the President.

* * *

While the Quaker delegation got into the White House, persons picketing the State Department the day before could not enter the State Department building to use the telephone or its rest rooms.

* * *

A commentary on juvenile intelligence: A mother explained the Quaker pickets to her child in a stroller in a conversation that went this way:

"What are those people doing over there?"

"They are marching."

"Why?"

"They don't want any more war."

"Why?"

"Because people get hurt and killed."

"I don't want that either."

WORLD CONSTITUTION CONVENTION PROPOSED The World Constitution Coordinating Committee, located in Phoenix, Arizona, has proposed a constitutional convention at Geneva in September as a "positive alternative to militarism." In the letter inviting "all nations to send delegates to such a convention," the organization said that such a meeting would provide a chance for a universal effort to turn the United Nations into a federal organization and provide the power to prohibit wars and the machinery for peaceful methods would be provided instead to settle disputes.

The letter was accompanied by a list of more than 136 prominent world figures.

Interested persons may write the World Constitution Coordinating Committee at 2310 North 15th Avenue, Phoenix 7, Arizona.

Alex Mooney

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MAY 31 1962

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FOCUS
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

VOLUME VII Number 11 May 25, 1962

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MAY 14 Charles Read, secretary of the International Service Division, brought first hand news from Morocco revealing for the first time the story of 2 million Algerian citizens who have been detained in regroupment centers for the duration of the seven year civil conflict.

He said the 250,000 Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia, where AFSC teams have been at work for the past three years, are preparing momentarily to return to their former villages.

Unfortunately, Charles Read added, there are no villages there. The countryside has been leveled systematically and mined during the years of action against guerilla bands. Repatriation will take place soon, he said, raising more than an issue of de-mining a 30 mile border of no man's land. Housing materials, medicines, and technicians skilled in public sanitation are among the most immediate needs.

It is imperative, he stressed, that the refugees and regroupees get back to their land before the fall planting season. Unless the ground is tilled and sown by that time, famine could result after the French withdrawal which is expected after the July referendum.

Charles Read itemized the needs of the reborn country as follows:

1. Assistance for the many widows (civil war has left a population proportion of eight women to every man) and elderly.

2. Large quantities of material aid and medical supplies.

3. Restoration of the water supply because the fear of epidemic is abounding.

4. The necessity to reclaim wasteland into productive agricultural areas quickly.

5. Seeds for the fall planting.

6. Agricultural equipment.

7. Transportation systems which will get supplies and food to the new settlements when formed.

8. Training programs such as the American Friends Service Committee's field workers have been conducting in Morocco and Tunisia for the past three years. The already Quaker-trained 3,500 refugees will be insufficient.

Charles Read also noted that there will be a tremendous dislocation of economic life along the coast and in the more highly European-occupied cities. Many persons will leave--the French, Spanish, Cypriotes, and Italians--and with them go skills.

(Continued on Page 2)

* * *

Mary Esther McWhirter, Children's Program director, reported to the staff that her program has recently completed it's twentieth year of providing educational materials and service projects for children. The occasion was marked at an anniversary dinner for the staff, committee members, and guests. Among those present were E. Vesta Haines, Frances Canby Ferris, Eleanor Stabler Clarke, Marguerite Hallowell, and Ruth Hunt Gefvert, all members of the original committee.

Mary Esther stated that AFSC is the only religiously motivated agency which develops year-round educational materials for children on a nonsectarian, nonpolitical basis. In addition, she told how the Children's Program has established strong ties with the Religious Society of Friends. The national Children's Program office alone reaches 404 First-day Schools and 33 Friends Schools with its materials.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MAY 21 William Channel reported on conditions in Hong Kong where the AFSC is trying to meet some of the needs of thousands of refugees from Mainland China. In the past 12 years more than a million and a half have crossed into the colony and recently about one thousand have entered each day. The British government is only able to deal with a limited number of refugees and many are being sent back, he said.

William Channel said that it is essential to think in terms of individuals and small numbers for only then can we deal with them as human beings. The AFSC program in Hong Kong is trying to help the refugees help themselves. The day nursery is one way of doing this, he said.

William Channel described the space available to refugee families in the colony and said many of them move into areas marked for demolition in order to be eligible for accommodations in the resettlement areas. He praised the courage of women who find time to give voluntary service at the AFSC nursery. These experiences, he stated, are helping develop a sense of neighborliness among the women. He told of a collection taken by the mothers' club to aid one of their members who was temporarily unable to continue the piece-work sewing which is important to the family income.

Roberta Channel spoke briefly of the social service in the "walled city" area of Hong Kong where at times as many as 400 children line up at 7 a.m. for a 10 a.m. distribution of milk and biscuits.

In replying to a question, William Channel said that, while the United States quota of Chinese refugees is only 105 per year, a quota of 10,000 would not make a substantial change in the problem of Hong Kong. He also expressed the opinion that the exodus from China is due primarily to hunger and said that reports from the Mainland tell of great food shortages. The question of Chinese entering Hong Kong is now one of the British attempting to keep them out rather than restrictions imposed by the Mainland Chinese, he said.

* * *

Bronson Clark brought to the staff a firsthand report of conditions in Algeria where he had been just 72 hours earlier with three other Quakers. He is field director for AFSC work in Morocco.

He said that thousands of camps had been established in Algeria for detention of Moslems.

He told of an experience at the border when the Quaker passports were studied by a French

(Continued on Page 3)

clerk who seemed stunned when he realized they were Quakers. With considerable relief, he said to the group; "I believe in violence. You believe in nonviolence." Bronson Clark said the group interpreted this as evidence of understanding and a "victory."

He reported systematic destruction of most of the rural housing and the detention of the population in camps by the French near the east-west borders of Algeria. He said the AFSC is sending into the area immediately a medical team which will be the first outside assistance to enter the area. There are no doctors and no hospitals to service the Moslems and an AFSC mobile clinic will be the first vehicle expected to cross the border, he said.

PERSONNEL INTRODUCTIONS Margaret Bacon has joined the staff for a temporary assignment as Public Relations Specialist for the Algerian Refugee Program. She has been serving with the Radnor Township School District in public relations, and has had earlier experience with the Committee at International Student House.

Melvin Sutley will be in charge of the Volunteer Desk in the Personnel Department two days a week and will be working one day a week in the Finance Department. Since his retirement at the first of the year from his post as executive officer of the Wills-Eye Hospital, he has been volunteering three days a week in the Finance Department.

Maude Warrington and Elizabeth Freas, volunteers who have given over 1,000 hours, were introduced.

AFSC LAUNCHES MILLION DOLLAR REFUGEE PROGRAM A million dollar program to help resettle Algerian refugees in their homeland has been launched by the AFSC. The Committee has been asked by officials of the new Algerian government to play a major role in the resettlement of the refugees as well as of the 2,000,000 men, women, and children held in "regroupment centers" during the seven years of warfare.

Plans call for two Quaker teams with a combined staff of 25 Westerners and 150 Algerians to operate 20 centers from field headquarters at Tlemcen in the West, and Souk-Ahras in the East. Besides meeting immediate needs for food, clothing, and medicine, the Quakers will run workshops where Algerians can be trained in basic skills needed in rehabilitation.

It was on the basis of this work, and the fact that the Quakers have been the only continuing American presence among the refugees, that the Service Committee was asked to help with resettlement.

The program, as now envisioned, will cost $500,000 in cash and as much in material aid.

NEW DATE SET FOR TV PROGRAM ON QUAKERS The National Broadcasting Company has set a new date for the television documentary on Quakers in America. The program, "Gentle Persuaders," will be presented on the network on Monday, July 30, from 10 to 11 p.m. Drew Pearson will be narrator for the program. The program is expected to include portions on the AFSC, Pendle Hill, Friends Hospital (Philadelphia), and Earlham College, as well as scenes of Friends worship in both the East and the Midwest. This date is now considered "firm" as NBC has issued press releases and promotional material.

BRITISH QUAKERS PROMOTING 24-HOUR LOCAL PEACE VIGILS A growing number of 24-hour silent vigils for peace are being held by

(Continued on Page 4)

local Quaker groups in various parts of England.

In addition, the Friends Peace Committee scheduled a national 24-hour vigil, to be held outside the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields here following sessions of the London Yearly Meeting on May 28.

Similar vigils also were planned at different places just before and during the Yearly Meetings' sessions. (RNS 5-17)

OVER-OPTIMISM ON REFUGEE PROBLEM IS CAUTIONED Caution against over-optimism on the refugee problem was sounded in Geneva by Dr. Elfan Rees, secretary of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, an agency of the World Council of Churches. "The European problem might be solved," he said, "but the refugee problem is moving from West to East, to Africa and Asia."

Dr. Rees spoke before the 25-national executive committee of the program of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees which opened its seventh session with many voluntary agencies represented by observers.

Felix Schnyder, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, outlined the work done and planned by his office and stressed the importance he attached to work on behalf of refugees not within his mandate.

Discussing plans for the repatriation of some 250,000 Algerian refugees from Tunisia and Morocco, Mr. Schnyder announced that the first group had already been moved from Morocco. He said that meanwhile his regular program in 1961 had seen "the harvesting of the full benefits of the World Refugee Year" in 1960.

The commissioner reported that 12,155 refugees were firmly resettled in 1961, or nearly twice as many as in 1960, and 18 more European camps were closed. He said that in the first four months of 1962 another eight camps were closed and 1,200 refugees left them.

Mr. Schnyder said that as of Jan.1, last, there were some 65,000 non-settled refugees in Europe, including 5,000 recent arrivals. About 35,000, he noted, were likely to be resettled through projects now being implemented. This, he added, left a residue of 35,000 of whom two thirds were in France and Germany, where it was hoped they could be integrated without the need for large-scale international assistance.

Dr. Rees urged the executive committee to give early attention to the fact that the High Commissioner's mandate expires in December, 1963. He said continuance of his office would be essential, particularly in regard to affording refugees legal protection and assisting them in various ways. (RNS 5-16)

CHURCHES URGED TO SPEAK OUT ON RACIAL BIGOTRY Unless churches are outspoken in condemning racial discrimination they have no right to speak out on any other social issue, a Baptist minister told the United Church Women of Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dr. J. Glenn Blackburn of Wake Forest Baptist church said the churches' lack of contributions to better race relations is becoming "embarrassing." Stressing that churches must become relevant to today's times, he declared: "Your church and mine will be considered irrelevant by our society if it does not act on the race question."

Dr. Blackburn's church recently announced that it has opened its doors to all persons regardless of race. It is located on the campus of Wake Forest College, a Southern Baptist school, which also has adopted a policy of admitting all qualified students, including Negroes. (RNS 5-9)

Alan Mooney

PR
PA
JY
MJ-file

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American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

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VOLUME VII Number 12 June 8, 1962

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, MAY 28 Barbara Brecht and Jim Bristol reported on a recent New York and Washington, D.C., seminar for high school students. The theme was "The Price of Security--Violence or Freedom." Barbara said that 25 students from 10 states participated. Among them was a group from Iowa who travelled in an old hearse. Enroute, their "horseplay" included having one of their number play the role of a deceased person while the others acted as mourners. It was a "lively group," Barbara said.

The group stayed at the East Harlem Project House where they shared unnerving experiences. These included weird night noises which came from hair dryers, and the dumping of an unconscious neighborhood boy at the project house door.

Among the participants were two girls from Michigan who had never been out of the state nor had any previous interracial experience. One of them developed a very close relationship with a Negro girl from Fayetteville, North Carolina, Barbara said.

Jim Bristol told of hearing an unusual noise at Gauntt House in Washington which he discovered also came from a hair dryer. This time it was being used to dry the shoes of a boy who fell into a pool of water while balancing on its edge. Jim commented on an earlier seminar in Chicago, where 11 students attended. He compared it with the New York-Washington Seminar and quoted students who felt that both were ideal in size. He concluded that both were valuable and moving experiences for those who participated.

Among the resource persons for the New York-Washington Seminar were Max Wolf, a sociologist, United Nations officials, and members of the Quaker United Nations Program staff. In Washington, they heard Arthur Waskow speak about deterrence, visited embassies and congressmen.

* * *

Allen White announced that the AFSC is planning to install automatic accounting and bookkeeping machines which, after the first year, are expected to result in savings of from $10,000 to $15,000 per year. The new system will permit three persons to do the work formerly performed by ten, he said. All present employees affected by the new system will be given training by IBM and will work at AFSC during the transition period. Thus, they will be better equipped to work elsewhere when they leave the AFSC.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JUNE 4 Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, close friend of the American Friends Service Committee through his friendship with Rufus Jones, and more recently with John Yungblut, chilled staff members with his report on the activities of the White Citizens Council in his home state.

(Continued on Page 2)

Underplaying the tension between the Negro and white community in Mississippi, he spoke of the fears of his congregation concerning a too active participation in the struggle for equal rights for minority groups.

"I was honored recently when Lincoln University conferred upon me an honorary degree. Yet, this great experience is not one which I shall speak about when I return to my home state, nor will a mention of it appear in the local press."

Rabbi Mantinband told staff members: "Our congregation is in the middle of the strife there. They are victims of Negro boycotts on one hand and White Citizens Council boycotts on the other. They have asked me to soft pedal my convictions on this great social issue."

He agreed that he had an obligation to his congregation, which made him its "lifetime rabbi," but, as an individual, he said he had an obligation to himself and his own convictions as well. "I know the actions of the White Citizens Council against Negro equality can be turned easily against the Jews tomorrow. The councils are powerful, ruthless, and well supplied with money. They should be, since they have access to public funds," he said.

The state legislature appropriates tax money to the Sovereignty Commission which has the responsibility of maintaining the status quo, he added.

Rabbi Mantinband said that in connection with the racial equality issue, there were three discernable segments of society in his state: a few liberals who call themselves moderate; a much larger fanatical group identified with the White Citizens Council; and a large middle group which is indifferent to the problem.

He quoted a couplet which describes the philosophy of this middle group:

Come weal and woe
My status is quo

Yet, despite the shadow under which he, his minority group, and that of the Negro, lives he confessed a warm affection for a state which has "...given the nation and the world Nobel prize-winning author, William Faulkner, Pulitzer prize-winning journalist, Hodding Carter, opera star Leontyne Price, and Olympic medal winner Ralph Boston.

* * *

Leslie Kirkley, a British Friend who is director of the Oxford Committee on Famine Relief, spoke of the activities of his agency in collecting financial support, particularly as it applies to the two gift shops OxFam maintains in England.

He explained that the gift shop in Oxford has been eminently successful, its inventory being established entirely from gifts of persons from all social strata. Located on the "American route" between London and Stratford, this shop has accounted for a remarkable proportion of OxFam's annual budget.

OxFam's director is traveling through the United States and Canada to spread the story of this agency which has a concern for the hungry of the world, and which has made significant contributions to a number of American Friends Service Committee Refugee projects in recent years.

(Continued on Page 3)

DRUGS SENT TO ALGERIANS; PUBLICITY EXPANDS An airlift of drugs and medical supplies, donated by private American drug companies, landed in Morocco sometime Tuesday for distribution by the AFSC in the regroupment camps of Western Algeria, as the AFSC's new million dollar program for Algerian resettlement gets underway.

The AFSC ambulance containing the drug supplies was expected to move across the border this week, accompanied by nurse, Beth Knight, who was to start work immediately in the Tlemcen area.

The new Algerian program was given a major boost last week when Bronson Clark, field director in Morocco, home for ten days, appeared on the NBC-TV TODAY SHOW on Tuesday, May 29.

During his whirlwind home leave, Bronson was also interviewed by (1) THE PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN, which ran a fron page story the next day, (2) LIFE magazine, which may give an AFSC angle to a story on Algerian resettlement already in the works, (3) the NEW YORK TIMES, (4) CBS-TV News for a future story, (5) local TV stations in Cleveland, Ohio, and Cambridge, Mass. In New York he also met with heads of foundations and refugee organizations, and in Washington with government officials.

In an effort to tell the Algerian story as quickly as possible to as wide an audience as possible, the Information Service has issued two national news releases, written personal letters to a large group of columnists, commentators, and editors, as well as to the clerks of all Monthly Meetings.

In the works at present are a national CBS-TV story on the refugees (expected to include scenes from the AFSC film STRANGERS TO HOPE), an article in a national magazine, a feature in a local Sunday supplement, a radio interview, and hometown stories on all members of the Tunisian and Moroccan teams as they move into Algeria.

Margaret Bacon, on special assignment to do publicity for the Algerian program, has asked that all staff be alert for clippings in the local papers, and that they channel to her any ideas which occur about media we could use to tell our story.

AFSC AIDS CUBAN REFUGEES ARRIVING IN PHILADELPHIA About a dozen Cuban refugees arrived in Philadelphia this week and were received by Quaker sponsors arranged through the AFSC. They were among a plane load to come to this area. In addition to the Quaker sponsors are groups representing the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, Methodist, Unitarian, and Baptist denominations.

Other Cuban refugees are being sponsored through Quakers in Washington, Chicago, and Pasadena.

N.C. SCHOOL PROGRAM ENCOURAGES DESEGREGATION The AFSC school desegregation program in North Carolina has undertaken efforts since last September to encourage progress beyond "token" integration. Its work in three areas of North Carolina has included:

1. In Western countries where Negro population is 6 per cent or less, and where Negro school facilities are nonexistent or extremely inadequate, staff has

(Continued on Page 4)

tried to bring about cooperative desegregation action by several counties. There is a possibility that a conference of the area's leaders can be convened soon.

2. In Eastern part of the state, staff has tried to find a community where a major attack on school segregation might be made. Communities surveyed are Wilmington, Goldsboro, Fayetteville, and Spring Lake. Some action is developing in these communities but no major desegregation effort has developed or seems likely to develop this year.

3. In Piedmont area, staff has continued to keep in touch with, and to work with, several communities. These are Greensboro and High Point (both have tokenism), Reidsville, Trinity, and Salisbury (these have no desegregation).

4. Staff has also worked in Harnett and Sampson counties with Indians who are seeking desegregation.

WHITE STUDENTS GO TO NEGRO SCHOOLS IN DURHAM, N.C. Several white children have been assigned to Negro schools for the first time in Durham, N.C. About 40 additional Negro children have been assigned to predominately white schools. The new plan was suggested by Federal Judge Edwin M. Stanley and affects only first-graders during the next year but the school board can add grades thereafter. An ASSOCIATED PRESS story of June 6, 1962 said that the new plan replaced a previous system of separate assignment maps for white and Negro children.

Alex Morrison

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

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WB — see P. 3

While we are not seeking publicity, I feel that Friends should have let their own folks know that we made a grant for this project??

PA

[redacted]

MJ - file

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American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

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VOLUME VII Number 13 June 22, 1962

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JUNE 11 Ed Wright introduced a group of 29 young people who are headed for summer work camps overseas in 20 countries. Earlier, 17 left for their assignments and another 23 will be leaving later this month.

Last summer the AFSC assigned 98 young people to work camps in 21 countries. They served with 21 other organizations in addition to the AFSC.

* * *

Barrett Hollister shared some observations from his recent six-week visit to the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Rumania, Poland, and England. With him were Lewis Waddilove, chairman of Friends Service Council, and Alun Davies, who is Europe secretary of FSC.

He compared material changes since his previous visit in 1956, commenting on the volume of traffic, costs of oranges, housing, and the crowded conditions in Moscow. About one-half of the city's yearly budget is spent to provide housing, he said. The short supply of many consumer products makes it difficult to find certain goods and shopping may require several hours.

Barrett Hollister said persons they talked with seemed to engage in more "systematic and realistic consultation" than was the case when he visited there before. This view was shared by Ambassador Lewellyn Thompson, U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, during a conversation with Barry.

He observed that a strong totalitarianism exists and much propaganda is disseminated.

Barrett Hollister suggested that the AFSC should continue consultations with the Soviets on ways to cooperate in program opportunities, and that consideration be given to a joint AFSC and FSC visit to Moscow in the spring of 1963.

He raised questions on (1) how the AFSC might achieve a closer coordination among its programs related to the Soviets, and (2) what should be the creative role of Quakers in relationships with the Communists.

He said Quakers should be searching and flexible in their approach to the Communists but that results cannot be predicted.

MONDAY STAFF MEETING, JUNE 18 Alex Morisey reported on a recent trip to Atlanta where he observed the AFSC merit employment program and participated in the Friends Southwide Conference on Race Relations.

The visit with Noyes Collinson, AFSC staff member there, included getting photographs of Negro employees in nontraditional jobs in two federal offices in Atlanta, and also pictures

(Continued on Page 2)

of some members of the program advisory committee that has as its chairman the president of the Federal Reserve Bank in the city.

Alex said that the program, which was organized six months ago, is building a firm foundation for progress under the leadership of Noyes Collinson and the strong committee which includes some of the most influential leaders in the city.

The Friends Race Relations Conference was the first one held in the South. It was arranged by the Atlanta Monthly Meeting and Quaker House and directed by John Yungblut. Sessions were held at The Interdenominational Theological Center and closed with the Sunday Meeting for Worship at Quaker House.

About 50 Friends from all the southern states, except Alabama, attended the conference full time. Among the participants were four Negroes, two of them Friends.

Alex said that the conference could be evaluated as "highly successful" and that it should have considerable impact on those who attended and on their future involvement in race relations of the region. Among the concerns voiced was that of extending the influence of the Quaker way in a manner which will help win new members.

* * *

Barbara Hinchcliffe and Charlotte Meacham discussed the resources available to AFSC staff who may support local efforts in the field of integrated housing. Charlotte said that Philadelphia has perhaps the largest and best resources in the nation and that ample opportunities are available for one to "square his convictions with his daily living."

She reviewed state regulations which forbid discrimination in housing and stressed the importance of citizen action in helping to see that the law works in a creative way.

PERSONNEL INTRODUCTIONS Penelope Barbour has taken a temporary assignment as secretary to Sidonie Schafer of the International Centers Program. She is a student at Bates College, Lewiston, Pa.

Jean Martin will work temporarily in the personnel department with William Thompson and Hylan Davis. Her former work experience is with the U.S. Government.

Charles Posner has taken a temporary assignment as typist with Kay BeZater. He is a 1962 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.

Evelyn Copeland has begun a short-term assignment as secretary to Allen White. She graduated this month from Guilford College.

Margaret Sargent has taken a short-term assignment as secretary to Edward Wright. She is a student at Beaver College.

GIRL SCOUTS GIVE AFSC ANNIVERSARY PLAQUE A Girl Scout Golden Anniversary plaque was presented to the AFSC at the June meeting of the Board of Directors. The presentation was made by Mrs. Leslie B. Schramm, chairman of the Girl Scout Region III committee. The award recognized the "encouragement and support" which the AFSC has given to Girl Scouting through the work of the Children's Program which has just completed its twentieth year.

(Continued on Page 3)

VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT OPENS IN SOUTH The AFSC voter registration project opened last week in Jackson, Tennessee. The project is under the direction of the High Point Regional Office and is being coordinated with the varied efforts of a number of human relations organizations in the South, including the Southern Regional Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The project has been specifically invited by the Voters League of Jackson, a local citizens group.

After a period of orientation, participants will canvass houses in integrated teams to convince people that they should register to vote and explain the registration procedure; help local citizens organize meetings in homes and churches to discuss the responsibilities of citizenship and ways to become informed about the issues and candidates; help organize car pools and baby sitting to facilitate registration; and keep records and write reports on the effectiveness of the methods used in the project.

The project can be a unique learning experience for the participants. A seminar of at least two sessions a week will be held, making use of resource people in the area on the topic of human relations. Informal discussions will grow out of the project experiences. Meetings with local students and citizens will also be held.

Fifteen college students plus the leadership couple will live, dormitory style, at Lane College. An interracial steering committee in Jackson will advise and assist the group in its relations with the whole community.

For an excellent account of the voter registration efforts in the South read "The Kennedys On The Move In Dixie" by Louis E. Lomax in the May issue of HARPER's magazine.

FOOD FOR CHINA APPEAL MADE TO PRESIDENT Henry J. Cadbury is among a group of 18 religious leaders who sponsored an appeal to clergymen of all faiths asking them to sign a petition to the White House calling on the U.S. to make some of its surplus food available for people in Communist China. The appeal was issued by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It declared that "when human beings are hungry it is the responsibility of other human beings to do their available best to supply them with food."

This aid must be furnished, it said, "not when some Christians are hungry, or when some democrats are hungry, or when some of the population of the free world are hungry, but when human beings are hungry."

Meanwhile, the possibility that famine in China will increase was suggested in an editorial in the June 9 issue of the NATION. Readers are reminded that George McGovern, director of the Food-For-Peace Program, said recently that sending surplus food to Red China is "a lot more possible today than it was a year ago."

GUESS WHO SAID THIS "Courtesy is better than coercion, interest is better than intimidation, recognition is better than retribution, and friendship is better than force."

Those remarks were made by Erle Johnston Jr., public relations director of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and editor of the SCOTT COUNTY TIMES, a weekly newspaper at Forest, Mississippi. The admitted segregationist leader was deploring the "extremists at both ends of this racial situation."

(Continued on Page 4)

NEW PAMPHLET ON 'DETERRENCE' PUBLISHED "The United States must shift from a strategy of military deterrence to a policy of social deterrence if we, as a nation, or mankind as a whole, are to survive." These are the words of Sidney Lens, political analyst and labor authority, whose latest study in the BEYOND DETERRENCE series has been published by the AFSC Peace Literature Service.

Lens says in his terse pamphlet, "Revolution and Cold War," that America's successes in the cold war have occurred when we have used the social, rather than the military, deterrent. He cites the effectiveness of the Marshall Plan in holding Europe and the failure of the nuclear threat to stop the Chinese revolution.

"Military power of the West has been incapable of preventing revolution or defending investment or trade," Lens says. This should persuade our government to switch from a policy which "buttresses our military prowess to one which encourages the revolution of rising expectations," he added.

In conclusion, Lens says, "Our choice is between a policy of military deterrence which guarantees our decline as a nation and perhaps condemns us to thermonuclear extinction, and a policy of social deterrence which is the one hope that mankind can survive. We, as a nation--together with the world revolution--can move forward."

"Revolution and Cold War" is the third of a series in the studies of the BEYOND DETERRENCE series which is being published by the AFSC.

A COMMENTARY ON FAITH Scientists, professors, and some Quakers who speak out publicly against nuclear tests without acting, are among those criticized in an article by Paul Goodman in the June issue of COMMENTARY magazine. The writer, in an article entitled, "The Ineffectuality of Some Intelligent People," comments on those who "reason in a way that must logically lead to an action, and yet do not act." To him this seems pathological and he observes that "they do not seem to suffer from the despairing idea that nothing can be done, since they speak up and urge us to do this and that. But they themselves seem to have lost the spring of initiative, the ability of moving themselves, which Aristotle singled out as a chief property of living animals.

The following comments close the article:

"To think and then act requires faith. A man must believe that he and his peers, correcting one another's reasoning, and making it common and public, have finally as good a sampling of reality as there is. And they are as adequate judges of it as there are, for any other judgments are merely made by other groups of men who, one has reason to suspect, might be more ignorant or fraudulent. And most important, a man must believe that the world is a world for him; if he exercises initiative and takes a step, his action will have an effect, however small, in the same real world. He will not suddenly be without ground underfoot. Faith is animal faith, as Santayana said, but it is also a ground of poetry, according to philosophy, in the stream of history. It is humane. A man has faith that if he is well-intentioned, rational, not fanatical, he is not alone; there is a human community that is thinking the same thoughts as himself and his friends, and ready to act in concert. Of course I do not know where such faith in the nature of things and in the human community comes from, nor how it can be infused. It is faith. It seems to me to be the most proximate cause of initiative."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This issue of FOCUS will be the last one published this summer. Publication will be resumed in the fall.

Alex Morrison

Hef's personal file

December 3, 1956

Miss Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara Moffett:

Most helpful letter from you dated November 30.

By good fortune I am to have the afternoon of December 13, the Thursday, in Philadelphia, and I hope there will be a time when you and I can chat.

I am there primarily to talk with the man Gay Wilmore of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at the Witherspoon Building.

If you are going to be around that afternoon, please to have your secretary at about 2:35 start jangling the telephone in Gay Wilmore's office with a view to rooting me out to come over to your place at an agreed time that afternoon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED DEC 3 1956

November 30, 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Attached is a listing of AFSC resources for community relations work and other race relations work in the South. This is a rather late response to your letter asking for such material to become a part of a compilation of resources available to people working in the South, but I hope it is not too late.

This is our idea of the way to present the AFSC's set up. It seems rather lengthy, but you encouraged me to be so bold by your statement that we could list several people if we had several people at work!

You will notice that it indicates that we have a national Community Relations Program and regional programs. The relationship between national and regional work is close - resulting in what we hope is a well coordinated nation-wide program. We are helped in our goal if other organizations know of this coordinated approach and so we welcome the idea of the listing of agency resources you are working up.

We have listed our three national consultants - Irene Osborne, Thelma Babbitt and Fred Fuges, and we have listed Tartt Bell and his staff in North Carolina and the Executive of our Austin office and his staff in Baton Rouge.

As you may know, I have just recently taken on the job of being Secretary of the Community Relations Program, in Dick Bennett's place. Dick's are almost impossible shoes to fill, and there are times when I think I may have made a rash decision! However, the decision is made, and I aim to keep our program in the field of race relations growing and out in front if I possibly can. An excellent staff, of which your former colleague, Irene Osborne, is a part gives me courage. I will also want very much the continued cooperation and consultation of people such as yourself, who meant so much to Dick as he did his job. I was delighted to meet Harold Fleming in New York a couple of weeks ago and I do look forward to the opportunity to work with both of you and other Southern Regional Council staff.

Cordially,

Barbara W. Moffett

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs
Attachment
cc: Tartt Bell

December 10, 1956

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

Glad to do anything Irene needs. Or anybody else at AFSC. Sorry to miss you, but I will come again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEI... 0 1956

December 6, 1956
(dictated 12/5/56)

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I'm glad you found the November 30 letter helpful.

It may be Philadelphia's good fortune that you are going to be here on Thursday, December 13, but unfortunately it won't be mine! At that very moment I'm going to be out in California worrying about the problems of seasonal farm laborers in the San Joaquin Valley - no mean problems, theirs.

I'm routing your letter to Irene Osborne in our office because I know that if she will be around she'll be delighted to "start jangling the telephone in Gay Wilmore's office" with a visit from you in mind. I'm not sure whether or not she'll be in the office that day. We are keeping her pretty busy and I actually have lost track of her plans for that specific time in the rush of my own to get off bright and early tomorrow morning for the West Coast.

I hope that this missed opportunity will represent just a temporary setback in our project of getting together to talk.

Cordially,

Barbara W. Moffett
bs

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs

cc: Irene Osborne
Fred Fuges

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 14, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We're all delighted to hear that you are coming up our way and what's more stopping in Philadelphia. I know the staff will be interested to hear you on Monday morning at the meeting for the entire staff. The Community Relations staff is looking forward to our Monday lunch together when there will just be half a dozen or so of us who work in this field to talk with you more informally. In addition to this we have asked Frank to put on your schedule a session with Alex Morisey and me at 11 o'clock on Monday to talk about our mass media ideas.

Alex has drawn up a rough outline of some of the ideas which were presented at the Washington meeting and we will also put our heads together and try to think of some ways of implementing the various ideas. Alex will probably be going up to New York also the next day for the Mass Media Committee so we should be nicely prepared to give a follow-up report to that group.

It will be good to see you.

Cordially,

Barbara

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs

cc: Frank Loescher
Alex Morisey

Harold Fleming

RECEIVED OCT 24 1957

JC

F.Y.I.

HCF

October 18, 1957

William J. Stevens, Jr.
Assistant Managing Editor
SATURDAY EVENING POST
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear William Stevens:

We've scurried around and compiled a list, attached, of white southerners who have constructive views on integration. Of course they range in their opinions, as any group of individuals, but would, we believe, help give you part of the picture of what we feel is a many-sided South.

In addition to the attached list, we would like to add some organizational people who could share some interesting points of view with you.

Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold is a key person in a key agency with affiliates in all southern states.

Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
Southeastern Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Wade Mackie, Director
Merit Employment Program
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Tartt Bell, our regional office Secretary, has worked in North Carolina for many years. In North Carolina he guides our School Desegregation Program (which works in Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Chapel Hill) and our Merit Employment Program. He and the program staff could help give you a picture of their part of the South.

Wade Mackie is our deep South "outpost". He is a southerner and has gathered about him in Baton Rouge a dedicated Advisory Committee. He could put you in touch with many people in Baton Rouge and surrounding parts of Louisiana.

I hope your trip provides the needed time away from the desk and paper! Also, that it is interesting from the point of view of your informal explorations. We would be very interested in any comments you might have on your return.

Sincerely,

Barbara W. Moffett

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs
Attachment

bcc: Tartt Bell
Wade Mackie
Harold Fleming
Steve Cary/Mike Yarrow
Alex Morisey

ALABAMA

Dr. Paul Foreman
Department of Sociology
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Rev. Robert Graetz
Montgomery Improvement Association
530-C South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

White Pastor who has Negro Lutheran Church. This is not his own address but they can refer you quickly.

Dr. John Hall Jones
5345 First Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

ARKANSAS

Dr. and Mrs. Johan W. Eliot
204 East C Avenue
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Physician and wife active in local activities.

Mr. Fred K. Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Businessman

FLORIDA

Rev. Caxton Doggett
Rader Memorial Methodist Church
8755 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Mrs. Stanley Milledge
107 N. E. 93rd Street
Miami, Florida

Wife of a Judge. Active in many local activities.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Vice-President of the University.

John B. Orr, Jr.
228 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Attorney and member of Florida Legislature.

GEORGIA

Morris Abrams
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Attorney

Mr. Carl Bennett
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Rev. Edward Cahill
United Liberal Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. Harrison McMains
Atlanta Christian Council
167 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Paul Pfuitze
c/o University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

YWCA Leader.

John Stanley
525 Avery Street
Decatur, Georgia

Insurance executive.
Member of Atlanta Friends Meeting.

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Old Georgia Family.

LOUISIANA

Rabbi Leo A. Bergman
3401 Octavia Street
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

NORTH CAROLINA

Reed Sarratt
WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Editorial Director

MISSISSIPPI

Mrs. Martha Burtt
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Prominent Church Woman.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Memic Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mrs. W. H. Ratliffe
Robert E. Lee Hotel
Jackson, Mississippi

Prominent Church Woman.

Mr. and Mrs. D.S. Wheatley
Greenwood, Mississippi

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. St. Julian Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

John Bolt Culbertson
P.O. Box 1325
Greenville, South Carolina

Attorney

Mr. J.M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Old South Carolinian.
Writer and Lecturer.

Mr. Ira Kaye
102½ North Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Attorney

Father Maurice Shean
The Oratory
434 Charlotte Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Operates an interracial Parochial Elementary School.
Fully in touch with other white liberals, on close
terms with the Mayor.

Priscilla Shaw, Mayor
Sumter, South Carolina

TEXAS

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 19, Texas

Member, Houston Official Advisory Committee on Desegregation.

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
3580 Watanga Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Member, Board of Education

Mr. Alfred Mynders
THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Editor

VIRGINIA

Rev. John Marion
Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Moffett, Barbara

REGARDING:

The Joint Fact-Finding Project

(A memo written to Tartt Bell re AFSC's imprint on fact-finding report)

DATE:

June 5, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Cooperating Agencies - Joint Fact-Finding Project on Violence, Intimidation and Reprisals.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

September 11, 1958

Answered 9/12/58

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Frank tells me he has spoken to you on the phone today about the decision made at the AFSC Board of Directors meeting yesterday. The concern to reach the President was well expressed by Frank and the Board encouraged the idea, putting responsibility for its implementation on the Community Relations Committee. The Board was particularly anxious to have the strategy for reaching the President thoroughly thought through so that there would be no danger of winding up elsewhere than the President's office. They shared our concern to have thought through some of the specific points we'd like to propose to the President also.

I gather you will be at the CCD Executive Committee meeting in New York next Wednesday afternoon. I will be there and wondered if we could get together either before that for lunch or following the meeting? Your advice on "inside Washington" would be helpful to us, as would any ideas on projects for the President to undertake.

Cordially,

Barbara

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs

November 20, 1958

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

I promised I would pass on any reaction on the Arkansas situation with respect to the displaced Negro pupils. I have talked with Nat Griswold, who knows about the Friends' effort to provide out-of-state education of a selected group of the Negro pupils.

Nat feels that the proposed plan, while it will have some demonstration value as demonstrating that there are concerned people, will not do much to affect the situation. He was rather enthusiastic about the idea of some tutoring services that might be made available to a larger number of the displaced pupils in Little Rock itself. I don't know whether this is a practicable idea or not. If it were attempted, great care would have to be taken to interpret it as no lessening of pressure for reopening of the schools and no endorsement of private school arrangements. Actually, I do not think it would be either. The Negro pupils can exert no pressure beyond what is already being exerted through legal channels. And to leave them completely unschooled during this interim period while the white students receive some make-shift education, seems to me a rather inhumane way to keep the pressure up.

Nat said he would discuss this with the people he is in touch with in Little Rock. I do want to make it clear that I was not expressing any opposition to the plan that has been developed. Certainly it has value, particularly if nothing would benefit more of the pupils is possible.

Unfortunately, you will be receiving a memorandum from me shortly, addressed to all of the cooperating agencies about the Front Royal situation. SRC is going to make a contribution for tutoring services for the 23 Negro children there. And we are urging other organizations to join in. I will leave further details for the memo.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Morris Court 3C
Merchantville 8, New Jersey
December 18, 1958

Christmas Greetings, dear friends:

This letter of Christmas greeting almost came to a halt over the question of its salutation! I was hunting for the word that would express colleague, companion and friend, addressed as this letter is to all of you allied with the Community Relations Program. The Thesaurus had possibilities unlimited, ranging from "ally" and "accomplice" to "buddy" and "confrere." I finally returned to "friend" with its special meaning for us all as co-workers at the Service Committee.

I wanted very much to write a Christmas letter to you all this year. It has been a difficult year for those dedicated to achieving a just society, to building brotherhood. Each of us works in a field that is in a critical state, desperately in need of greater understanding and more justice. A story by newspaperman, columnist and philosopher, Heywood Broun, written for the New York TELEGRAM at Christmas time in 1929, seems to me to speak to today's situation as those of us working with the Community Relations Program face it. In this year of large events, some wrong and distressing, but others heralding better days, this story of a shepherd near Bethlehem strikes a note that puts the daily struggles and services of each of you in their true perspective.

A SHEPHERD

The host of heaven and the angel of the Lord had filled the sky with radiance. Now, the glory of God was gone, and the shepherds and the sheep stood under dim starlight. The men were shaken by the wonders they had seen and heard, and, like the animals, they huddled close.

"Let us now," said the eldest one of the shepherds, "go even unto Bethlehem and see this thing which has come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us."

The City of David lay behind a far, high hill, upon the crest of which there danced a star. The men made haste to be away, but as they broke out of the circle there was one called Amos who remained. He dug his crook into the turf and clung to it.

"Come," cried the eldest of the shepherds, but Amos shook his head. They marveled, and called out: "It is true. It was an angel. You heard the tidings. A Saviour is born."

"I heard," said Amos. "I will abide."

The eldest walked back from the road to the little knoll on which Amos stood.

"You do not understand," the old man told him. "We have a sign from God. An angel has commanded us. We go to worship the Saviour, who is even now born in Bethlehem. God has made His will manifest."

"It is not in my heart," replied Amos.

And now the eldest of the shepherds was angry.

"With your eyes," he cried out, "you have seen the host of heaven in these dark hills. And you heard, for it was like the thunder when 'Glory to God in the Highest' came ringing to us out of the night."

And again Amos said, "It is not in my heart."

Another then broke in: "Because the hills still stand and the sky has not fallen it is not enough for Amos. He must have something louder than the voice of God."

Amos held more tightly to his crook and answered, "I have need of a whisper." ....

And when the din of the angry shepherds about him slackened Amos pointed to his hundred.

"See my flock," he said. "See the fright of them. The fear of the bright angel and of the voices is still upon them. God is busy in Bethlehem. He has no time for a hundred sheep. They are my sheep. I will abide."

This the others did not take so much amiss, for they saw that there was a terror in all the flocks, and they, too, knew the ways of sheep. And before the shepherds went away on the road to Bethlehem toward the bright star each one talked to Amos and told him what he should do for the care of the several flocks. And yet one or two turned back a moment to taunt Amos before they reached the dip in the road which led to the City of David. It was said, "We shall see new glories at the throne of God, and you, Amos -- you will see sheep."

Amos paid no heed, for he thought to himself, "One shepherd the less will not matter at the throne of God." Nor did he have time to be troubled that he was not to see the Child who was come to save the world. There was much to be done among the flocks, and Amos walked between the sheep and made under his tongue a clucking noise, which was a way he had, and to his hundred and to the others it was a sound finer and more friendly than the voice of the bright angel. Presently the animals ceased to tremble and began to graze as the sun came up over the hill where the star had been.

"For sheep," said Amos to himself, "the angels shine too much. A shepherd is better."

With the morning the others came up the road from Bethlehem, and they told Amos of the manger and of the wise men who had mingled there with shepherds. And they described to him the gifts -- gold, frankincense and myrrh. And when they were done they said, "And did you see wonders here in the fields with the sheep?"

Amos told them, "Now my hundred are one hundred and one," and he showed them a lamb which had been born just before the dawn.

"Was there for this a great voice out of heaven?" asked the eldest of the shepherds.

Amos shook his head and smiled. and there was in his face that which seemed to the shepherds a wonder even in a night of wonders.

"To my heart," he said, "there came a whisper."

"To my heart there came a whisper." The 101st sheep: the individual need met, the Indian family with a new hope for the future, the seasonal farm laborer with a new sense of dignity, the Latin American newly understood by the "Anglo" community, the white home owner relieved of living with the burden of segregation, the Negro child taking his rightful place in the schools of our country, the businessman with a new vision of his work -- all of these unheralded events were advanced by shepherds who stand watch.

May the coming year again bring such satisfaction to you all.

Barbara Moffett -

BWM:bs

Harold, good colleague, I thought you, too, might be a Heywood Broun fan -

See ltr. from Miss Nagenmith - 1/8/59
filed in Gen Corresp. Amer. F.S.C.

January 2, 1959

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

I recall that one of your people wrote us some time ago in connection with a confidential survey of salaries being paid by organizations of our ilk.

Our Personnel Committee is slated shortly to undertake an agonizing reappraisal of such matters. It occurred to me that the findings of your committee might have been reduced to some general summary, naming no names, that might be shared with our committee. If this is the case, could you help us elicit this information in time for a meeting two weeks hence?

I realize that this is a delicate subject involving special lay-staff relationships. If my request would be simplified by having one of our lay people write one of your lay people, or whatever, please advise and I'll act accordingly.

Have you learned to write "1959" yet? I haven't.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

MF

Send Barbara

Moffett up-to-date
list of state offices

HCF

Sent
6-24-59

July 21, 1959

Miss Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

Thanks for the sample copy of the handsome new pamphlet. That red, white, and blue cover makes me feel proud to be an American.

My verbal order for 100 copies still stands. We will certainly bring it to the attention of the state councils on human relations. I am circulating the advance copy to other members of the staff; if any of them come up with suggestions, I will let you know.

I would be the last person to complain about your decision that Hean has more important things to do than present the violence report to key Washingtonians. This is precisely the reason why we threw in the towel on further promotional distribution. Life is short, and besides I think the report got a sufficiently good initial ride to get it reasonably well used where it will do some good.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
COLIN W. BELL

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 16, 1959

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of RACE AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA which has just arrived from the University of Oklahoma Press. We think it is a nice looking job and we are anxious to get it in the hands of people who can use it. We know something more about the prices for quantity orders now and I thought I'd pass the information along to you. The booklet will still retail at 50¢ a copy, but we are able to fill orders of 100 or more for 25¢ a copy and orders of 1000 or more for 20¢ a copy. I think this is a good bargain. Let us know if you can use any. Could you bring it to the attention of the state Councils? I'd be glad to send free promotional copies for this purpose.

Our Information Service has been getting some very interesting clippings on INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE. The editorial comment has been good in northern papers, with almost everyone getting the point of the study. I do hope that Jean and I do not seem stuffy in our decision that we cannot have her spare the time at the moment to do some personal presenting of the pamphlet to key people in Washington. The value of that as opposed to some other rather urgent projects on which she must work seem to eliminate the job as far as we were concerned.

Cordially,

Barbara

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs

Enclosure

cc: Alex Morisey
Judith Howard

Diagram for to P.P. for Sec

January 13, 1960

Miss Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

We are glad that Jean will be at the meeting next week, but sorry for the conflict.

We will have the dates of the Community Relations Committee on hand and will see that there's no repetition next time -- that is, assuming a date earlier than May is set for the subsequent meeting.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

March 11, 1960

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

I am embarrassed to find that I haven't answered your letter of February 18.

Hylan Lewis is a first-rate man, but I know him only as a researcher and analyst in this field. How he performs as an operator at the grassroots, I simply don't know; perhaps Irene Osborne does.

I get the impression that you will shortly be drawn into direct dealings with Taconic about the Prince Edward proposal. If this develops, do let me know what transpires.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

February 18, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here is a version of Jean's report that we hope will both give local color and also not do any harm if shared unwisely. That is not to say that we anticipate its being shared!

John Hope has just called Jean with a list of names to look into for the Prince Edward County job. Hylan Lewis' was among them. Neither of us really know him, though I've heard Irene Osborne speak of him. What would your thoughts be on this suggestion?

We'll wait anxiously to hear from you on any interest you uncover in contributing toward the $20,000 needed for 18 months in Prince Edward County!

Sincerely,

Barbara

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs

Enclosure

cc: Jean Fairfax

April 27, 1960

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

If possible, could you send me your points for future action in Little Rock that were contained in Thelma Babbitt's report so that I may include them in the minutes of the Interagency Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 29, 1960

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of April 27 to Barbara Moffett. Barbara is in Little Rock now and will return to the office Tuesday, May 2. I'm sure you can expect to hear from her during the coming week.

Sincerely,

Bernice Smith

Bernice Smith
Secretary to
Barbara W. Moffett

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PR

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June 27, 1960

TO ALL CONCERNED

We are eager to let all of you who are concerned with and involved in the Prince Edward County, Virginia situation know that we have been able to take the first step in the American Friends Service Committee's attempt to help meet some of the many needs of the students and others in Prince Edward County.

Irene Osborne, experienced AFSC staff member (Washington, D.C. School Integration Program Director, 1951 - 55) and former consultant to the Southern Regional Council, will be in Prince Edward County for six to eight weeks beginning July 1. Her first assignment will be to help the community make a self-survey which we hope will provide the kind of information which is needed to do an effective program.

She will be working closely with Virginia intergroup agency people and will want the ideas and support of all of you in this initial assessment period. For the present will you get in touch with her either through Jean Fairfax or me at the above address or through the Prince Edward County Christian Association, 309 Franklin Street, Farmville, Virginia.

Sincerely,

Barbara W. Moffett

Barbara W. Moffett
National Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:mt

File - Amer. Friends Ser. Office (Barbara Moffett)

June 27, 1967

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

Enclosed is a copy of the report prepared for the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. As you will see, we have edited out about 4,000 words. Frankly, we would have been more than happy to run the full report since all of it is important, but we had to face the reality of length for the magazine. You will notice that except for two small sentence changes we have simply deleted sentences and paragraphs, leaving that which we propose to use in tact.

Would you, or someone, glance through the report and let us know if these deletions meet with your approval. If they do, a footnote would indicate that you, title and identification, presented this at the hearings on behalf of AFSC.

We would like very much to run this in the next issue of New South. We think it is more pertinent than ever, and now that we are getting a little concern and a little reaction about the plight of the rural areas we need to keep publishing all the information we can.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Poverty-Rural

See: Comer: Friends Ser. Ctee (Barbara Shoffitt's folder)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

6052

REPORT

PREPARED FOR

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

February 15, 1967

Mr. Chairman and Commission members: My name is Barbara Moffett. I am Secretary of the Community Relations Division of the American Friends Service Committee. I am accompanied by Eleanor Eaton, Assistant Secretary of the Division, responsible for rural programs, by Pamelia Coe, National Indian Program Representative and by William Channel, Director of our East Coast Migrant Leadership Education Program. I appreciate being asked to present this testimony on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee. I speak for that Committee and for many like-minded Friends. However, no single body can speak officially for the Quakers, The Religious Society of Friends.

The Experience From Which We Speak

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is this year celebrating its 50th Anniversary. During these 50 years the Committee, through its volunteers, its committees and its professional staff, has been involved in efforts to help rural people find a way out of poverty and deprivation in literally hundreds of communities around the world. For some, such as the peoples of Korea, Algeria, or the Gaza Strip, poverty was exacerbated by war or revolution. Some had never been far from starvation as are so many of the villagers of India and Mexico. In the United States, self-help and community development programs among textile workers in North Carolina, unemployed coal miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania and Negro farmers in South Carolina date back to the 1920's.

Currently, through our Community Relations Division, we have staffed field programs among farm workers, settled and migratory, in Tulare, Fresno, Ventura and Kings Counties in California, as well as in Florida, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York; we have staff at work with the San Carlos Apache Indian Tribe in Arizona, with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe in Montana, with various tribes in southern California and in the state of Washington, and at Intertribal Friendship House, serving members of over 90 tribes who have sought employment and a new life in the Bay area of Oakland and San Francisco, California. In North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, AFSC staff is in close contact with rural Negroes and in Texas with Mexican American families who are seeking to break out of the syndrome of poverty and discrimination. It is on the basis of this extensive and continuing grass roots experience that we speak today.

Rural people are, in the main, scattered and unorganized, unable to exercise influence for programs comparable to their need. Rural areas have to date

presented no serious threat to the peace, as has violence born of despair in the cities, but mass violence is just below the surface in some rural areas. Furthermore, the use of violence and the threat of violence to discourage rural people from exercising their rights and improving their condition is documented over and over again in southern states.

Statistics show the degree of unemployment and underemployment in rural areas, the urgent housing needs and conditions, low income levels, the lack of public and private services that characterize most rural areas, and the patterns of forced migration which so clearly link the problems of rural and urban poverty.

The disparity between the needs in rural areas and the size and number of anti-poverty, manpower and welfare programs in rural areas and for rural people are also well documented.

We will, therefore, concentrate in this testimony on suggested remedies for specific human needs with which our various programs have sought to deal. As we said in testifying before the Special Subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor in 1964 when the Economic Opportunity Act was being drafted, "There is no poverty in the abstract, only poor people, with many problems..."

What We Recommend and Why

I. Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government must commit themselves to an attack on poverty which recognizes the need for broad Federal planning and policies designed to bring Federal benefits to all citizens, massive Federal resources both of funds and of technical assistance directed to the rural poor, and maximum development of local

leadership and organization through encouragement of independent, locally initiated, and administered programs operating in accordance with Federal policy.

The war on poverty has been both piecemeal and puny. It promises to be even more so in the year ahead, with cutbacks in funds, especially in the rural sector and an apparent lessened Federal commitment to deal with the related issue of racial discrimination with its resulting inequality of access to the benefits and decision-making centers of our society.

We deplore the trend in Congress and the Office of Economic Opportunity to back away from programs which stress the organization of the poor to solve their problems in innovative ways. Limitations on funds available for community action programs and emphasis on pre-packaged programs that eliminate local leadership involvement are in our view a serious step backward in the war on poverty.

Our experience demonstrates that in rural areas where those in need and those with on-going relationships with them have themselves organized and implemented programs according to their own needs as they see them the climate of despair turns to one of hope. Leadership has developed and improvements been made.

The recognized success of CAP programs on some Indian reservations are notable examples of this development of the local leadership so desperately needed as one element in the nation's war on poverty. Our staff working among the San Carlos Apache Tribe writes that at San Carlos the predominant attitude of the people on the reservation has been, "What's the use?", "Even if we did this, no one would listen," "We can't really do anything about it anyway." With the advent of a CAP program of considerable scope which involves the Indian poor, supported by the local power structure (the Tribal Council) and predominantly staffed by Indian people, things have changed. There is continuing interest. Volunteers

meet weekly, self-help projects are initiated and carried through. Some of these self-help projects, for instance the Tribal newspaper and the Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, are expansions of work started initially by local people with AFSC assistance but without adequate financial base. Others are new.

On the other hand, "top down" implementation of programs, without full participation of those whose needs programs are designed to meet, has not been successful. Channeling of programs through previously uninclusive and undemocratic bodies has also often defeated their purposes.

An adult education program at San Carlos, using VISTA volunteers working under the direction of Indian committees, was successful. When the program was taken over by local school districts, notably unrelated to Indian interests, Indian participation quickly disappeared.

A Head Start program on the reservation provided a real opportunity for Indian parents to become involved in the process of learning their children are undergoing. A threat to put this program under the state school system is viewed with alarm, our staff reports. Parents feel they will lose their voice in the program.

In Mississippi, the involvement of poor parents and adults in the Head Start programs of the Child Development Group was so basic and thorough that when funding was withheld these people, poverty-stricken in the extreme but rich in leadership qualities, continued many Head Start programs on a volunteer basis rather than turn them over to others or let them die. Holmes County in the same state provides an example of what we mean by the value of local leadership development and organization. Here there is not only a climate of hope but a thriving community center, an emerging cooperative, cooperative home building, and a growing potential for cooperation between the poor and those economically more successful, both Negro and white.

Contrary to its intention, the OEO requirement of a broadly representative organization prior to program development and funding has stymied local initiative and participation by the poor. This is of course particularly true in areas of intense racial discrimination and segregation, not only in the South but in rural areas in other parts of the country as well. White and Negro participation as equal partners in an attack on poverty is not feasible in many areas and insistence upon broadly representative groups in such areas results in very little action against poverty.

In the Black Belt counties of Alabama there is not one Community Action Program and only two OEO funded efforts -- these funded under Title IIIB in Lowndes and Wilcox Counties. As one Negro leader in the area put it, "You either have to 'Tom' or lie to get a program." Alabama ranks 11th in number of rural poor; it is 23rd in the amount of OEO funds received. Most of these funds have gone to urban areas.

A successful attack on poverty in rural areas must include policies and programs which will develop rural leadership and enable it to stay on the scene. This will take the combined efforts of the many governmental agencies which impinge on the problems and lives of the rural poor.

In many instances when local leadership has emerged in southern rural areas, political, economic, and hostile social forces have combined to "encourage" such leaders to emigrate to northern and western cities regardless of their ability to adjust to urban society. Young people, from the south, from Indian reservations, from Spanish-speaking villages in New Mexico, from rural South Jersey, frustrated in efforts to get jobs or a decent education, have, sometimes with encouragement from their parents, sought their future in urban areas. Others seek status and good pay in the armed forces. Leadership is being drained off.

We would like to cite ~~two~~ specific instances here--~~one~~ in a rural southern county and one from the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona.

In a Mississippi county, a Negro family, leaders in their community, had applied unsuccessfully to a federal agency for assistance in securing their own home. In discussing the case with one of our staff, the government official suggested that instead of trying to improve their situation locally they should go to Detroit "where with his skills he could earn $3.25 an hour."

Our staff in San Carlos, Arizona writes: "The Bureau of Indian Affairs has had for over ten years now a program of relocation (now called Employment Assistance) of Indian people to major urban areas for employment. The BIA aggressively recruits the most acculturated, those who can best adjust and those with the greatest leadership potential. The leadership gap on the reservation is obvious. The Bureau of Indian Affairs fills the leadership gap with non-Indian or non-Apache leadership.

"The lack of jobs (75% unemployment) on the reservation does not encourage leadership to remain or develop within the community and thus hinders true, balanced community development.

"The leadership gap is evident at San Carlos when it is seen that not one single Apache college graduate is on the Reservation. The problems of locating secretaries, accountants, etc. from the Apaches to work for the Tribe are compounded by the competition of salaries which can be offered them by the BIA or in the cities. The gap in community leadership below the Tribal Council level results in most problems being funneled to the Tribal Council for solution. In addition, there is frustration in the community of not being able to get what they want done, of having to rely on non-Indians to get leadership, and of breakdowns in efficient management of tribal assets for the benefit of the community."

Two final thoughts on local leadership development and local responsibility. Some local leadership may fail or be misguided. We should expect a degree of failure. Successful local organization to meet the problems of the poor will find local opposition from those who have been comfortable with the status quo. This should be expected and local groups encountering it should be sustained by the commitment of the Federal Government and the nation to a successful attack on poverty. It will not be without its tension and conflict.

II. The opportunity to earn a steady income and participate in decisions affecting the nature and availability of such income is an urgent need of rural low income people. This means access to the means of production and equal access to jobs.

A. Land for farming and supplementary income

The current advance in agricultural technology, the ASCS programs which benefit the large land owner and give little if any benefit to the small holder, the tenant farmer, or sharecropper, the lack of enforcement of the 160 acre water law (Reclamation Act of 1902), the cost of equipment, marketing difficulties and the population growth whereby more and more farm land is being bought up for housing developments, make small holdings almost impossible to acquire or maintain.

The small farmer, whether owner or renter, has virtually disappeared in south Florida, California, Texas and many areas of the mid-west. He is rapidly on his way out in the southern states because of lack of access to land related resources. Today, with the growing world need for food, the great number of people who know how to farm and like to farm but have not

the skills for other work should not be cast aside. It is not enough to say "the family farm is uneconomic and is on its way out."

Our program experience attests to the needs and ability of such people. The migrant streams and the ghettoes of our cities are crowded with families deprived of access to land as a means of production. And once these people are so uprooted, they become more and more poverty stricken and the escape hatch becomes more tightly closed. [The growing number of people in tent cities further attests to the unavailability of land.]

We urge ~~this commission to~~ consider the needs of people now, not a theoretical situation 25 years from now. (One Federal official said to us, "We just have to forget these people; there is no help for them until they can draw their Social Security ten years from now.")

We do not suggest a return to 40 acres and a mule. We do suggest a reexamination of government owned land policies and an exploration of the potential for an inclusive homesteading act, whereby land for farming, small industry, and housing, equipped with water, sewage and street financing, can be made available to low income rural people.

We recommend a program that will make available modest land holdings for farming through subsidy or tax incentives or long term interest free loans, coupled with locally based programs of research and experimentation on intensive farming that will demonstrate what crops are high yield and require high labor input, can contribute not only to the world's food needs but to the elimination of poverty and dependence. How can we make maximum use of our human as well as physical resources?

Our California staff writes on the basis of AFSC work and experience there:

"Small acreage farms can thrive in California, but heavy equipment investment is needed. Thus, capital funds, improved access to land, water and agricultural advice are needed.

"Farm labor families in areas where inadequate annual labor demand exists could supplement annual income through part time farming, as many now do. This would tend to stabilize the labor force as well as improve living standards. Such opportunities, if made available extensively, could reenliven rural communities, form a basis for the establishment of small processing and service enterprises, lessen the influx of untrained, impoverished people to cities, and give new opportunities to farm laborers who because of age, language and cultural barriers, lack of education, have nothing to gain in the city.

"Many large holdings in the San Joaquin Valley are far beyond the size of optimum efficiency. New irrigation developments there are coming into prime agricultural lands where, without adherence to the provisions of reclamation law, the benefits will all accrue to large land companies. The reclamation law is not being enforced. The DiGeorgio Corporation in Kern and Tulare Counties signed recordable contracts ten or more years ago to divest itself of excess land. Recently it sold some tracts, presumably complying with the law, but the land sold at prices between $2,000 and $3,000 per acre (the going price for land in full production with grapes, olives, or citrus) whereas reclamation law requires that excess land disposed of must be sold at dry-land prices. Enforcement of the law in this manner does not actually make land available to small, independent producers as was the intent of the law.

"The re-establishment of an extensive system of small holdings dedicated in

perpetuity to agriculture could go a long way toward conserving land. California is a major agricultural area, yet it lost over one million acres to urban use since 1942, and at present rates will lose another 1½ million acres out of a total of eight million by 1972."

Coupled with this is the need for fair adjudication and protection of water rights for the rural poor. For example, in northern New Mexico small previously productive farm holdings are often no longer viable because of the diversion of water to corporation farms and industries in the southern part of the state.

Threats to the water rights of Indian people are frequent. In southern California we have worked with the Soboba reservation which is the only landholder in the "take area" not yet compensated for water taken by a new metropolitan Los Angeles water conduit system built about thirty years ago. There was an abundance of good water on the reservation when the system was built; the present water supply is greatly inadequate and the best compromise now possible is probably that the metropolitan water system would allow the reservation to tap into the metropolitan system without charge for the hookup, after which the reservation would have to pay for water, which they had available free and in abundance originally. Other land in the area, for which compensation has been made, is now well watered productive farm lands. The reservation is barren and unproductive.

This is only the most dramatic of the water problems which plague almost all the reservations and rancherias in southern California.

Indian reservations throughout the United States have had great difficulty in establishing their right to water for agricultural and recreational development. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is trustee of the land and

has been reasonably vigilant in conserving the land base itself, has been so lax in protecting water rights that it was a matter of great surprise when the Superintendent of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona actually championed the Tribe's right to develop a lake on their own land, in the face of opposition from the powerful Salt River Water Users Association.

Currently at issue are the water rights of the Pyramid Lake Tribe in Nevada, who own a magnificent wilderness resource which is losing water at a rate which threatens the existence of the lake and limits its potential as an economic resource.

B. Capital and direct loans at little or no interest for farm improvement are a major need. Administrative rulings within the Farmers Home Administration, and inadequate appropriations weaken the potential of the Farmers Home Administration to help the rural poor. We suggest a re-examination of the Farm Security Administration program of the 1940's whereby 60 acre farms complete with house, well, land, 20 acres clear and 40 acres wooded were sold to displaced tenant farmers on 40 year mortgages. In Holmes County, Mississippi, many such farms begun in this way by Negroes are today viable and provide stable community leadership and a sound tax base.

We know a family in a rural Alabama county which had been successful tenant farmers for some years. On January 1, 1966 fire bombs (presumably designed to get the parents to withdraw their children from the newly desegregated school) destroyed their home and all their possessions. This farmer, in addition to providing for a family of 12, had been able to save enough cash from his tenant farm operations over a five year period to pay $3,000 towards the $3,750 needed to purchase 40 acres of farm and timber land. After the

fire he applied to the local Farmers Home Administration for a farm development loan and a loan to build a house. His ASCS cotton allotment was 3.4 acres. He was refused a loan for his house on the grounds of insufficient income. He was given no farm development loan, only the pious hope from a top USDA official that "they could increase their income."

Private funds for housing and farm improvement are not available. No initiative is forthcoming from the ~~USDA to~~ help the family make their 40 acres viable through intensive farming, wise use of timber, etc. We can cite similar examples of lack of positive, coordinated assistance to low income Negro farmers in other southern counties and states.

We, therefore, strongly urge this Commission to reevaluate the ASCS and other policies of the USDA as they affect low income farmers, both in terms of allotments and services.

In many cases the legislative authority exists by which executive agencies can meet the challenges of rural poverty but, too often, bureaucratic rivalries, lack of coordination and lack of determined, imaginative staff work at the local level frustrate and negate this authority.

C. Small, locally relevant, nondiscriminatory industry is an urgent need. We recognize that this will require federal planning, low interest financing, perhaps some subsidy and a coordination of federal, state and local efforts in a cooperative spirit to provide the land, the power, the public services and roads. On-the-job training programs can in most instances be provided either by the industry itself or by small specific short term efforts.

Rural areas have resources to offer small industry. Clean air and water

and a labor pool are some of those. We suggest, however, that the focus of the Commission's recommendation be not primarily on what industry needs but on what the people and the area need. National planning is needed. National planning that will give the poor and underemployed access to the means of production is as logical as national planning of recreation areas, highway systems, etc. We were told that one agency of government could not assist a group of individuals to utilize land they had secured for home building because there were no jobs nearby and they might have to move for employment.

Private efforts are struggling against great odds to create such job opportunities. The successful creation of a silk screen operation in Taliaferro County, Georgia, providing jobs for over 25 people would have been greatly facilitated by federal assistance. But here, as in rural areas of the Northwest, the urban mentality and orientation of the Small Business Administration has limited assistance from that source. The Economic Development Corporation appears to have more understanding of rural needs and opportunities and should be strengthened. But again this resource has not been available to a local group of people in Greene County, Alabama who have developed a cement block factory which will not only provide materials for self-help housing projects but is developing a commercial market at a competitive cost.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs economic development effort is praiseworthy in its effort to develop industry on reservations, but the effort has been hampered by lack of investment of private capital in Indian enterprises because of special restrictions on Indian land. Some 50 industries have been attracted nationwide, most of them requiring fine hand-eye coordination in which Indians have excelled because of their crafts tradition.

Tax breaks, factory construction and many other gimmicks are being used to lure northern industry to southern cities. We suggest that economic incentives to the poor themselves to establish and develop relevant industries in rural areas deserve serious study. The placing of government contracts to industries in or accessible to rural areas should be aggressively pursued. The Federal Government through its contracts has the power to encourage or require subcontracting to areas of rural need.

D. Special Indian hunting and fishing rights should be protected. Such rights, often mentioned specifically in the treaties whereby Indian tribes ceded large portions of the United States to the Federal Government in return for certain services and undisturbed enjoyment of the small remaining proportion of their land and property, are under attack today in many parts of the country, notably the Pacific Northwest, the Great Lakes states, and Oklahoma. To local game and fisheries enforcement agencies the existence of a group of citizens with special privileges may seem to pose an intolerable obstacle to the development and enforcement of a rational conservation program. However, in our experience, Indian groups, particularly those which still depend in large measure for their subsistence on hunting and fishing, are more aware than most non-Indians of the vital importance of conservation of game and fisheries. Approached in a cooperative rather than a punitive spirit, they will take advantage of opportunities to improve their hunting and fishing resources.

The AFSC recently conducted a survey of the controversy over off-reservation fishing rights of Indian citizens in western Washington state. From talking with a large number of concerned Indian people, as well as the appropriate state and federal officials, the AFSC drew conclusions and

recommendations which we believe would apply broadly in any situation where treaty-based hunting and fishing rights are being threatened by non-Indian interests.

Our preliminary report is attached to copies submitted to the Commission. We draw your attention particularly to pages seven and eight, points II, B through F, and III, A through F. Additional copies are available on request.

III. The nation must address itself in earnest to the "goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American" set forth in the Housing Act of 1949. In the rural areas of America shelter is a problem second to none. It is composed of such factors as lack of access to land, unavailability of loans, and requirement for local housing authority or local government approval of public housing projects. The problem is compounded by the prevalence of employer-owned housing, which puts severe restrictions on the freedom of farm workers.

The sit-ins at the Greenville Air Force Base in Mississippi and the subsequent tent colony in Lafayette Square in Washington temporarily dramatized one of the major aspects of rural poverty...the need for adequate shelter. Our experience in rural areas confirms this need. We see daily in human terms the need in California for 730,000 units of housing and the need in Mississippi for 100,000 units.

For farm workers employer-owned or controlled housing creates a condition of 20th century serfdom. Freedom to seek change in working conditions, to participate in community activities, to receive community services, to register to vote, to enroll children in the school of your choice, to change your job become myths. The threat of eviction and loss of job prevails.

Our experience not only in the Deep South but also in Florida, California, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania supports this statement.

AFSC workers have on a number of occasions been ordered to leave camps where they were conferring with farm workers. In January of this year staff members were ordered off of an FHA-financed camp, now under the control of a large labor contractor, where they just had scheduled a meeting with a small group of workers. Our Chester County, Pennsylvania, staff has been refused admission to grower controlled housing to talk with mushroom workers.

In New Jersey, an AFSC worker was arrested by a farmer and held at gun point by him until state troopers arrived, after he had been invited on to the camp by the crew leader to help some of his people fill out social security applications. The charges were later dropped.

Eviction was resorted to extensively in the Delano, California strike.

In North Carolina, after farm laborers had been two weeks without work, it was determined by the Welfare Department that there was near starvation in certain camps and that U.S. Government surplus food was needed to alleviate the situation. Farmers exerted enough pressure to force the Welfare Department to reverse itself, and the U.S. Government surplus food was denied. A number of churches provided the necessary food. But a farmer let it be known that he would shoot anyone who tried to get on his farm to distribute the food.

In addition, residents of housing enclaves on grower property are often denied the benefits of public health services, and community and other workers are prevented from communication with them.

When a camp is on the property of a private farmer he exerts his right to deny entry to anyone whom he pleases. In Florida, the Department of Health was denied

the right to hold a clinic on one farm until the son of the farmer convinced his father that it was a good thing.

Employers often excuse low wages because "housing is provided," though too often the housing is inadequate and may have cost the employer nothing for many a year. The worker should receive his payment in wages.

Growers and farmers frequently resist community efforts to build community owned housing for migrant workers because of their need for a "captive" labor force. A recent headline in the Miami Herald (10/2/66) reads: "Protests May Kill Farm Worker Housing Project: Pahokee Landlords Organize."

In some southern communities eviction is openly used as a weapon in driving the Negroes out of the county and state to northern and western cities. Community development and basic education programs, cooperatives, credit unions rarely reach the "plantation Negro." Rarely does he become a part of voter education programs, training programs, etc. Why? Because of the threat of eviction, potential or actual and because there is no place else to go. One plantation family we know well spent a year and a half seeking to buy, rent or find land to build on within the school district where their children were enrolled and doing well. Fear kept fellow Negroes from renting or selling; the white community presented a united front, again partly from fear of a few.

The evils of employer owned and/or controlled housing are not squarely faced or even recognized by some. Already in the 90th Congress a bill has been introduced to provide "rapid tax amortization for farmer-owned housing for farm workers." Its sponsor is a real friend of the rural poor but such legislation perpetuates and expands a basic cause of rural poverty. All such tax gimmicks and special loan programs to individual farmers for farm labor housing should be ended at once.

The shortage of independent housing in rural areas is acute. Need for shelter has high priority. One AFSC staff member working in rural areas writes: "I used to feel that housing problems were second only to wages in the farm labor field. I am beginning to feel they are now equal, not secondary." And wages often depend on housing. A farm laborer in Pennsylvania got a job offer at wages three times his present earnings. He couldn't take it because there was just no independent, non-grower controlled housing available.

Our California staff writes that people who live in grower-owned housing may reduce their potential annual employment by as much as one-third because they cannot readily work for other employers.

Three large camps built in Florida with Farmers Home Administration loans to a person who applied as a "nonprofit corporation" have been frequent violators of health regulations and on occasions been closed down. The original owner now subleases sections of the camp to individual farmers in the area. The farmer uses it to house workers who are working for him. If they want to work for someone else, or change jobs, he can force them to give up housing so that he can have the house available for someone else who will work for him at wages he wishes to pay. If a man has a family and no prospect for other housing he may be forced to accept inferior conditions.

The requirement that some federal housing programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs can only reach an area through a local housing authority, in rural areas not usually very enlightened, prevents many needy persons and areas from benefiting from these programs.

In California such Authorities may be established by a local governing body (City or County Board of Supervisors) through appointment of Commissioners. Commissioners often have practically no relationship with the people needing their

services, and they are relatively immune to public pressure. They act as a power unto themselves, and as experience in Tulare County suggests, it is difficult to force elective governmental bodies to exercise control over them.

Federally assisted rural rental housing is blocked in Chester County, Pennsylvania because of the requirement that the local government (township) invite or approve and that the housing must be in an area with a "workable urban renewal plan." The rent supplement program provided hope for a break through. Private nonprofit groups could build housing, but the rider to the bill making such supplements available only in areas with a "workable renewal plan" again discriminates against rural areas.

Land is a major factor in meeting the need for rental and independently owned rural housing. The Farmers Home Administration can now loan money for the purchase of land as well as for house construction but the cost of land, even the 3/4 acre necessary in rural Chester County or the two acres deemed essential in the rural South, or the minimal plots in California, puts both land and loan at current interest rates out of the reach of the poor.

Income qualifications for loans and inadequate loan funds present problems to the rural poor in search of housing.

To qualify for self-help housing loans from the Farmers Home Administration, rural families must in many cases have incomes above the poverty level, even though from their limited funds those families most needing houses put payment of shelter above all other needs and expenses. At the same time OEO funds for technical assistance for self-help housing groups are curtailed because the income level required by the Farmers Home Administration makes too high a proportion of participating families ineligible for assistance by the war on poverty.

Another block in the achievement of decent housing in rural areas lies in the availability of loan funds. A 1966 Senate Committee recommendation makes it possible for OEO to provide "brick and mortar" grants of $1,500 to low income home builders under Title IIIB. But funds appropriated by Congress are so limited for this title that the authority is almost meaningless. Similarly the housing loan authorization for the Farmers Home Administration is woefully inadequate. In one California project alone, requests for self-help housing loans in 1967 will total $800,000 but by a Bureau of the Budget ruling FHA has only $3,000,000 available nationally for loans to all self-help housing projects in the first quarter of 1967.

American Indians are in a special bind. Their lands are held in trust for them by the Federal Government, and many live on reservation land owned collectively by the tribe. The Farmers Home Administration and most private lending groups require individual ownership.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been particularly open to the needs of reservation Indians. Since few Tribal Councils resist the creation of Tribal Housing Authorities, public housing programs on Indian reservations serve as an example of progress in meeting the needs of the rural poor. But in view of the fact that 90% of the housing on Indian reservations is below minimum standards of safety and decency, public housing programs meet only a small portion of the need. Public housing programs need to be expanded and ways found to provide housing for people who don't qualify for public housing assistance. Indians with employment may actually have poorer housing than unemployed Indians, because their income is too high for them to qualify for public housing assistance, but neither can they qualify for conventional Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration financing because of their special status.

A. A coordinated attack on the problem of housing in rural areas should have top priority in the recommendations of this Commission.

Recommendations should include:

1) the elimination of government support for employer-controlled housing --a version of the "company town";

2) increased authority and appropriations for direct grant and long term low interest (perhaps as low as 2%) loans for land and housing;

3) a 1967 Homestead Act that will make available adequate size land holdings to low income families who seek to build or acquire their own home and which would give landless Indians the preferential status they have now in theory but in fact have not been able to exercise;

4) elimination of the artificial 5500 population ceiling which makes many individuals ineligible for rural housing loans;

5) funding and expansion of the rent supplement program to meet the needs of rural areas;

6) reevaluation of income requirements for home ownership loans including proper assessment of priority given to the shelter and current payments for that shelter;

7) funding of existing authority and increased programs for repair and improvement of existing homes;

8) reevaluation of requirements for Housing Authorities and/or local government approval or sponsorship of housing projects and reconsideration of the "workable urban renewal plan requirement."

IV. Rural education needs to be upgraded drastically if rural people are to have the opportunity to break out of the syndrome of poverty.

Rural schools demonstrably offer fewer courses, less adequate equipment and often limited and secondhand books. Teachers in rural schools tend to have less training and to be more provincial in their outlook than teachers in urban and suburban school systems, and it is difficult to attract well qualified teachers to rural school systems. County school boards tend to set more restrictive policies and engage in little coordinated, enlightened planning to correct the deficiencies of local schools.

These inequalities, found rather generally in rural school systems, are compounded particularly in the South where the dual school system is still the predominant pattern, in spite of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions and recent efforts by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to speed the process of desegregation through enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Most Negro schools in the rural South, for instance, are not regionally accredited and do not offer courses in physics, chemistry, foreign languages and higher math. Instead the emphasis, often expressed in the very name of the school, is on vocational skills which may or may not have a market.

An example of the effects of this double standard in education comes from our program in Florida. We hired a Negro secretary who had graduated from a rural high school and taken a secretarial course at a junior college. She had mechanical ability and intelligence but through no fault of her own, because of the poor quality of the schools she had attended, she was educationally handicapped, unable to recognize words or sentence structure or to spell. She could not make the grade as a secretary and is now doing substitute teaching in the very school from which she graduated, perpetuating a cycle of incompetence.

From our California staff comes the observation that vocational education is limited and stereotyped. "Aside from limited offerings in math and English all that is offered in Tulare County is carpentry, electricity, and auto mechanics, none of which lead to employment. Dairy-hand training is the only class that offers the prospect of employment and the only one that pays a stipend. There are about 20 men in this. In the entire central valley of California there are opportunities for fewer than 100 rural people to enroll in MDTA courses leading to more skilled employment."

Many of our rural citizens are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans or Indians, for whom English is not their first language. Individuals who come from homes where English is not spoken or who have not used standard English need special instruction in English taught as a second language. The quality of the instruction they actually receive in rural schools is often well below the average quality of instruction for English-speaking children in the country as a whole.

Rural school systems need further consolidation to eliminate dual school systems and to provide for more modern educational equipment and courses. Particularly in rural areas where average educational attainment is low, schools should serve adults as well as children, keeping in mind that they are adults and thus need instructional materials which will be of interest to adults. Professional educators easily forget that adults who have not had an opportunity for formal schooling are not necessarily stupid and have learned a great deal informally. In rural areas the school often serves as one of the few available institutions capable of serving as a center for community development and should be utilized in this way wherever possible.

Basic education and literacy programs sponsored and funded under Title IIIB of the Economic Opportunity Act have been of real value. Stipends for students are

essential. Massive additional funds for this program are needed.

Where cultural values differ from those of the majority, as among American Indians or Mexican Americans, these values should be respected. Education will fail as an antidote to poverty if it is based on the assumption that current material middle class values are the only ones appropriate to American citizens. Too much of the curriculum in the public schools today is culturally weighted in favor of those who are "in the mainstream."

V. Accessible services, including aggressive employment services, welfare offices, medical, cultural and recreational opportunities, credit and legal aid, are an urgent need in rural areas.

Imaginative programs of the War on Poverty have begun to make some improvements. The recent effort of the Department of Agriculture to provide for regional approaches to the attainment of such services should be implemented on an expanded scale.

A. Some random illustrations drawn from our experience can be duplicated from every rural area we know.

1) There is not one full-time employment office in the rural Black Belt counties of Alabama. You must go to Montgomery or Selma if you have the means of transportation and the cost thereof.

2) One Farmers Home Administration County Supervisor is responsible for Montgomery and Lowndes Counties, Alabama. He spends one half day a week in the Lowndes County seat; the balance in Montgomery County. This imbalance is not unusual.

3) A family in a Mississippi county needing advice and help from the

Farmers Home Administration must travel 15 miles (they have no phone) to discuss their needs and among the reasons given for refusing them a loan was the amount they owed on their car--their means of transportation to available services, food stores and medical care.

4) The inaccessibility of state employment offices in the state of Washington to rural Indians and the requirements of weekly visits to the office to remain eligible for unemployment insurance, makes this program virtually useless to many Indians. Also, because these offices are not accessible many Indians do not report. Therefore they are not counted statistically as unemployed. Thus federal programs, based on statistical rates of unemployment, are not made available to the area...not because the area does not qualify in terms of real unemployment, but because of erroneous statistics.

5) Florida is no better. A staff member writes: "The welfare office in Belle Glade is in a new building, three or four miles outside of Belle Glade, isolated from any population area. No one lives there, let alone any poor. Anyone without transportation must walk the three or four miles to even get there. The Okeechobee Labor Camp is two miles on the opposite side of Belle Glade. They give no cash assistance, only grocery orders. These are given at the decision of the individual case worker. Emergency hospital and medical care for indigents is also provided at the discretion of the department.

"There is a building at the city office in town where the social security people come once every two weeks to receive people needing help. A little over a year ago an effort was made to get the Welfare Department to put someone in that office in town once a week so that townspeople could come there on an appointed day. They refused to consider it. If

they needed help they could get to the office. A woman who had an operation and couldn't work and needed help for her family had to walk out there, got a grocery order for one week, and at the end of that week had to walk back to make a request for another week.

"Other examples are the indigent clinics operated by the Department of Welfare. In Belle Glade they are held at the hospital at noon every day, again isolated and a long walk for those who must go.

"The West Palm Beach clinic has recently been moved from the center of town which is incidentally near a poor area, out to 45th Street, north. People from Delray Beach, 20 miles south must attend the indigent clinic there. An indigent psychiatric clinic is operated in some buildings at the airport, another difficult place to get to.

"By contrast, the maternal health division of the Palm Beach County health department, with federal funds for the purpose, operates a number of excellent Maternal and Infant Welfare clinics in the midst of the areas served and they are swamped. There is a new one in Riviera Beach and one in Boynton Beach. This is good preventive health work, and the people respond because it is accessible. (Seven clinics weekly are held once a week in the different areas of need.)"

This same pattern of inaccessibility applies in Prince Edward County, Virginia and in Tulare County, California to our certain knowledge. We suspect it is a national pattern.

6) In a southern state, a young girl lost her eye because the nearest medical aid was 50 miles away and the cost so high, the family could not keep her there for treatment.

7) In Chester County, Pennsylvania an older man whose feet were amputated because of inadequate heat in his rural home must go monthly to

a central office that is open one-half day a month for his surplus food. Those who might help him are often working and unavailable.

8) From Tulare County, California, comes this report confirming the need for legal services. An agricultural laborer, currently employed pruning grapes at $1.40 an hour was arrested for drunk driving on January 14. He paid $55 for bail bond and appeared in justice court on January 25 for arraignment. A friend came to court with him to translate. This being a first offense the friend advised he needed no attorney and should plead guilty. The man did so and was fined $289 which he could not pay so he was sentenced to 50 days in the county jail. Conference with the judge and the sheriff could produce no moderation of the sentence, although it is usual to allow people to pay fines on time. The legal service association could not take the case because they are precluded from criminal matters. The public defender cannot enter the case because the judge did not assign it. The man's rights are presumed to have been protected because he was told he could have legal counsel if he wished.

Why do rural areas seem to get by-passed in terms of such services? We believe in part this is due to point No. 1 above in this testimony--the lack of active organized local leadership. If the Federal Government is serious about attacking the causes of rural poverty and migration to the cities by people ill-equipped to cope with the problems of urban life, major support should be given the development of rural community leadership and organization.

B. <u>What is needed:</u>

1) A dispersal of services and/or community service workers into

outlying areas (branch offices, community workers on a regular schedule, even visiting homes) is important.

The employment service needs to actually go to the people, especially to those who need encouragement after years of experiencing failure or rebuff. Employment services need to be more employee-oriented in getting employers to accept and work with employees who need special counseling or who may come from a different ethnic group.

Welfare services need to be more than grants, but also counseling, intensive working with the people in their home environment, not in an office. People have many family problems, but view the welfare worker as mainly a source of money.

Medical services needed include more home care.

Legal aid is universally needed. Legal aid programs should be strengthened by provision for licensing of legal aides who would not need to be admitted to the bar or have a college degree, but who would be required to have some legal training and mastery of certain knowledge.

In this connection, our experience with teacher aides, nurses' aides, health aides, and community aides has indicated that indigenous workers are often far more knowledgeable and wise in these areas of human relations than outsiders, and that the local people can be taught the necessary skills to operate effectively. These "sub-professional" jobs can provide a way for the poor to get into service jobs which are meaningful, which make a contribution to our society and provide a way out of poverty into leadership. Such "sub-professional" workers should have opportunity for further study and in-service training, so that they can

move on to even more responsible roles. We urge government at all levels and professional associations to review laws and regulations which might be changed to provide easier entry into the professions of poor people with the special social skills needed so much by our society at present.

2) Review or Appeal Boards, including the poor in their membership, should be established where poor people could have some recourse or means of appeal. Many local offices providing services are under the control of those with a stake in the status quo who sit in judgment on those applying for aid, a process so degrading as to destroy easily a person's belief in himself.

3) Mobile health, employment and welfare units on a regular weekly schedule are needed.

4) The urban orientation of most service agencies must be recognized and a conscious educational effort made to recognize and appreciate the needs and problems of unorganized, dispersed rural people.

5) Our Los Angeles staff suggest that there should be established in rural areas from which major migration to urban centers is known to occur, mobile referral centers to provide information and orientation to urban life to would-be migrants.

6) The experimental Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program (TICEP) at Tuskegee, Alabama should be studied and adapted for use elsewhere.

VI. Expanded, nationally uniform and equal coverage under social welfare laws would do much to break the back of rural poverty and stem the tide of migration to communities, jobs and states where benefits are more equitable and secure.

A. All forms of employment should be covered by social security and benefits should be increased to provide its beneficiaries with an income above the minimum poverty level. Farm workers today, whether tenant, migratory or settled, get no pensions, work at wages insufficient for daily needs, let alone savings. Yet present laws for coverage and the nature of their administration mean that this major rural poverty group are in large measure excluded from full benefits of social security.

The President's request for increased social security benefits and for the use of supplementary Federal funds provides an immediate opportunity for a strong effort to improve the coverage and administration of this vital tool for alleviating poverty without having the degrading means test attached. For rural people social security is most needed and least available. The farm worker is the most systematically cheated out of this benefit.

Some farmers in Florida, for example, collaborate with crew leaders to switch crews before the minimum number of days worked for one employer is accumulated by the workers. Other farm workers and crew leaders deduct the payments and pocket the deductions without even bothering to get the social security number of the worker.

From our Chester County, Pennsylvania program we can document the case of a mushroom grower who up to 1964 never withheld social security from his workers and offered the worker who protested a small pay increase as a substitute. Through the efforts of a local citizens committee, this grower now

covers all his workers. But alert citizen groups are not always at hand to protect the rights of all citizens.

In southern Florida we have ample evidence of evasion of even the limited social security coverage required. Men and women who had worked as much as 30 years in the migrant stream had either no recorded payments or figures below $10.00 for 15 years of work.

Specifically, we recommend:

1) The social security eligibility requirement that farm laborers work a specified number of days (20) for one employer or earn $150 from him be eliminated. Farmers who deduct social security payments from workers' salaries are penalized as was a Farm Workers Co-op in California initiated by the AFSC. The take home pay was less. In an area where pennies are of vital importance, workers selected jobs on the basis of immediate return.

2) Coverage of all workers, including sharecroppers, day hands, by this insurance if the employer has even one worker meeting a minimum requirement of hours worked.

3) The ultimate employer, i.e. in farm work the farmer or grower, not the labor contractor shall be responsible for deductions, record keeping, reporting, and employer payments. Many crew leaders are incapable of keeping the necessary records, they pay cash per basket from their pockets at the end of a row, and they have no permanent base where enforcement officers can find them.

4) More stringent enforcement of the law. Greater zeal is needed on the part of social security officials; for example, field inspections,

surprise visits to farming areas to check up on crew leaders and farmers to see that the law is being obeyed.

B. Coverage of farm workers under unemployment insurance should be mandatory. In a small two county area in Mississippi, all working members of fifteen (15) families lost their jobs after registering their children in the school of their choice--the previously all white school system. No other jobs could be found in spite of great effort. Two of the families with four and six children respectively were entitled to but not receiving ADC. They were near starvation when our staff discovered them. Only small weekly grants from a private fund kept these families alive and in the community where they were leaders. This story is typical of the tenant and sharecropper families of the South who are now being replaced by mechanical cotton pickers, etc. as well as excluded from jobs for racial reasons.

Construction workers in the North work seven or eight months of the year at good wages. During cold winter months when construction ceases they are eligible for unemployment insurance and do not have to exhaust their savings resulting from high employment and high wages. Nor do they have to become migrants in search of work.

Farm workers in Florida work seven or eight months at wages that allow them to live at a bare subsistence level. When summer comes and agricultural work ceases, they must get into a rickety bus, travel from state to state all summer in order to keep alive. One staff member writes: "If there is any group that needs unemployment insurance more than the farm worker, I am at a loss to know who it is." Unemployment insurance would enable the farm worker to remain in Florida for the four or five summer months, would aid him in establishing a permanent home and in the long run provide a far more

stable work force for the Florida farmer.

Our own Farm Labor Co-op experience is relevant. California has an optional unemployment insurance law. It is up to the employer. This Co-op, as employer, opted for insurance but the pay deductions required put the Co-op at such a competitive disadvantage with employers who did not carry unemployment insurance that the protection was dropped. The marginal existence of workers and the hourly pay concept makes voluntary reduction of wages for long term benefit very difficult.

C. Inclusion of farm workers of all kinds under the National Labor Relations Act should be a top priority. In a competitive society to deny the rights of collective bargaining to selected groups is an anomaly that society should no longer tolerate.

The anomaly of this situation is illustrated in Chester County, Pennsylvania where mushroom growing and cultivating is considered farm work and therefore not covered by NLRA, and compost making (an integral part of the mushroom industry) is classified as industrial work and therefore covered by NLRA. Many growers are engaged in both operations. J.B. had worked for one man for several years on the compost operation. He never received overtime pay. He finally complained to the NLRB and was told he was owed over $4,000 in overtime. He tried to collect. His employer said, "Take me to court," then fired him and evicted him from his house.

Most workers put in 60-70 hours a week to support their families. This grower now uses men for 40 hours in compost and then shifts them to the farm operation to avoid overtime. The right of collective bargaining would protect these workers. As individuals they are powerless. Other farm workers are even more helpless in securing their rights.

The argument of employers against coverage on the basis of the perishable nature of crops and harvest time needs seems questionable. As someone noted recently in testimony, there is nothing more perishable than an airline seat. Furthermore, unions in California have hundreds of collective bargaining contracts with canneries and other processors who can be struck at harvest time. Contracts which expire well in advance of harvest time leave ample time for contract negotiation.

D. We recommend that the whole public assistance policy be thoroughly reviewed and re-examined in the light of the goals of the President's War on Poverty; that federal contributions be increased and minimum national standards of eligibility, payment and administration be established pending the enactment of some form of income guarantee. Public assistance payments in many southern states bear no relation to needs and the nature of the ADC administration too often promotes the breakdown of families. In addition, the administration is often discriminatory; red tape and arbitrary decisions impose great hardships on already destitute families. Welfare offices are inaccessible to families with no public or private transportation.

We can document many and varied instances of the inequity and immorality of the present system. We will illustrate from only a few. We commend the Southern Regional Council's recent publication: "Public Assistance in the South" to the Commission for study.

The size of payments should meet minimum standards of need and at least be based on raising the family out of poverty. The situation of one family receiving ADC is a case in point. With six children and no other source of livelihood except an occasional day of cotton chopping at $3.00 per day this family received $31-35 per month. Simple multiplication shows that

even with 30 days work a year, the mother's maximum, her total income would be $510 per year.

Another family writes: "How do you buy food stamps when you don't have any money coming in?"

The red tape, the arbitrary nature of decisions are dramatically illustrated in the story of L.S. Mrs. S. is the legal guardian of five nieces and nephews. She is illiterate. For over a year since losing her job and being evicted, she has gone repeatedly the 15 or more miles to the welfare office for assistance, each time being told she needs additional documents to prove she is related to these children. First it was the children's birth certificates; then their parents' birth certificates and the father has vanished, then the grandparents' certificates, then incorrectly filled out forms. Only assistance from private funds and friends keeps her alive.

Another family was denied commodities because they had $500 in the bank (a loan from a friend to buy land on which to farm).

Payments and benefits should be on the basis of need; not tied to the whim or pleasure of an individual. For example, in some southern states a white man's signature is needed before commodities are made available. Often this signature is secured at the price of working, without pay, for the signer for an indeterminate period.

In Pennsylvania families too old or incapacitated to work drop out of the migrant farm labor stream. One year residence requirements denies them public assistance. Only an active citizens group, providing "charity" enables them to survive this period of ineligibility.

From California our staff reports the problems faced by Spanish-speaking

families, which form a high percentage of the recipient group in some areas, because many welfare personnel have limited ability to communicate with them.

These are but a few instances of the public assistance problem of rural people where no case worker comes to them, and payments are token.

E. Although some farm workers are now partially benefiting from inclusion in the minimum wage law (Fair Labor Standards Act as amended 1966) this is just a beginning. The total working force should be included and minimums should not vary according to occupation, though a period of upgrading for newly covered workers may be necessary.

Farm workers, who are covered, will be guaranteed a minimum of $1.00 an hour in 1967. The President has determined that any family of four earning less than $3,160 is in poverty. At $1.00 per hour a man would need to work 60.7 hours for 52 weeks to achieve the poverty ceiling. But farm work is seasonal and increasingly fewer men find full time work in agriculture. Statistics show that the average number of days worked by farm laborers across the country in 1965 was around 120. These families would have to work not 24 but 26 hour days to rise above the poverty level!

In the Mississippi Delta men and women go out to chop or pick cotton when there is work. Some whom we know found work three to four days a week for only seven weeks during 1966. They worked 13 hours and earned $3.00 to $3.50 a day. Obviously even a minimum of $2.00 per hour would not be enough.

There are three alternatives: (1) pay the worker a minimum of $2.00 an hour and guarantee him 200 eight-hour days of work; (2) pay the worker unemployment insurance; (3) devise a form of negative income tax or guarantee of income. Most workers we know prefer number (1).

VII. The experience of Indian tribes on reservations has both positive and negative lessons to teach concerning rural poverty. We have drawn examples from our experience with American Indians throughout this testimony. The special legal status of Indian tribes calls for separate attention here. We urge the Commission to heed such experience as tribes themselves and intertribal organizations may have to share, since they will be giving detailed testimony of particular importance.

The inalienable, trust status of Indian land and property and the unique historical status of Indian tribes as "dependent domestic nations" retaining a degree of residual sovereignty has been a major stumbling block in developing good relationships between Indians and non-Indians and has been a major factor behind the conditions of abject material poverty which exist on most Indian reservations today. On many reservations the Indian groups have retained a spiritual richness, self-confidence and pride in their identity which has compensated in large measure for the physical poverty in which they have had to live. On other reservations the paternalistic administration of services and the debilitating lack of authority for Indians to make decisions concerning their own property and community have drained the Indian community of its original self-confidence and independence, creating spiritual as well as material poverty.

There has been a constant temptation in Indian affairs to cut the Gordian knot of regulations and red tape which have demonstrably crippled Indian initiative and prevented Indian tribes from developing viable economies. We should bear in mind that so far each cure-all "solution of the Indian problem" which has been tried--the removal policy of the 1830's, the attack on tribalism by allotting land to individual Indians in the 1880's, and the termination policy of the 1950's--have resulted in loss of Indian land; in greater red tape and bookkeeping by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, increasing the cost to the government rather than

decreasing it; and in increased dependency of Indians on non-Indians. The policy of looking for the magic key which will force Indians to assimilate into non-Indian society and lose their separate cultural identity has not worked: neither the goals of the non-Indian majority (to solve the "Indian problem" and relieve the federal government of its special obligation to its Indian citizens) nor the goals of the Indian people (generally to live happy, fulfilled lives as they define happiness and fulfillment) have been achieved.

The experience of reservation Indians has been instructive in positive ways as well as negative. Reservation Indians constitute one of the few rural groups which have maintained a land base and which have retained societies based on utilization of their corporate land base. They have been inhibited unnecessarily in their use of their land base and in the exercise of local initiative within their reservation communities, since the Bureau of Indian Affairs has held the veto power over many major areas of community life, including the use of capital resources. Reservation self-government has been very limited, and tribal leadership is still in the process of trying to establish viable democratic forms of government over twenty years after the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act, which made formal provision for limited local self-government.

What can be done in the local community dependent on the reservation land base when decisions are in the hands of local Indian citizens has been demonstrated by the accomplishments in a few short months of community action programs on Indian reservations. It is generally acknowledged that the most successful community action programs in the nation have been on Indian reservations, and Sargent Shriver has pointed out that local self-help and cooperation are among the basic values of most Indian groups, in spite of the fact that they have had little opportunity to exercise these values since the establishment of the reservation system.

In view of this experience the Bureau of Indian Affairs is to be highly commended for its new policy of delegating as much authority as possible to Indian Tribal Councils, of contracting with Tribal Councils whenever possible to provide community services rather than providing services directly as it has done traditionally, and of emphasizing community development and greatly enhanced educational opportunities. If reservation communities are allowed to exercise true self-determination and to plan and implement the programs they feel they need, while their independent land base is protected against further encroachment, great strides should be possible in overcoming the poverty which has been endemic on most Indian reservations for years. We hope the Bureau of Indian Affairs will be given sufficient appropriations by Congress to implement the reforms they are now planning.

Conclusion

In summary we would say that single uncoordinated pop shots at the problem of rural poverty may salve consciences but they leave the basic issues untouched.

The full integration of rural people into the economic life of this nation as equals with their urban and industrial counterparts in terms of rights and benefits is essential. Rural citizens should have the same opportunities and services as urban and industrial citizens. They should not be denied the resources and the freedom to live and work, how and where they will. Only then will forced migration be ended and the quality of both urban and rural areas raised.

In attacking poverty, there is still the underlying belief on the part of far too many people that people are poor because of their own inadequacies. So we design programs to remove these inadequacies. Our experience indicates that if we are to

have a great or good society we must so restructure our society and its institutions as to meet the needs and aspirations of people rather than continue to try and change people to fit the needs and capabilities of the institutions we have created.

# # # # # # # #

February 1967

July 9, 1957

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Irene:

Thanks for sharing with me your analysis of the Saturday Evening Post articles by John Bartlow Martin.

As you may recall, Martin spent a good deal of time with us and drew heavily on our material. He also sent me his first four articles in manuscript. His purpose was to have us check the factual accuracy of his documentation, rather than critique the basic theme and conclusions of the series. But my reaction was sufficiently like yours to cause me to express, by telephone and by letter, my reasons for feeling his articles conveyed too bleak and pessimistic a picture.

Until the articles actually appeared in print, I continued to hope that Martin would modify some of his hyper-negative emphases. It is my understanding, however, that his manuscript was already in the hands of the editors when he sent it for checking.

Actually, the first four parts of the series are about the "resistance movement" of the black belt. This is about all that Martin researched. He consciously eschewed any analysis of Atlanta and other cities where new trends are evident. (See Doug Cater's good piece in the current Reporter.) The editorial handling, as you suggest, gives much broader implications to the series than are justified by Martin's approach and research.

Following are several of the pertinent paragraphs from my letter to Martin of April 15:

"...I think you overstate the unanimity of white opinion. We have found that there is a good deal of variation — I don't mean just among the handful of liberals — in the intensity of segregation attitudes, and in the lengths to which people will willingly go to maintain one hundred per cent segregation. The trouble is that the 'silent South' was never properly defined. It consists of white people who do not believe in desegregation as such, but who believe that the price of all-out defiance is too high. These people are mostly silent simply because the political leadership has attached such a large penalty to this kind of dissent. Even so, you hear from them once in a while — as in the case of the great Sugar Bowl controversy, the unsuccessful attempts to re-segregate professional baseball in the South, and Gene Cook's abortive attempt to enforce a state-wide segregation loyalty oath on teachers. As the damage gets greater, I would expect more from the unwilling dissenters. While our own affiliated organizations are weak in the deep South, the very fact that they have been able to continue is a measure of some rational sentiment.

"On page 66, you deal with the question of the price, and you ask, 'Can the South afford to pay white labor?' The real question is whether the South can continue to industrialize indefinitely without incorporating Negroes into the labor pool? And the answer is no. At the present rate of industrialization, the South's white manpower reserve will be exhausted before very many years have passed. Meanwhile, Negro workers are leaving the South in large numbers. Sooner or later — and I think sooner — the industrialists are going to realize that the choice cannot wait until white manpower is scarce, but that steps must be taken sooner to introduce full job opportunities for Negroes. When that time comes, the South will have to start redefining the total status of the Negro, in terms of public facilities as well as jobs.

"On page 67, last full paragraph, you say that industrialization may make desegregation harder since it puts whites and Negroes in competition for factory jobs. I think this would be true in a period of depression or recession. But so long as full employment holds up, I think the positive effects of industrialization should greatly outweigh the negative.

"Since I talked with you on the phone, I have re-read the fourth section and have thought more about why I felt it was too bleak a picture. I guess it boils down to the fact that

you are describing the 'Black Belt.' So far as that area is concerned -- and I mean the rural, old plantation counties -- your statements are true. But even the deep South contains a lot of territory that isn't Black Belt. And while it is true that the Black Belt, through the warped state political systems, has put a strangle-hold on the whole area, I don't think that the north Alabama, north Georgia, and even up-state South Carolina counties are willing to pay the disastrous price that the Black Belts may be willing to pay.

"It is in this sense that I think the deep South state officials are in an overextended position and have, within their own states, a 'fifth column' of conservative leadership that will betray their great segregation crusade as the chips really get down."

Good wishes from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
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Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

RECEIVED JUL 3 1957

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July 1, 1957

Harold Fleming
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We have developed a concern about the series of articles appearing in the SATURDAY EVENING POST from June 15 to July 13, called "The Deep South Says Never". The attached memo outlines the principal comments we wish to make about the series. You will notice that this was shared with the Mass Media Committee of CCD. Alex Morisey tells me Southern Regional Council was not represented so I thought you might like to see our comments.

We are going to seek a conference with the editor of SATURDAY EVENING POST to tell him these objections and to encourage further articles that are written with the view of giving a more full-bodied picture. We are also going to look for an opportunity to discuss the series with the author. Then we are encouraging our southern contingency to write letters to the POST so that they will be hearing some southern views other than the racist ideas they consider to be "virtually unanimous".

We would very much appreciate your comments on the articles. If we succeed in getting an interview we will be able to use all the wisdom we can accumulate.

Best regards to all of you.

Sincerely yours,

Irene

Irene Osborne

IO/fy
cc: Barbara Moffett
Alex Morisey

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Not to be distributed or quoted elsewhere.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Comments by Irene Osborne on "The Deep South Says Never", a series of 5 articles in the SATURDAY EVENING POST, June 15, 1957 to July 13, 1957.

1. There is a discrepancy between what the editor says these articles are and what the author is actually doing. Editor describes the series as "the most exhaustive and penetrating look at the problem of integration yet published in an American periodical". The first 4 of the series of 5 are to be on the Deep South, limited to 4 states: Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina ("since Deep South resistance is little known in the country at large") The fifth article will deal with the border states "where desegregation is succeeding".

In fact, the 4 articles on these hard-core states are a journalistic account of the resistance movement, with emphasis on brief profiles of the leadership of White Citizens Councils. He does not deal with "the problems of integration" in these states on any other level. For example, he deals with the Montgomery Bus boycott only by citing it as the occasion for increased activity on the part of White Citizens Council. He notes that the Supreme Court's order outlawing bus segregation led to violence, but does not say that busses there are in fact non-segregated.

2. The author dismisses with a mention the majority of the states of the south. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee are discussed in a half a paragraph with further very brief mention of legislation in Virginia and violence in Arkansas and Tennessee. Florida is never mentioned at all and Louisiana only by bare reference to pro-segregation leaders in New Orleans. It is not clear whether or not Texas is to be considered as a border state; if so, its "cotton area" and recent resurgence of resistance is being ignored. Altogether this makes 7 states (in addition to the author's 4) where the issue is not resolved, and for which description and analysis are not even attempted.

3. The author offers as a main conclusion the idea of the solid south. "At that time (1954) the south was divided, perplexed, resigned. Today the Solid South is a fact..."

The legal issue covered 17 states and the District of Columbia. Southern Regional Council covers 12 states. We can count 11 where the issue is not resolved. To find "solidity" Martin must narrow to 4 states. This is not to deny the validity of studying these 4 states as a unit; they are indeed the hard core of resistance as Martin says. We do object to drawing from this study the conclusion that the South is solid. Analysis of the total south will make plain the extent of the division; indeed, internal division (intra-state and intra-community) is the most outstanding fact about the southern conflict.

4. The author exaggerates the solidity of even these 4 deep south states. The estimate of 300,000 members of pro-segregation groups applies not to 4 states but to at least 10 states. These are still a minority of white people. Further, fanatic and obsessed mentality of the leaders quoted so liberally represent a very small minority. This is not "a fourth of a nation against the law of the land".

He writes as though it were entirely a matter of a solid Negro block against a solid white block. He appears to assume that all Jewish people go along. He refers repeatedly to incidents and does not tell of progress.

5. He misunderstands the more usual frame of mind of white people. "It (segregation) is viewed as inherently right by virtually every white person in the 4 state area of which we speak".

It is probably accurate to say that there is no significant body of those who "oppose segregation and only await a rallying point". It is also accurate to say that there is a significant body of those deeply troubled by segregation and convinced that the system has done harm to the south. These people are unrelated to the old plantation system which nurtured segregation; they do not belong to pro-segregation groups and do not countenance either their methods or their purposes. They believe that the segregated system is doomed, and, given the freedom to do so, would help to devise constructive ways of meeting the challenge. To say that "the Silent South scarcely exists" is to ignore the fact that it has been silenced. True, even these people of good will have come to believe that they can do little now; probably most believe that these 4 states can do little now; their chief reason for believing so is the very atmosphere of hysteria and violence which has been created by the organized resistance. The White Citizens Councils are not the expression of a mood in the south but rather its prime cause.

Martin does mention the abridgement of free speech and the high cost of dissent. Is it ~~not~~ not apparent that free speech is abridged only when people have something to say, something to be feared by those who do the abridging?

6. The partial story Martin tells is less tragic than what he leaves out. He writes of a heady mood of high morale in successful defiance. This does not characterize the majority of white people, who are still "divided, perplexed, and resigned", resigned both to the ultimate fact of desegregation and to the present fact of internal conflict and the South's humiliation in the eyes of the nation and the world, of this disturbed, guilty, and uneasy frame of mind, widely prevalent among white people, he makes no mention whatsoever.

The above comments are based on the first four articles in the series. The following paragraphs discuss the final article as it relates to the preceding ones.

While the final article reports on border states where desegregation has succeeded, it cannot be expected to balance the previous material which emphasized the "never" of the opposition forces. Surely there is abundant material from the border states to elaborate the views of those who worked for integration. This might have been done in a way more comparable to the treatment in the four other articles of the Councils and other intransigent forces.

At points the author seems to insert irrevelant material. He uses material from a questionnaire used in Louisville to show questions asked by teachers for discussion. The replies indicate the majority of the students oppose integration which, however, even the author admits has succeeded in that city. Elsewhere he claims without documentation that in Baltimore, "a few Negroes transferred just to be in white schools".

The last article seems not to alter opinions which were based on the first four articles. The Post claims the series to be the most exhaustive yet done. It cannot be with so little attention given to areas outside the four Deep South states.

Corrected copy

August 21, 1957

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Irene:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter to the Saturday Evening Post. It was admirably done and should, I think, lay the ground work for further negotiation with the editors. This may be a fairly long range effort, but it is well worthwhile. I will be thinking about ways in which I can reinforce your representations. It may well be that I can arrange an interview with somebody on the magazine on one of my trips North.

Meanwhile, I will appreciate your keeping me posted on any reactions which you receive.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 31, 1957

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Osborne:

Thank you for your letter of July 29 to Mr. Fleming who is presently away on vacation.

Your letter indicated that you were enclosing informational material which your office had sent to the Saturday Evening Post. This is to inform you that upon opening your letter we were unable to find any such enclosure. I am sure Mr. Fleming would be most interested in this material and I am asking that you be kind enough to forward the same to us so that it can be passed on to him.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Director

MF

RECEIVED JUL 31 1957

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

July 29, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Aven, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of what we have sent to the SATURDAY EVENING POST. This is for your information.

We tried to find a way to develop a high level contact with the POST but when this failed we simply have approached them in this straightforward and naive fashion. We will let you know if anything further happens.

Best regards

Sincerely yours,

Irene

Irene Osborne

IO/fy

RECEIVED AUG 5 1957

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Incorporated
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

July 26, 1957

Mr. Robert Fuoss
Executive Editor
The Saturday Evening Post
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Fuoss:

Because of our deep interest in the problems of the South, we were more than pleased to learn that the SATURDAY EVENING POST planned a series of five articles on desegregation and the South. We were the more pleased that so able a reporter as John Bartlow Martin was given the assignment. In view of our high expectations, and our awareness of the importance of such a series in the POST, we feel it important to tell you our reaction to the series itself.

The story of the citizens council movement is a significant one that the nation needs to know. Your reporter did a service to report it with careful accuracy of detail. It is also a strength that his comments about Negro leadership and the NAACP are fair and accurate, with excellent handling of quotes from Mr. Roy Wilkins. Still, our experience in the South convinces us that you have in a number of important respects fallen short of the goal of a really thorough look at the South.

It seems to us that the editorial notes did a disservice to the author in claiming this as "the most exhaustive and penetrating look at the problems of integration yet published in an American periodical". In the first four articles, Mr. Martin has limited himself to a study of pro-segregation groups and their leadership. His material would have looked better if you had not claimed for him more than he set out to do.

Our views are based on considerable experience in the South. The American Friends Service Committee has regional offices, one in High Point, North Carolina and one in Austin, Texas, which work both in the states of the middle South and of the deep South. We have two programs working toward non-discriminatory employment, in Baton Rouge and in North Carolina, and a third is devoted exclusively to school desegregation in piedmont North Carolina cities. We have had interracial summer projects in the South for many years. During the past two years, our national consultants have spent

large blocks of time in the South visiting every state and some fifty communities, including extensive investigation of cases of violence and economic reprisal in the most troubled areas. Our concern, therefore, grows out of substantial and continuing involvement with the South and some sense of responsibility, which we know you share, that what the nation does and says about the South really counts.

Our view, to which we have given extended and thoughtful consideration, is that the first four articles in your recent series draw an oversimplified and exaggerated picture of the situation in the deep South states, and that omission of full treatment of the middle states means that you have failed altogether to view the complex interplay of opposing forces which are today's realities in the South.

It seems to us misleading and out of proportion to draw as a main conclusion the idea of the solid South. ("At that time the South was divided, perplexed, resigned. Today the solid South is a fact...") The legal issue covered seventeen states and the District of Columbia. We can count eleven states where the issue is not resolved. Only by narrowing to four states does Martin find solidity. Analysis of the total South will make plain the extent of the division; indeed, internal division (intra-state and intra-community) is the most outstanding fact about the Southern conflict.

This is not to deny the validity of studying Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina as a unit; they are indeed the hard core of resistence, as the author says. We do object to drawing conclusions that go beyond this restricted look. (By what arithmetic can the author claim that this is "a fourth of the nation against the law of the land"?) And limitation to only four states is surely a crippling defect if one intends a full-scale treatment of "the problems of integration". Surely then one must look at North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas. In these states even state policy is not solid, but confused and contradictory. Negro people have more scope in which to work. White people are not so afraid to say what they think. Considerable progress takes place, as witness peaceful abandonment of bus segregation in a number of cities. There is more of a tradition of interracial action, and a willingness to act in good faith on the part of many school officials. By omitting these states, you have scarcely treated "the problems of integration" as you have not looked at the places where it is most surely the issue and where the most activity can be expected.

Even with respect to the four hard-core states on which Mr. Martin concentrates, he has given us an over-drawn picture, largely, it seems, because there are many facts he did not investigate. For instance, he cites the Montgomery bus boycott and the final outlawing of bus segregation as the occasions for heightened activity on the part of citizens councils and for some violence. He does not note the vigor of a revitalized Negro community in Montgomery, or the many kinds of assistance the Montgomery Improvement Association received from white people in the community, or the fact that busses have in fact been desegregated with very few incidents, or the fact that the overwhelming majority of white bus-riders have cooperated without protest. These facts too make a story, in our a view a more truly significant one than that of the Montgomery Citizens Councils, who did not win on the bus issue.

We feel there is sufficient evidence to cast serious doubt on the notion that the segregationist's view "represents virtually unanimous white opinion". Note the points at which white opinion calls a halt on extreme activity, as when students at Georgia Tech, and the press and the white public, rose up in protest when a game at the Sugar Bowl was at stake. Note the continuing operation of integrated institutions, such as Spring Hill College in Mobile and a Catholic grade school in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Note Atlanta's experience in desegregating its golf courses, without incident and with ample public support. Note, too, that there are interracial groups functioning in a number of cities and towns throughout these states.

We believe the author misunderstands the more usual frame of mind of white people when he says. "It (segregation) is viewed as inherently right by virtually every white person in the four-state area of which we speak". It is probably accurate to say that there is no significant body of those who "oppose segregation and only await a rallying point". It is also accurate to say that there is a significant body of those who are deeply troubled by segregation and have been for years. These people do not belong to pro-segregation groups and do not countenance either their methods or their purposes. Given the freedom to do so, they would help to devise constructive ways to meet the challenge. Now caught in the atmosphere of repression and conformity, their deep distress is readily apparent.

The partial story Martin tells seems to us in many ways less tragic than what he leaves out. He writes of a heady mood of high morale in successful defiance. Our workers do not find this to be characteristic of the majority of white people, who are <u>still</u> "divided, perplexed, and resigned," resigned both to the ultimate fact of desegregation and to the present fact of internal conflict and the South's humiliation in the eyes of the nation and the world. Of this disturbed, guilty, and uneasy frame of mind, widely prevalent among white people, your reporter makes no mention.

Finally, it seems to us that Mr. Martin is simply mistaken about the role of industry in the Southern issue. He suggests that increased industrialization may add to the problem because of job competition between white and Negro workers. Our experience with employment programs in the South convince us that something quite opposite is true. Industrialists are considerably and increasingly aware of their need to draw on the entire labor market. Where integrated employment is practiced, it is as successful as in the North. The bias of industry, we are sure, will in the long-run be on the side of non-discrimination. Further, the increased prosperity of a community developing new industry removes much of the base of insecurity out of which tensions grow.

We have presumed to write these extended comments out of respect for the ambitious job undertaken by the POST. It is our hope that you can tell more of the story at some future time. We note with interest that the recent series of articles are to be expanded into a book; will this provide space for a fuller picture?

We wonder if some of you at the POST would like to talk with some of us at the American Friends Service Committee. Our Philadelphia offices are but a few blocks apart. We would welcome the opportunity to sit down for a luncheon meeting or a conference to talk about the South.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne
Consultant on School Integration

October 2, 1957

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Irene:

This is just a note to thank you for the copy of Robert Fuoss' letter and the clipping of Bob Considine's story. As to Considine, I have little to suggest. As you know, he is one of the prize pundits of the Hearst stable, and accordingly is syndicated by the International News Service. His features, on whatever subject, are superficial, grossly over simplified, and often dangerous - in short, he is supposed to appeal to the moronic mass mind that some editors visualize. Newspaper people of my acquaintance say that he is a hopeless case. Since he is not carried to any notable extent down here, we have not given much thought to his influence. Certainly an attempt by you to interpret the South and segregation to him in somewhat more mature and positive terms wouldn't be a miss. Maybe he would be more responsive to such an approach than my friends have led me to believe.

C. H. reported meeting Mike Yarrow at Little Rock. I am sure we will be in touch again soon about our many matters of common concern.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

September 23, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter from Robert Fuoss, Executive Editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Happily, we now have an appointment with him for September 24.

The enclosed clipping by Bob Considine strikes us as more of the same. We are now in the process of looking into the other articles in the series in consideration of whether we can do something about this, too.

We wonder what you can tell us about this material by Bob Considine. Do you know what his sources are and whether anybody is working with him or his paper to put some protest about this kind of material? We will appreciate guidance on the Considine matter. We are still in the first stages of visceral reaction. Thanks as always.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne

IO/fy

COPY

The Saturday
Evening
POST

Robert Fuoss
Executive Editor

The Curtis
Publishing Company
Philadelphia 5

July 30, 1957

Miss Irene Osborne
Consultant on School Integration
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

Dear Miss Osborne:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter and particularly for the dispassionate attitude that you bring to a problem too often discussed in heat.

Perhaps you are right in saying that we "did a disservice to the author" in our blurb, although I think the point is arguable. In any event, if there has been a more exhaustive and more penetrating look at the problem, I have not read it, and, by this time, I must have absorbed some millions of words dealing with this question.

To be honest about it, I doubt that anyone will ever produce a magazine series that covers the entire problem. Emotional attitudes we find are almost impossible to categorize -- especially when so large a chunk of geography is involved.

For example, I find it almost laughable that we are now readying for publication still another series on this same topic, the difference being that in the new series our author will attempt to show how the integration problem can be ultimately solved only in the North. He makes a good case for his viewpoint, too.

I'd be happy to talk with you about the whole question. As it happens, though, I am going on vacation this week and I will not be back until late August. Perhaps one day after that, we might arrange to have the luncheon that you proposed.

Sincerely,

/s/ Robert Fuoss

The Anatomy of Violence

Alabaman Backs 'Men Like Faubus'

Fifth of a Series

By BOB CONSIDINE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 18 (INS).—Dr. John H. Whitley, 57, medium and muscular, runs a modern drugstore in the industrial suburb of Tarrant. Business is good. It is an all-white business.

The doctor is the president of the Tarrant County Citizens Council. He outlined some of its workings to reporters covering the integration problem in the South.

"This section of the country is unique," Dr. Whitley said. "We have a lot of ordinary working folks. Our Citizens Council was organized from the grass roots up, rather than from the top down as in the Mississippi Delta.

OPPOSED TO INTERGRATION

"We're irrevocably against integration in this area. My council is 1500 strong with ordinary, law-abiding working folks. I'm the only businessman in it. The rest here are scared to join.

"We tolerate no violence. Ace Carter and Jesse Maybry (local racists) were expelled from our chapter for their part in the attack on the Negra' entertainer—Nat Cole. (Carter has since formed his own group of "Preservators," generally believed to be less restrained than the doctor's outfit.)

"Our council is working strictly through legal means," Dr. Whitley stated with quiet determination. "For instance, our people were alarmed about the mixing of the races at a carnival here in Tarrant. So we got an ordinance passed in the town prohibiting Negros and whites to mix at a gathering. (The ordnance specifically prevents the races from "playing together in any game of cards, dice, dominoes, checkers, baseball, etc.")

11,000 SIGN PETITION

"We got a similar law passed in Birmingham. There were 11,000 signatures on the petition to vote for that law.

Each of our councils is autonomous. Occasionally, one of them is involved in an incident of violence. We always repudiate these.

"Our real fight here is for States' rights. If we get States' rights we'll have segregation and as long as I'm in the council we'll use only legal means of fighting. We intend to work toward the election of responsible public officials who believe in States' rights. We won't go any further than legal means.

"If they whip us in the elections, and the courts—then that's that.

SEEK MAN LIKE FAUBUS

"Right now we're going to try and elect a Governor like Faubus—one that will maintain States' rights. The people of the South have been greatly heartened by his stand against integration in Arkansas.

"If worst comes to worst, I'll still do everything in my power to stop violence. I don't want anything to do with the likes of that fellow Kasper."

(John Kasper, a rabid segregationist from New Jersey, has been enjoined from interfering with integration of Nashville schools by an order handed down by Federal Judge William E. Miller.)

Richard Maxwell, head of the sociology department at Miles University in Birmingham, is a Negro educator who is not too popular with some members of his race. Maxwell believes, with others, that the integration program must proceed with great deliberation.

EDUCATOR BACKS DELAY

"I'm first of all a social scientist," he says, "and secondly a Negro. The progress of the Negro primarily is one of constant evolution. The deplorable, dramatic violence isn't going to alter it much in the long run.

"I'm considered somewhat radical because I feel, as a matter of tactics, that it would be better to forgo integration a few years, to avoid bloodshed.

"As a social scientist I can tell you that peoples' attitudes don't change overnight. It's largely an imperceptible and even unconscious process.

"Sometimes I think we stress law to such an extent it overshadows all important personal relations and attitudes.

'READY FOR HIS RIGHTS'

"It's certainly true the Negro has become more ready to work for his rights. He's been traveling, reading, and has been exposed to more prosperity than ever before. The reaction is only natural.

"The atmosphere for change has been further encouraged by an improvement in Southern universities and colleges with the influx of teachers from outside the South and its traditions.

"As for the violence in Birmingham, you could call it incidental. We must remember, it seems to me, that only a few years ago organizations such as Negroes now have to further integration would have been inconceivable in this city." He referred to, among others, the "Human Rights Organization" of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, the outspoken Negro integrationist who was beaten by a mob of whites when he attempted to enter two of his children in an all-white school.

CHANGE CAME QUIETLY

"It hasn't been too far back that a Negro couldn't practice law in a Southern city," Prof. Maxwell continued. "No one can say just when the change came. Neither can they give a dramatic turning point in the social acceptance of birth control.

"Integration will come," he predicted in conclusion, "but I don't believe there will be a point or a case on which historians can put their finger and declare, 'This was it.' "

Birmingham summary:

Racial tension lies on the city like soot from its steel plant stacks. Police must patrol the city at large, because of the scattered pattern of the housing, rather than a tightly-packed Harlem or Ghetto. Negroes compose 40 percent of the population. Many have been aroused, as never before. The Rev. Shuttlesworth's mass meetings are sometimes boozy hymn-fests, and a rosy picture is painted of the Day to Come.

SOME READY TO FIGHT

The worried whites pass legislation to support the segregationist heritage. In between, there is the rustic who stands ready to fight and conceivably can't understand what's holding it up.

And high on the high overlooking the restless city sit the upper and middle-class white families who have the most to lose, financially, if there is any violence below. These are the people who made Birmingham an industrial giant in a land once all but doomed to its poor crops. New industry will pass up Birmingham as a bad risk when it seeks an area in which to alight. Old industry, if there is a race war of any dimension, will shutter its windows.

Tomorrow — A general look-around.

Copyright, '57, International News Service

November 21, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Fuges:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming and at his direction, we are sending you a copy of our report "Instances of Economic Pressure and Reprisals, 1956."

This report was compiled at the request of another source but we felt that it might serve your purpose as well. Many of these instances will have already been called to your attention but perhaps the overall report will help to give you the current trend on reprisals here in the South.

If you would like more detailed information or if you feel that a report more to your specific needs is necessary, we will be happy to try and obtain such information.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Information Service

PA:mbo
Enc.

January 8, 1957

Mr. Fred Fuges
Director of Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred:

George Mitchell, who will be leaving us in about a week, has passed on to me your letter of January 3.

We'll be glad to serve as your informant on prospective litigation in Georgia and, for that matter, any that we learn of in the region. Enclosed is an up-to-date list of our state affiliates, so that you may establish direct communication with them.

I have just heard from Barbara Moffet regarding the forthcoming inter-agency meeting at Atlanta University on January 23-24. I gather our suggested limit of two representatives per agency was restrictive. I think it would be extremely useful for you to be present - and Barbara too, if she can make it; we would cheerfully waive the "quota" restrictions to that end.

Let me know at your earliest convenience if one or both of you can make it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

enclosure

cc: Barbara Moffet

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

HCF
for HCF's reply to Fryer
[illegible]

January 3, 1957

RECEIVED JAN 7 1957

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

The Rights of Conscience Program has given serious consideration to recent legislation enacted by the States of Louisiana and Virginia. It is felt that the 1956 session of the legislature in each of these two states extended a trend which we first noticed in connection with the Elloree teachers case and the NAACP test oath provision in South Carolina.

The Committee believes that the contest for racial integration will more and more turn on fundamental individual liberties; that the Virginia statute, for example, which requires registration by any organization which engages in promoting or opposing legislation on behalf of any race or color raises fundamental individual liberties issues which should not be avoided.

The interest of Friends in the rights of minority groups, combined with this program's emphasis on civil liberties make it appropriate that we concentrate a major portion of our attention and financial resources on race relations litigation.

My problem now is to keep in touch with those who will know of pending and prospective race relations litigation. It seems to me that the best way to establish and maintain such contact is through your organization and the various Human Relations Councils that are affiliated with it. I have talked to Dr. Marion in Richmond, Virginia and I met and conferred with Rev. Bob Hughes at the conference at Tuskegee Institute. The early part of January, I plan to go to South Carolina and spend some time with James McCain.

I should certainly appreciate any advice and suggestions you may have for me as to keeping in touch with situations which may produce litigation where financial assistance to meet counsel fees and court costs is needed and welcomed.

Some further information that I would like to get from you is the name and address of your North Carolina affiliate, the present address of Bob Hughes,

as well as the names and addresses of appropriate persons to contact in Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware.

As far as Georgia is concerned, I will rely on you to keep me up-to-date on the legislative picture and any situation in which you think we can be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

File

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 18, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter of the 8th enclosing up-to-date information on your state affiliates.

I am sorry to miss the January 23-24 meeting, but I know that Tartt Bell and Irene Osborne will keep me informed.

The next time that I am in Atlanta I will stop in at your office.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

March 6, 1957

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Fuges:

I am enclosing a summary of segregation laws passed prior to 1957, a copy of the February New South, and the text of the 1957 segregation laws passed in Georgia.

H.B. No. 345 is included because one legislator said it would curb the authority of Negro military police. However, I saw few newspaper reports on it, and I am not certain that this was the major objective in passing this bill. I'm sure you will note that the 14th amendment is cited in the bill impeaching the Supreme Court judges, though another law declares this amendment null and void.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

JC + FI
Advice.
H.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

February 28, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 4 1957

Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FBI has
Material sent - HCF

Dear Harold:

Now that the Georgia Legislature has finished its work for 1957, I am trying to secure the full text of all laws involving race relations. Any help that you can give will be very much appreciated. If the full text is not available in any case, and you happen to have a resume, this will serve my purpose for the present.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 17, 1957

Harold C.Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 16th with clippings attached. Your prompt reply is appreciated, and I hope you will continue to keep me advised as to further developments.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

Thermo-fax 8:
att. Constitution - 4/23/57
att. Journal - 4/23/57
att. Journal - 4/23/57

May 16, 1957

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred:

The action you have heard about was taken by the State Board of Education a few weeks ago. As you will see from the enclosed clippings, one of which gives the full text of the Board's resolution, the effects are limited to those organizations which have some tie-in with the school system. The action was inspired by a controversy that arose in Augusta, Georgia, over the possibility of the local students attending an interracial Y-Teen Conference to be held at Blue Ridge in June.

Characteristically, however, the Board of Education acted hastily and in blunderbuss fashion. Even the Board members themselves after the meeting confessed that they were not sure how the resolution should be interpreted or what all of the effects of it might be. This confusion still persists, so that nobody can say for sure which of the school-related organizations will be hit by the ruling, how the ruling will be enforced, or to what extent, if any, teachers may be affected.

Obviously the AFSC would not fall within the scope of the resolution, under any interpretation, unless it had school chapters or sought to promote its interracial activity through school channels.

We will be glad to keep you posted on later developments. Meanwhile, if there is any further information we can send, let us know.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 14, 1957

Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 16 1957

Dear Harold:

A rumor came to my attention today to the effect that the Georgia Legislature enacted a statute providing that individuals who leave the State of Georgia to attend interracial meetings may not resume their places in the public school system of the state as either students or teachers. I believe my information is correct that the Georgia Legislature adjourned its 1957 session either in January or February. My review of the integration-segregation statutes enacted at that session did not reveal any such law. Of course, it is possible that something like this was done to become effective in May 1957. I mention this because the rumor also included a statement that this statute was enacted this month.

What is more likely is that this is some sort of regulation of the Georgia Commission on Education.

In any event, I shall appreciate your letting me have whatever information you possess on such a statute or regulation. This concerns us not only in our effort to keep up-to-date with Southern legislation, but also in view of the fact that the Service Committee itself will undoubtedly be sponsoring some interracial meetings which may be attended by students and/or teachers from Georgia. We want to be in a position to advise them of the grave risk they are running in temporarily travelling outside Georgia.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 31, 1958

Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory Via,

Thank you very much for sending us the House Resolution on the investigation of Koinonia Farm. We had already heard of this via a phone call from Morris Abrams to Fred Fuges.

This looks like the worst thing that has happened yet. Is there anything that can be done to prevent this law from passing? It looks like such a flagrant case of exposure to investigation that a good test case could probably be made, but how can the Farm afford the nervous energy and financial resources to sustain such an effort?

We feel completely helpless at this point and hope that you Georgians can do something about it.

Sincerely yours,

Mike Yarrow

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

AFSC
cc & conscience

April 16, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

You may recall my showing you a copy of Bob Hughes letter to Watts and Pat Malin. Subsequently, I talked to Watts and he agreed readily to apply ACLU's influence to the Birmingham law firm in question. The letter enclosed gives the unhappy sequel.

I wanted to keep you up to date on this, since it is possible that we will be calling on Rights of Conscience for assistance to Bob Hughes and the Alabama Council. It seems to be shaping up as the kind of case with which you have been concerned.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Ltr. to Rowland Watts - dtd. 4/16/58

MLK folder
a conscience

VIA AIR MAIL April 28, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

We will indeed keep you informed on the Birmingham situation. Bob Hughes knows of your interest and will probably be in touch with you. So far, the group has resumed its meetings without incident, but I do not think we can assume that they will remain unmolested.

Dr. Smith's case was a difficult one, I know, for the Committee to consider. I can readily understand the Committee's final decision on the matter.

I am glad to have a chance to give you my views, for what they are worth, on the dirth of Southern cases coming to your attention. I still think your conclusion of a year ago was correct, and that there may well be a considerable increase of cases within the purview of the Rights of Conscience. Things have been quiet recently,

mostly because no issues have been joined with in recent months. However, the calm is probably that before the storm. As you know, a number of communities are facing possible court-ordered change in September. Meantime, the states of the lower South are sharpening their axes and eyeing the integrationists of both races as a cat eyes a mouse.

In short, if you are not under any great pressure to expend the remaining funds of the Project quickly, I would strongly urge that you sit tight and hold these funds in reserve. If events follow the course that I fear they may in my more pessimistic moments, the Rights of Conscience Program may find itself with more business than it can handle. If this happens, I would still hope that the obvious needs would create sufficient interest in your program to make its continuance possible.

I take it from your letter that you may well be under some obligation to expend the funds within the next few months. If that is the case, please drop me another note and all of us here will pitch in and try to offer some useful suggestions.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

April 23, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I certainly hope you will keep us up-to-date on the Birmingham situation. This is the kind of case that our Committee would certainly like to assist.

I am sorry to have to report that the Committee did not act favorably on assistance to Dr. Otis Smith. The Committee tried hard to discover some basis within the terms of our program that would allow us to give assistance to Dr. Smith, but they were unable to find clear relation.

At the same time that we were troubled with the dire situation represented by Dr. Smith's expulsion from Peach County, we wondered why we had not received more requests for legal assistance from cases in the south. It was our thought a year ago that there would be a large increase of such cases and we, as you know, approached the Fund for the Republic on that basis. It may well be that, through not having a staff present in the field and not doing much through by correspondence from here to inquire about cases, many have gone unaided through our lack of contact. It may also mean that the influx of cases is yet to come or that the situation is so threatening that individuals are unable to stand their ground after taking a conscientious position. We would appreciate any judgment you might have on this matter.

We have been turned down by the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust for any major contribution for extension of the program and we do not have any other sources in sight at the moment. We still have, however, around $13,000 in unearmarked money which we would like to use in the most beneficial manner in the next two or three months. We would appreciate very much your advice on this.

Cordially yours,

Mike

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Rcd 5/19/58

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 16, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Your write-up on the Proposed Project of Investigation came in very good time and we will submit it to the Committee on Monday. I will write you later as to their reactions.

Cordially,

C H Yarrow - Mike

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

MEMORANDUM May 12, 1958

To: C. H. Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director - SRC

Re: PROPOSED "RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE" PROJECT

The Need.

In recent months, there have been a good many signs of mounting official activity designed to intimidate and harrass Southerners who favor desegregation. Examples: The South Carolina legislature recently authorized the state attorney general to require non-profit corporations to produce their records, and constituted a legislative committee to investigate "race and subversion." Governor Timmerman has already used the power of his office to penalize two private Negro colleges for allegedly harboring "leftwingers" on their faculties.

The Virginia legislature has set up a committee to carry on the functions of the Thompson and Boatwright investigating bodies.

Florida's Johns Committee and Louisiana's Rainach Committee have conducted vindictive hearings and are keeping up a flow of propaganda.

Alabama has moved legally against a statewide voter registration group, charging that it is a successor-in-fact to the outlawed NAACP. The Birmingham police have

served notice that participants in interracial meetings in that city will be arrested.

The Georgia Commission on Education has distributed vast quantities of literature seeking to brand interracial efforts as pro-communist; the Commission is empowered to issue subpoenas and hold hearings. Georgia has also launched an official investigation of "barratry" in connection with recently filed desegregation suits.

A number of Southern cities have passed or are considering registration ordinances. And, of course, most of the Southern states continue to push legal and administrative attacks on the NAACP.

These official actions and the tenor of public statements by influential segregationists have led a good many liberal Southerners to conclude that an intensive series of witch-hunts is in the offing once the upcoming primaries are over. Up to now, the principal target has been the NAACP, which does have able, if overworked, legal talent available for counselling and representation. Attention now seems to be turning to organizations, including independent local interracial groups, which lack both sophistication and resources for defense.

The Proposal.

Heretofore, the "Rights of Conscience" program has been primarily concerned with assisting individuals whose adherence to conscientious principles has put them in legal jeopardy. The present situation appears to call for a similar service on a preventive rather than a remedial basis. Liberal whites and Negroes, particularly in the hard core states, feel very much like mice waiting for the cat to strike. They need advance information and guidance, in terms of both law and public relations.

These needs could be met, at least in appreciable part, by a short-term project involving field travel, fact-finding, legal analysis, and consultation. At a minimum, such a project would require the services for several months of a lawyer experienced in the field of civil liberties and sensitive to the public relations factors involved. A more elaborate project might involve a team of specialists with complementary skills

and insights. We have made no attempt to work out the details of such a project, as to time, money, travel, and specific procedures. We can suggest in general terms some of the steps which the project might include:

(1) Survey and analyze pertinent state laws, local ordinances, and administrative regulations.

(2) Field visits to Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, and perhaps other states where legislative committees have been at work. Interviews with persons who were summoned as witnesses or who served as observers at hearings. Study of transcripts and committee reports, where available.

(3) Analysis of material being distributed by official agencies and influential private groups seeking to identify interracialism with subversion. This abundant "documentary" material probably presages the nature of future official attacks. (SRC and other organizations could assist on this.)

(4) Consultation with the leadership of local, state, and regional groups which have been or are likely to be the objects of punitive action.

(5) Aid the organizations likely to be involved in determining the civil liberties issues at stake, the importance of deciding where to draw the line for a showdown, and the alternative courses of action available.

(6) Advice on resources potentially available to victims of attack.

(7) Finally, a comprehensive report summarizing the information and conclusions derived in the course of the project. Such a report, available for selective distribution, might serve as a continuing guide for embattled organizations and individuals in the South.

May 29, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow, Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

Thanks for your letter concerning the proposed legal survey. It arrived in good time, since we discussed this whole question at the Southern Interagency Conference which concluded yesterday. Jean Fairfax may have had a chance to tell you something of the discussion.

The agency staff members present felt generally that the idea of a legal survey was a good one and that the appropriate sub-committee (headed by Tartt Bell) should continue to explore the possibility of getting it implemented. It was our feeling that such a project might be adequately carried out for about $5,000, but admittedly that is a very rought estimate pulled out of the air. I have given some thought to the question you raise about possible foundation support. It struck me that perhaps the Robert Marshall Trust could be interested, but it also struck me that there might be some problem there since the Marshall Trust is close to the ACLU and might feel this project was poaching on the ACLU's territory. In any case, I hope we can keep the door open to the possibility of some effort along these lines, in which AFSC might play a cooperating part. One reason I would like

to see this done through the instrumentality of the "Rights of Conscience" program is the experience and understanding of these problems that you have accrued during the past several years.

As to the other questions you raise:

(1) I think it would be unquestionably helpful to have a pool of funds labeled for "assistance to persons resisting investigative exposure." (A better phrase might be "punitive investigation designed to curb freedom of thought, expression, or action.")

(2) Tartt Bell gave me some further idea of the proposal to assist parents who seek to enroll their children in desegregated schools. I should think this would be a very useful category for reserve funds.

(3) I have had little recent word on the financial problems of Hazel Smith, Koinonia Farm, or L. C. Bates. Off-Hand, my feeling would be that these needs are chronic and probably should not divert more of the Committee's limited funds from new and acute cases that may arise. When I saw Gene Cox recently, he told me that Hazel Smith's situation has continued to worsen and that there is little prospect, he feels, of her paper surviving.

I would like to think further about other types of cases which you might want to allow for. I will pass along any further ideas that occur to me and others members of our staff. Meanwhile, if you want to raise any other questions on which you think our views would be helpful, don't hesitate to write me.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I have just heard from Will Campbell that P. D. East is having an exceedingly rough time of it. Will

feels very strongly that East is deserving of financial help and that a "Rights of Conscience" issue is definitely involved. I am not in a position to judge the latter point, but you will be hearing directly from P. D. or Will, or both. If the "Rights of Conscience" Committee feels that this case falls within its purview, I would certainly support Will's view that East is performing a real service to Mississippi and the South.

H. C. F.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 23, 1958

Harold C.Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Your full proposal was circulated to all Committee members and we had a good discussion on Monday. The Committee was very hesitant to put money into what looked like research rather than into aid for specific persons in trouble.

When your proposal is considered in its entirety, it implies a fairly exhaustive legal survey, plus extensive field visitation and interviewing, plus analysis of various published materials, plus a final report or handbook. In fact, it sounds quite expensive. One reaction to the proposal was that this would be an excellent idea to present to some foundation for support rather than as an idea to use up the last dwindling sources of money for embattled individuals. I wonder if you have thought of any place where this proposal might be lodged.

While the Committee was quite negative on the general idea, they did not close the door completely, and it is possible that if we came back to them with a modified and more limited proposal of a piece of work which might be done for one or two thousand dollars, it might be more favorably received.

The staff was asked by the Committee to come back to the next meeting with a suggested final distribution of remaining funds, part of which might be used for cases that we have already helped in a penny-pinching way. Part of it might be set aside in lump sums for "Southern cases," "passport cases," or otherwise.

On the cases we have already helped, I wonder if you have any comment as to whether we should give further assistance to Hazel Smith, Koinonia Farm, or L. C. Bates in Little Rock?

As for future cases, would it be helpful to have a pool of funds of three to five thousand dollars labeled for "assistance to persons resisting investigative exposure"? Would it be helpful to have another similar pool for parents who apply for their children to attend white schools? Are there any other types of cases that might be designated? Small subcommittees might continue to allocate funds, but it is the inclination of the whole Committee at

its next meeting on June 16 to dispose of the fund, at least insofar as possible, with general allocations.

Thank you for being willing to give us your guidance on these matters.

Cordially yours,

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Dictated but not signed by CHY

"a" also

June 2, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
AFSC
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Yarrow:

COPY

I assume that Harold Fleming has written you about P. D. East and the possibility of giving some assistance to him through AFSC Rights of Conscience Program.

Because of P. D.'s conscience, our audience came on the scene after he had come out against the WCC and white supremacy. Since this he has lost most of his advertising. It is generally assumed that he has only stayed because he never had anything to do. Actually, this is not true. He had a good and growing thing and there is no doubt that if he had followed the pattern he would now have a 16- to 24-page weekly. Although it is true that the paper was not large from the beginning, it is also true that he had sufficient advertising to show a sizeable profit. Furthermore, he lost all the advertisement down to the faithful few remaining in a very short period of time as a collection of back issues will show.

I have not brought this to your attention earlier because of his extreme pride and sensitivity and desire for complete independence. Because you are interested in "conscience" and in kind hands of newspaper editors, I have persuaded him to let us appeal to you.

He agreed to write to you personally. If you desire information which you do not have, I shall be glad to cooperate. Also I would suggest that you write Easton King, Pascagoula Chronicle Star, Pascagoula, Mississippi. Easton knows P. D. well, what he started out to do, what he is now doing, the contribution he is making, etc. He is a fine liberal who has recently been denounced in a resolution by the Mississippi Legislature as a "liar and integrationist."

Personal regards to you and let me know if I can help.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC:ddw

cc: Harold Fleming ✓

Dictated but not read by Mr. Campbell

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

June 4, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

The comments in your letter of May 29 about our various proposals are most helpful.

We do have a request from P. D. East and will give it careful consideration. Mel Zuck of the Texas office is stopping for some visits in Mississippi on his way back to Texas at the present time.

Feel free to share with us any further needs that you run into and we will keep you informed.

Sincerely yours,

Mike

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

VIA AIR MAIL July 24, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

Thanks very much for sharing with me your correspondence with Rowland Watts. There is some evidence that the ACLU is beginning to move with some purpose on these problems, and I am sure it is due in considerable part to your constructive influence.

I read the incidental news of your change of positions with considerable regret. I am sure Des Moines will be enriched by your presence there, but we will feel a real loss in your leaving the Philadelphia office.

You have my very best wishes for all success and satisfaction in your new efforts.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Room 432
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3 Ga

Date July 15

To: Harold Fleming, So. Reg. Co.

From: Mike Yarrow

Subject:

Thought you might be interested in the attached.
no need to keep.

RCA
7/18/58

July 15, 1958

Roland Watts
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Roland,

Thank you very much for your report on the Birmingham Council situation. It is very good to hear that you are continuing efforts and are on the point of getting a lawyer to give legal advice.

I will be leaving this office in the near future. Fred Fuges will be carrying on as counsel for this program and Lyle Tatum will do all the necessary staff work for cleaning up the final funds that remain. I will be going to the Des Moines office of the Service Committee. Come and see us out there some time.

Cordially yours,

C. H. Yarrow, Director
Rights of Conscience Prog

CHY:ce

July 2, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mike:

I am sorry for the long delay in answering your letter concerning the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. We have been trying very hard to secure cousel to represent this group in case of need. A half-dozen attorneys have turned us down. One is now willing, if we can get clearance from his firm. This is being negotiated and we hope to have a favorable decision within a week. I will let you know as soon as we get word one way or another.

Yours sincerely,

Rowland Watts
Staff Counsel

LWD

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

Received Feb. 10th

January 25, 1965

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

From: Will Maslow

I am pleased to announce the appointment of Joseph B. Robison as Director of our Commission on Law and Social Action. Mr. Robison, who has been a member of our staff since 1947, has been serving as Acting Director for the last three months, since the resignation of Leo Pfeffer, who now serves as Special Counsel to AJCongress. In that short time, Mr. Robison has justified our decision to make his appointment as Director final.

File
Amer. Jewish Cttee

February 23, 1966

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Harry:

Thank you for the copy of "Case Study of a Riot..." Would you have fifteen additional copies sent to us and bill us for them?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 2/21/66

S S Res

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

February 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of "Case Study Of A Riot: The Philadelphia Story" which, I believe, is an unusually valuable tool which can make a substantial contribution towards reducing the potential for mass violence that exists today in almost every sizeable city in the United States.

Wide readership of this pamphlet may well assist communities in anticipating and resolving their intergroup conflicts. It strikes me that the Southern Regional Council could perform a real public service by helping to arrange for this pamphlet to reach public officials and community leaders who can influence the course of events either directly or in a supportative role. A flyer form is enclosed. More flyers for promotion are available without charge.

The cost of "Case Study Of A Riot: The Philadelphia Story" is 75¢ each, $65.00 per hundred. Additional discounts are available for quantities over 500, depending on the amount ordered.

We are also preparing a discussion guide to go with the pamphlet, and as soon as that is ready, I will send you a copy. Do let me hear from you on this at your earliest opportunity.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

eak
encls.

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JOSEPH ROSS, Detroit, Vice-President
MELVIN M. SWIG, San Francisco, Vice-President
ELMER L. WINTER, Milwaukee, Vice-President

March 30, 1966

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Charles:

Enclosed are two copies of the proposed study outline. Please send one along to the right person in New York. And, your reaction will be appreciated.

The other study is hitting a snag in our editorial mill - but the results should be good.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 2

A PROPOSED STUDY OF EXTREMISM IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

There follows the first draft outline of a proposed study co-sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Southern Regional Council. While tentatively this is entitled "Extremism in the Southern Region," the word extremism may be inappropriate. The study will concern itself with a number of areas, i.e., the possibility of growing racialism among rural Negroes, that may or may not be correctly termed extremism.

In addition to content, considerable thought must yet be given to the mechanics of this proposed study. This is especially true of the costs involved, the extent to which it will be feasible to use outside investigators, and the question of whether or not one person, at least on a continuing, part-time basis can serve as project director.

The major purpose of the study will be to identify and comment intelligently on all of the types of extremism now

present in the region and to determine to some reasonable degree the seriousness and influence of each of them. Our Research Department feels we may well find, after serious investigation, that with few exceptions these groups are not influential in the life and direction of the region. If so, we think it of considerable value to document and make clear this conclusion.

At this point there are envisioned six major areas of the study. They are:

(1) Black Nationalism

Clearly, to some degree, black nationalism is growing in the region. This raises questions such as the following: To what extent are identifiable extremist groups such as the Du Bois Clubs growing in the region? To what extent are the Black Muslems growing and attracting a following within the region? Are any of the established civil rights groups (such as SNCC) turning to identifiable black nationalism and if so why? To what extent are the masses of Negroes in city slums and rural areas developing - with or without outside leadership - feelings that are expressed in these terms and what are the resulting actions of such feelings if they exist?

(one word)

Here, as elsewhere throughout the proposed study, we would hope to do more than provide a certain amount of

documentation on the number of this or that group and their locations. The primary purpose would be to analyze this situation in terms of the implications for future progress or lack of progress in race relations and related areas.

(2) White hate.

In essence here we propose to determine how these same forces and fears are being reacted to by the poor white. Does the Klan continue to attract the frustrated, poorly educated, white? Is the Klan growing or diminishing in influence? Are other groups performing the functions and attracting this support? What influence is there in the Nazi Party and similar groups? To what extent are these groups involved in politics and what can be determined from the votes cast for extremist candidates?

In summary, through an investigation of the identifiable white hate groups, how is the poor white reacting to the current situation?

(3) The reaction to persons and groups of power to extremism.

To what extent has political leadership (such as that of the governor of Mississippi) had an influence on the growth or containment of these groups? Has the involvement of the F.B.I. and other national and local authority been of significance? Has more educated, better financed, leadership encouraged or discouraged these activities?

What is the real role (and understanding) of those of power and leadership in the region?

(4) The Citizens Councils

Here we provide a complete section to this group which for the past decade has been the largest and most effective force for segregation in the region. Following a brief history, what is its current strength and role and why?

(5) The Affluent Extremist

This title denotes the John Birch Society and similar groups. How strong and effective are they? How do they operate? What are the specialized tactics of these groups? Are they as effective in large cities as small ones? What is the involvement in politics? To what extent are these groups sponsoring effective programs of education and propaganda for large numbers of people?

(6) A Political Essay

Throughout all of these areas of interest there runs the thread of politics and political action. What is the future of the Republican Party? How will the rising Negro vote relate to these activities? What are the implications of the Black Panther Party? What influence will hate, fear,

organized extremism, have on the political structure of the South in the future?

We feel that the essay approach is best here and that perhaps SRC has a good start on this work, especially in that represented by the Voter Education Project, and the investigations and writings of Director of Information, Pat Watters.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

REGARDING

Study on extremism. Copies for state councils to be determined at meeting in April. See letter from Fleischman to paul Anthon 3/28/66 and P.A. reply of 4/14/66.

DATE

4/4/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Material, including greencopy of ltr. 4/4/66 sent to Ed. Stanfield for his information.

P.A has free copy of J.B.B. Study

Cc - ref - Research + Info
a Glenda Barclay

PA

April 12, 1966

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

Enclosed is the first draft of our proposed study. Mr. Charles Wittenstein is also being sent a copy today. We are doing this under more pressure than we like in the hopes that this can be ready by the time of your May conference. If, however, we make this the manuscript must be at the printer by Friday, April 22.

Do you think it will be possible for your staff to have this back to us several days before that time?

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/lm

Enc.

cc: Mr. Charles Wittenstein

file
A. J. Cttee

May 11, 1966

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Just a note to tell you how pleased I am that AJC has selected Vernon for one of your travel grants to Israel. I think you made a wise choice and, on behalf of SRC, we are grateful.

Also the program sounds to me like a very good one.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file
G. J. Cutler

May 17, 1966

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Thank you very much for your invitation to the Atlanta Chapter Dinner on June 4. I shall be there.

It is necessary for me to be in New York that day, but I'm certain I can get back by 7:45p.m.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

THE REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE OF THE ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE FOR 1966-1967 IS AS FOLLOWS:

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EDWARD M. ABRAMS, Treasurer

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Herbert A. Ringel
Morton L. Weiss

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Joseph F. Haas
Mrs. Leonard Haas
Arthur L. Harris
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Arthur Heyman
Bernard Howard
Sinclair S. Jacobs
Niels Jacobson
Israel Katz
Kieve Landesberg
Elliott H. Levitas
Dr. Theodore Levitas
Albert Love
Sam Massell, Jr.
Sylvan Meyer
Louis A. Montag
Tony Montag
Donald Oberdorfer
Sanford H. Orkin
Frederick E. Robin
Mendel Romm, Jr.
Mrs. Jacob Rothschild
Simon S. Selig, Jr.
A. J. Weinberg
Mrs. Morton L. Weiss

THE FOREGOING SLATE FOR THE YEAR 1966 WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE CHAPTER FOR CONSIDERATION AT ITS ANNUAL DINNER MEETING, SATURDAY, JUNE 4TH.

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Morton L. Weiss, Chairman
Herbert Elsas
DeJongh Franklin
Louis Regenstein
Herbert Ringel
Charles F. Wittenstein, Ex-Officio.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

American Jewish Committee

REGARDING

ltr Paul Anthony to Amer. Jewish Cttee regarding Vernon's trip to Israel

DATE

6-7-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Vernon Jordan Personnel File

(1)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

file →

Institute of Human Relations · 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 · PLaza 1-4000 · Cable Wishcom, New York

June 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

While I am not given to formality, I do want to take this means of saying thank you for the time you all spent with Milton, Charles and myself.

It was good getting to know you and all the more so around a project that I think will be meaningful.

I will look forward to receiving from you the memorandum you suggested you would prepare as well as the foundation leads.

All the very best.

Cordially,

Nathan Perlmutter
Director
Domestic Affairs

NP:MRG

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RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Executive Board
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MELVIN M. SWIG, San Francisco, Vice-President
ELMER L. WINTER, Milwaukee, Vice-President

File - Amer. Jewish Cttee 1966
Cx. ref in SRC section: "Proposed Studies" indicating that outline is filed in A. J. Cttee file

June 24, 1966

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Director
Domestic Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Nate:

It was, indeed, a pleasure getting to know you and having you and Milton visit Atlanta.

Enclosed is the brief outline of the proposed study, in which I have attempted to summarize our agreements and plans as stated here.

I am still somewhat uneasy about the prospects of approaching those foundations who already support SRC and other of our projects. I do, however, feel The Norman Fund is an appropriate place to discuss this. I think Mrs. Deborah Cole would be interested and would give you a pretty candid reaction to any hope, or lack of it. It is conceivable that Leslie Dunbar of Field Foundation might also be interested. Because of current dealings with them, I do hope you wouldn't take it at this time to the Taconic Foundation. Beyond that I really have no worthwhile suggestions.

Please let me know your reaction to this when you have a chance. I am sending a copy of this to Charles.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Enc.
PA/km
cc: Charles Wittenstein

THE SHAPING OF SOUTHERN PUBLIC OPINION

A Brief Outline of a Proposed Study

- : -

It is envisioned that this study will be issued in a minimum of five and perhaps as many as seven parts. It is likely that each part will be issued as a separate publication, following by the collection issued as a book. The two sponsoring agencies will share in the final editing of the material.

The purpose of the study is to look at the existence, role and influence of the various identifiable groups and forces in the region concerned to some important extent with race relations.

There follows, by chapter, a brief description of the study as we see it at this early stage.

Chapter I. The Role and Influence of the Predominately Negro Civil Rights Groups. -- This will be a careful analysis of all of the identifiable groups ranging from the Black Muslims to the NAACP. Special attention will be given to such movements as the Black Panther Party and MFDP. The "middle-class" organizations will be contrasted with the radical movements, and special attention will be given to the question of how any of these groups

reach and influence the majority of the poor, urban and rural. The Southern Regional Council will conduct this study.

Chapter II. White Hate Groups. -- Much the same questions will be asked about these groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the American Nazi Party. Some greater emphasis will be given to questions of strength, membership, localities and the like. As with all segments of the inquiry, the major question will be, what influence do these groups have on public opinion? Robert Sherrill of Washington has agreed to conduct this study and will begin work shortly.

Chapter III. The Affluent Extremist. -- The same inquiry as outlined above will be conducted on this segment of the more affluent, better financed groups of the far right. These groups include the John Birch Society, Christian Crusade, Project Alert, Freedom Forums and similar groups. The American Jewish Committee will conduct this study.

Chapter IV. The Citizens Councils. -- This study may or may not become a separate publication, and chapter of the published material. After it is

conducted, the information may be used in conjunction with Chapters II or III. We do feel, however, that there is an important story in the history of the growth, importance and decline of the influence of this group. Why did they grow? Why did they decline? Where have the members and leaders of these groups gone? Wilson Minor, journalist of Jackson, Mississippi (correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune) has agreed to do this for us.

Chapter V. The Role of the Predominately "White Cause" Groups and Agencies. -- The major group in this inquiry is the churches, particularly the most active protestant denominations in the region. All have "social-action" arms, all have expressed commitment and concern. What is their influence, their methods and the scope of their involvement? Attention, too, will be given to the role of the other faiths, the activities of such agencies as the American Friends Service Committee, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Councils on Human Relations, and the two agencies sponsoring this study.

Labor unions may be included in this inquiry. Initial work on this is being done by the Southern Regional Council. A consultant may be sought to do the final study.

Chapter VI. The Southern Political Situation. -- All of the materials gathered for the other segments of this study will be used in this chapter. Included will be consideration of the influences on southern politics and politicians, their reactions, the role of the increasing Negro vote, and an analysis of the questionable emerging of the two-party system in the South. Having made an attempt to analyze the influences shaping public opinion in the region we will attempt to conclude with the resulting expressions and indications of that influence on the public leadership. No decisions will be made as to who will do this until some of the other research can be analyzed.

file

MS

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

September 23, 1966

Mr. August Heckscher, Director
The Twentieth Century Fund
41 East 70th Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Mr. Heckscher:

Thank you for your letter of September 16th.

We very much appreciate your interest and look forward to hearing from you when you have had an opportunity to further consider the study.

If further clarification of our proposal is required, please do let us know.

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

JS:MRG

cc Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council

See Amer. Jewish Cttee

September 26, 1966

Mr. Milton Ellerin
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Milt:

Thank you for the copy of the letter from August Heckscher. Incidentally, I will be with him at the Twentieth Century Fund for a meeting called by them next week, and I hope, too, to see you and Nate.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Rec'd 9/23/66

September 21,1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

Nate Perlmutter thought you might be interested in the attached communication from Mr. Heckscher.

Cordially,

Milton Ellerin

ME:ec
Attached
cc:Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

41 EAST 70 STREET · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 · LE 5-4441

AUGUST HECKSCHER *Director*

September 16, 1966

SEP 19 1966

Dr. John Slawson
Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Dr. Slawson:

Thank you for the letter from you and Paul Anthony.

The subject of the study you propose is an interesting one and would, I think, appeal to a good many members of our Board. But the Twentieth Century Fund usually does not act in the way you propose: in effect, making a grant to other agencies which assume responsibility for the study.

I would, however, like to talk this one over, and will write you again when we have had a chance to give it proper consideration.

Sincerely yours,

August Heckscher

AH/b

Rec'd 10/27/66

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Date: 10/26/66

TO: MR. PAUL ANTHONY

FROM: NATHAN PERLMUTTER

F.Y.I.

File Amer. Jewish Cttee

Cc: Ref. Field Fd

Regards.

Re: Joint Proposal to Field Foundation in support of a joint Soc. Sci. Study: "The Shaping of Southern Public Opinion"

Paul Anthony
file

October 26, 1966

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

On behalf of our respective organizations, the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, we are submitting for your consideration, the enclosed outline of a study tentatively titled "The Shaping of Southern Public Opinion." Both our agencies have long been involved in the area of intergroup relations and have conducted numerous studies on race, prejudice and discrimination. In this, a joint effort, we plan to supplement each other's areas of special competency.

As the outline indicates, our plan is to investigate the various influences for good or evil on intergroup relations in the South of today. While we will in some measure focus on extremist forces both white and black, our study is not limited to the extremists -- for it is no less important to know and understand the role and influence of the spectrum of Negro civil rights groups, the role and influence of the predominantly "white prestige" groups and institutions, as well as of southern political forces, the totality of which combine to shape southern political opinion and behavior.

We are hopeful that such knowledge will make it more feasible to formulate guidelines for improved intergroup relations and will serve as a stimulant and a lubricant for similar investigations in the troubled north.

Our two agencies will assume responsibility for the entire study and will themselves conduct substantial segments of it. We plan, as well, to utilize experts intimately familiar with the South. Indeed, amongst those already committed to this project are Robert Sherrill of Washington, a prominent journalist

who has written extensively on the South, and Wilson Minor of Jackson, Mississippi, who is a correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune.

As the proposal indicates, it is expected that the sections of this study will lend themselves to publication as pamphlets and subsequently, as a commercially published book. Our purpose for pursuing publication in this manner is to reach the widest possible audience by first focusing on the individual segments of the book and subsequently on its entirety. The estimated budget which is appended herewith totals $48,000. We are not including overhead for either of our agencies or costs of agency staff time.

We will, of course, be happy to provide you with further details as you may require them.

In the hope that we may hear from you and have an opportunity to discuss this further,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Dr. John Slawson,
Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee

JS:MRG

Encls.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE SHAPING OF SOUTHERN PUBLIC OPINION

A Brief Outline of a Proposed Study

- - - - - -

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There follows, by chapter, a brief description of the study as we see it at this early stage.

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This will be a careful analysis of all of the identifiable groups ranging from the Black Muslims to the NAACP. Special attention will be given to such movements as the Black Panther Party and MFDP. The"middle-class" organizations will be contrasted with the radical movements, and special attention will be given to the question of how any of these groups reach and influence the majority of the poor, urban and rural. The SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL will conduct this study.

CHAPTER II: White Hate Groups:

Much the same questions will be asked about these groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the American Nazi Party. Some greater emphasis will be given to questions of strength, membership, localities and the like. As with all segments of the inquiry, the major question will be, what influence do these groups have on public opinion? ROBERT SHERRILL of Washington has agreed to conduct this study and will begin work shortly.

CHAPTER III: The Affluent Extremist:

The same inquiry as outlined above will be conducted on this segment of the more affluent, better financed groups of the far right. These groups include the John Birch Society, Christian Crusade, Project Alert, Freedom Forums and similar groups. The American Jewish Committee will conduct this study.

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This study may or may not become a separate publication, and chapter of the published material. After it is conducted, the information may be used in conjunction with Chapters II or III. We do feel, however, that there is an important story in the history of the growth, importance and decline of the influence of this group. Why did they grow? Why did they decline? Where have the members and leaders of these groups gone? WILSON MINOR, Journalist of Jackson, Mississippi (correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune) has

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CHAPTER VI: The Southern Political Situation:

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do this until some of the other research can be analyzed.

10/26/66

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE SHAPING OF SOUTHERN PUBLIC OPINION

Estimated Budget*

	COST
1. **Research and Writing Fees:**	
(Each subject to be assigned to an outstanding newspaperman or reporter who will track down the material and write a finished manuscript on his research.)	
Estimated Cost: 5 Chapters at $1,500 per chapter.	$ 7,500
2. **Travel Fees:**	
Estimated Cost: $600 per subject.	3,000
3. **Publication-Fees: Pamphlet**	
a) Five (5) individual pamphlets, published in printings of 7,500-10,000 copies each. Estimated printing costs: $3,500 per pamphlet.	17,500
b) Distribution and promotion. Estimated cost: $1,500 per pamphlet. (Income from sales can be used for additional promotion.).	7,500
4. **Publication Fees: Book**	
a) For an overall editorial review by an outstanding authority on the South: Estimated fee:.	2,500
b) Educational distribution of 4,000 free books to media and opinion molders. Estimated trade cost: $2.50 per volume.	10,000
(It is estimated that there will be a first printing of 10,000 copies, published commercially. It is not possible at this time to project the income from royalties. Such income will be distributed partially to outside authors, with the rest used to purchase additional copies.)	
Estimated total for Book and Pamphlet publication:.	$48,000
Estimated total cost for five (5) pamphlets. . . .	$35,500 (cost of #4 omitted)
Estimated total cost for Book. (Same as above, with costs of #3 omitted.).	$23,000
Estimated total for Book and Pamphlet.	$48,000

*Does not include agency overhead costs.

November 23, 1966

Mr. Milton Ellerin
The American Jewish Committee ← file
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

I will certainly make it a point of letting you and Nate know when I am next in New York. I, too, am anxious to talk about our joint project.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein

(4)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

file

November 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

When you are next in New York both Nate Perlmutter and I would be grateful if you would get in touch so that we might spend a few hours together discussing our joint project.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Milton Ellerin

ME:ec
cc:Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein

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ELMER L. WINTER, Milwaukee, Vice-President
ROBERT I. WISHNICK, New York, Vice-President

File
Wittenstein, Chas
Amer. Jewish Cttee
Chas. Wittenstein

December 7, 1966

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Charles:

Thanks for the copy of your Hungry Club speech which I have had, finally, an opportunity to read. It's good!

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To: Paul Anthony

11/30/66

Regards,

Charles

Charles F. Wittenstein

Southeast Area Director

ROOM 703

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E.,

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

523-8451

A WHITE LIBERAL LOOKS AT GEORGIA

An Address to the Hungry Club

By

Charles F. Wittenstein
Southeast Area Director
American Jewish Committee

* * * * *

The beginning of wisdom, Ladies and Gentlemen, is to know who you are and what you are. I have made a beginning. I know that I am a white, American, Jewish, middle-class, liberal; and it is from this perspective that I speak.

To define oneself as a "white liberal" creates difficulties of which I am aware. White liberals have become for many, the lowest form of human life. We have all heard it said that people like Bull Connor and Lester Maddox are to be preferred to white liberals. Connor and Maddox are against you, and you know where they stand. But white liberals pretend to be friendly when they are in truth your worst enemies.

This kind of denunciation, so fashionable in certain circles, is not helpful. Neither would it be helpful for me to undertake an impassioned defense of white liberalism. What might be desirable, however, is for all of us to go behind the rhetoric, around the accusations and counter-charges, and see just what makes the white liberal tick, and wherein he differs from the "black radical".

As soon as we focus on them, it is immediately apparent that not all white liberals are white and not all black radicals are black. By that I mean that some Negroes are white liberals, and some black radicals are white. On closer examination we see that one is preoccupied with how far we have come, the other with how far we have to go. When they talk to each other, therefore, there is often a failure of communication because they are talking about different things. Here we notice one thing they have in common --- they both excel at talking and enjoy

it immensely, while neither shows much disposition to listen. It is no wonder, under the circumstances, that they are like two ships that pass in the night.

Liberals of all shades have in common another important characteristic: they work for social change through established institutions, where available. In a society such as ours, that means utilizing the political process, the courts of law, the mass media of communication, persuasion in personal encounter, and all the other opportunities provided to change both minds and rules. This means rejection of the argument that the existing social structure is so rotten that it must be torn down violently and rebuilt from scratch.

As long as the society provides avenues for orderly social change, many of us feel obligated to use them. We would justify violence only in those nations --- such as Hitler's Germany --- where peaceful protest was impossible, and where dissenters had no recourse to the courts or the legislature; and one party held a political monopoly. In such a situation reform can only be produced by violence, and the underground is the only place for an honorable man.

In the United States, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has achieved notable results with his non-violent methods. To many Americans, white and black, he is admired as a symbol of progress in race relations. This is true even though he has been arrested more often than Senator Richard B. Russell has been elected. In Nazi Germany, however, his first arrest would have been his last.

Nothing has impaired the liberal's reputation more than the widespread, and sometimes justified, doubts about the depth of his commitment to genuine justice in race relations. In this respect, there are wide variations among those who consider themselves liberal. All of us are familiar with the fellow who is for progress as long as it doesn't come too soon or too close. While we are on the air, and since ladies are present, we better just call him a phony liberal, rather than some of

the other names that come to mind. When speakers denounce liberals in general it is frequently the phony kind they are thinking of. This type does for liberalism what the John Bircher does for conservatism.

We should also face the fact that white liberal is used as a synonym for Jew, often with derision. There are a number of things that need to be said about that. First of all, it is not fair to the Jews who are conservative; secondly, it is not fair to the Christians who are liberal. After we have made the point that it is not accurate to use the term interchangeably, there still remains the derision, which must be dealt with.

I agree that racism is particularly unbecoming to Jews who have been a persecuted minority for centuries. Anyone who understands that ought to be able to understand that anti-Semitism is just as absurd for Negroes, and for the same reason. Yet racism does exist among Jews, and anti-Semitism does exist among Negroes. The American Jewish Committee recognizes and accepts its responsibility to root out racism in the Jewish community. All responsible Jewish organizations have done likewise.

Unfortunately, racism permeates our whole society; since Jews live in that society, it is not surprising that some have contracted the disease, which is of epidemic proportions. Because of the tragic nature of Jewish experience, many Jews have a natural immunity from infection. A recent Gallop poll showed considerably less back-lash among Jews than among white Protestants and Catholics.

I would like to suggest that responsible Negroes and Negro organizations have the same obligation to repudiate anti-Semitism, and to combat it, that we have accepted with regard to racism. You all know anti-Semitism is there. You've all heard sneering references to Jew landlords and Jew merchants. You are the people who will have to deal with that.

The emancipated Negro tells Mr. Charlie: don't love me, just get off my back and out of my way. Well, some of us Jews want to tell some of you good Christians not to love us so much --- just get off our backs and out of our way. Right here in the City of Atlanta, Jews are still being discriminated against in employment and housing. And we don't like it any more than you do.

All of this has a special kind of relevance to the situation we find ourselves in today. Our prospects are bleak. What we have to look forward to is four years of either Lester Maddox or Howard Callaway. If that doesn't depress you, you're smoking pretty strong stuff.

In the immortal words of Benjamin Franklin, we must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately. If these next four years are to be anything better than an unmitigated disaster, it will require the combined and coordinated efforts of a unified Negro community with its white liberal allies. That is why I started out talking about white liberals.

To make a coalition work, it is necessary to search for areas of agreement. There will be some points on which no agreement can be reached. On these points we can only agree to disagree. Without minimizing the disagreements that will arise, or underestimating the difficulties involved in finding common ground, I am convinced that the effort must be made.

This must be borne in mind when dealing with people who have only a limited commitment to change. Instead of rejecting them because they won't go down the line with you, work with them in the areas where they will support change.

Take as an example the white businessman who doesn't want to live in an integrated neighborhood. It is entirely possible, however, that he is willing to take affirmative action to open up new employment opportunities for Negroes. The practical thing to do with this fellow is work with him on employment, making as much progress as possible. The alternative is to denounce him as a bigot for his

refusal to support open housing, and have nothing further to do with him. Perhaps you will get a bigger charge out of denouncing him, and will feel good about it for a few minutes, but in the long run the cause will be better served by fatter paychecks for more people.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were passed by Congress in response to coalition support by labor, church groups, Negro and civil rights organizations, and white liberals. On the local level, a coalition of Negro voters and white Northsiders turned back Lester Maddox when he tried to become Mayor of Atlanta. They elected Ivan Allen and Sam Massell, two of the finest public officials in the South. In subsequent years, and on other issues, the coalition has broken down nationally and locally. Now that we have suffered reversals on both levels, it is time to start putting the coalition back together again.

For the coalition to function effectively, the participants must be full partners. We can't have senior partners and junior partners. We can't have an effective partnership without consultation and clearance. That means discussing in advance who the candidates will be. The time is past when one group can select their candidates, then expect others, who have not been consulted, to accept and endorse those candidates. Neither can you wait until the last minute to start conferring.

The kind of cooperation between white liberals and Negroes that I am advocating must go beyond politics. Eventually, we must get down to the nitty gritty. That means dealing with fundamental problems in a constructive way. We ought to be able to find the means for making a concrete contribution toward improving the daily life of those folks in the slums and the ghettos. Joint action, on an interracial basis, to provide new, decent, low-cost housing would be one way of doing this.

One recent local development has special bearing on our prospects for coopera-

tive action in Atlanta. I am referring to the newly authorized Municipal Commission on Human Relations. I have high hopes for that organization. It is not a panacea, and it is not going to solve our problems overnight, but if good people are appointed to it, if it gets an adequate budget and competent staff, it can be the most significant instrument in the community for pulling diverse elements together and getting them to tackle some of our tough problems.

Vice-Mayor Sam Massell is entitled to much credit for turning into law this idea that many of us have favored for a long time. His contribution is the kind that can have the long-range effect of making this city a better place to live. It is some comfort to think that, while we may have madness in the Statehouse, there will be a public body in the Atlanta area working steadily to improve both Jewish-Christian and Negro-White relations.

November 16, 1966

December 13, 1966

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee → file
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Milton:

Here is the promised report on where we stand on the service studies.

The study of the Klan and Related Groups is due to arrive here any day now. Pat Watters is today writing Bob Sherrill to have him send the copy down. Pat and Bob have talked on the phone several times, but I was in error in thinking we had any copy. The moment this draft arrives we will send you a copy.

The same is true on the Citizen Council Study. We hope to have the draft by the end of the year and will share it with you.

Immediately after the first of the year, Pat Watters hopes to go to work on the report on Black Nationalism. Except for printing, SRC will absorb the cost of this in its regular budget.

At a later date, after Reese Cleghorn completes his assignment for us which you are negotiating, we would like to consider the possibility of Pat and Reese collaborating on the political essay. They are now

completing an excellent book on Southern Politics and Negro Voting and seem to be the logical authors as time permits.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 13, 1966

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee → file
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Milton:

In regard to our joint project of a series of studies of extremism in the region, we are sending you separately an up-to-date report of where we stand at this point.

However, as you know, we do have two studies commissioned and expect them shortly.

Since we are making a number of commitments for research fees and will begin to face reasonably substantial printing costs as these documents become available, I wonder if it is possible for the American Jewish Committee to make any financial contribution to help SRC.

If even modest funds are available we could plan comfortably and more specifically for the coming year.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Correspondence - Jewish Cttee

December 22, 1966

Mr. Sanford H. Bolz
The American Jewish Committee
818 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Bolz:

Under separate cover a copy of the school desegregation report is being sent to you. The other persons mentioned in your letter will routinely get copies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Washington Counsel, Sanford H. Bolz • 818 18th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006 • Phone: (202) 298-8787

December 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At Fred Rauth's suggestion, I am writing to you to order copies of your just released report on the progress of school desegregation, newspaper reports of which make it look very interesting indeed. I shall appreciate it if you will send me a copy as soon as possible--and if there is a charge, please enclose a bill. I know that Irving Levine of our Department of Education and Urban Affairs and Harry Fleischman, our Race Relations Coordinator, will also want to have copies--and I shall appreciate it if you will send copies directly to them, together with separate bills for any charge there may be for copies of the report. Their address is The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022.

I was especially struck by the indication in the news reports of one suggestion in the report--for perhaps a single guideline, the abolition of dual school systems--for our regional director in Atlanta, Charles Wittenstein, whom you must know, only recently pressed the same sort of suggestion upon us and I have already passed it on to both the Compliance Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and informally to one of Commissioner Howe's assistants. I am certainly glad to have the confirmation and support for that idea in your report, which will have both wide circulation and large respect.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sandy Bolz

SHB/vap

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See Amer. Jewish Office 1967

January 4, 1967

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

Belatedly, this will acknowledge receipt of the check for $4,000 from the American Jewish Committee in support of our joint studies.

I, too, think we need to get together as soon as possible for continued discussion of these studies and to review what is being accomplished to date. I hope to be in New York within the next month, likely for several days during the week of February 6th. What about tentatively reserving some time at a convenient hour for you on either February 7th or 8th for this?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein

Joint-studies
A-J-C-SRC

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations · 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 · PLaza 1-4000 · Cable Wishcom, New York

December 27, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga., 30303

Dear Paul:

I am attaching a check in the amount of $4,000. as our 1966 contribution for expenses incurred in launching the series of studies on extremism in the South. Hopefully, now that each of our agencies has gotten rid of other priorities, this undertaking will proceed forthwith. Perhaps we will even meet our original target of publication by the Spring of 1967.

$4,000.00
12/28/66
C.F.

We assume that there has been no change in our mutually agreed upon plans to publish our findings in a series of pamphlets prior to publication of an overall book.

As I mentioned to you on the telephone the other day, we would like very much to see and comment on the outlines for the future studies. I think you will agree that by looking at the proposed studies before they are actually undertaken we will undoubtedly receive a much more satisfactory end product.

Would it be helpful if there were any further conferences either here or in Atlanta between you and Nate Perlmutter in order to accelerate on this project? Do let us know.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for a happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Milton Ellerin

Milton Ellerin

ME/ec
Enc.
cc: Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein
Ed Lukas

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Bring up Feb. 1
free
a/f other

January 23, 1967

Mr. Milton Ellerin
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

I am having considerable trouble arranging appointments in New York on February 7 and 8. Could we tentatively plan on early afternoon of the 8th?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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January 16, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

At the moment my calendar for February 7th and 8th is clear for our getting together here in New York for some much needed discussion on our joint project.

If you can pinpoint a time and an exact date for our meeting I will then let Nate Perlmutter know so that he can clear his calendar.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Milton

Milton Ellerin

ME:ec
cc:Nate Perlmutter
Charles Wittenstein

2 P m
8 TY

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Bring up -
Feb. 1

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

PA trip to New York

REGARDING

Conference with
AJ & the Staff - early
afternoon - Feb. 8

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

file NY Trip

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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file

January 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Both Nate and I have put aside time on the early afternoon of February 8, 1967.

We look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Milton Ellerin

Milton Ellerin

ME/sb

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mr. Chas Wittenstein
American Jewish Cttee
Atlanta

REGARDING

Mailed zerox copy of Sherrill's report on the Klan

DATE

2/20

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

File
Amer. Jewish Cttee

September 26, 1967

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

We are sharing your comments about the Sherrill manuscript with the author with the suggestions that your detailed comments be incorporated into the revision. We hope he will be able to incorporate some new introductory material and consider a summary at the end.

All of us in both agencies have been remiss, I think, in sitting on this manuscript. I hope from here to publication we can move very rapidly. I am sure you feel the same way. When we receive the next version we will get it to you very rapidly in the hopes it can go, thereafter, very rapidly to the printer.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 26, 1967

DRAFT

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

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Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Blind cc for Pat Watters

September 26, 1967

DRAFT

Mr. Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

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Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Blind cc for Pat Watters

file
Amer. Jewish Cttee

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a note to say thanks -- albeit I am not really given to formalities -- for coming by to the room and exchanging notes.

Unfortunately, I feel that you, in referring to the west coast candidate, as the real source of problems, are correct. The problem of do-good agencies is that unless a candidate comes out and says "nigger" or says "Jew bastard" they are stopped from vigorously or at least openly suggesting their concern.

Still, I think that our real source of problems lies in the direction that you point out.

Something that you said about your trip through Hamburg prompted me to make a note to send you an article I had written on Germany following a month's stay there. It's enclosed. I think you may find it of interest.

Warm regards.

P.S. Seymour Samet tells me you made some telling remarks at NAACP Conf.

Cordially,

Nathan Perlmutter
Director
Domestic Affairs

NP:MRG
Encl.

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Midstream

A QUARTERLY JEWISH REVIEW

Articles:

- SHLOMO KATZ — 6,000,000 and 5,000,000
- EPHRAIM KLEIMAN — From Cooperative to Industrial Empire —The Story of Solel-Boneh
- EVA KOLLISCH — The Land of the Absolute—A Memoir
- NATHAN PERLMUTTER — German Diary
- MYRON M. FENSTER — The Princeton Plan Comes to Jackson Heights
- The Past in the Present—A Photographic Study of Hasidim in Brooklyn

Fiction:

- YEHUDA AMICHAI — Not of This Time . . .
- MARVIN COHEN — The Self-Devoted Friend

Poetry:

- ABRAHAM SUTSKEVER — Two Poems

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An official of the Anti-Defamation League in Miami, NATHAN PERLMUTTER spent the month of September, 1963 in West Germany at the invitation of the West German Government, for the purpose of observing its techniques and programs for teaching democracy and for inoculating Germany against future anti-Semitism. The following are excerpts from the personal diary he kept during this period.

German Diary

By NATHAN PERLMUTTER

STRANGE, ME BEING HERE, in Germany. When's the last time I felt so consciously Jewish? Or, for that matter, so consciously American? The nearest I've come to Germany is Coney Island, or maybe the Statue of Liberty is nearer, and yet I'm bugged by the feeling that I've been here before. It's as if I've walked through Bad Godesberg before, though I don't remember thinking it charming. I've seen before, I think I've seen before, these pink and blond women, these fat and stolid men and the long-striding, so healthy, teenagers. Was it way back in Brooklyn, and fully twenty-five years ago? Probably, Fox Movietone News. Sad and resonant-voiced Lowell Thomas, and on the screen, kneeling, bearded Jews, and pink and fat Germans jeering; and the theatre in our Jewish neighborhood as utterly and hysterically silent as the nightmare of a deaf mute. And now I'm here, in Germany, and of course I have been here before. It was the sunlight that confused me, the surprise of the sunlight after leaving that movie, the sun shining on these clean people and their charming homes, that's what confused me.

• • •

Ironic, that we should be staying at the Dreesen Hotel. In this hotel, in the very conference room in which we met yesterday afternoon, Hitler and Chamberlin worked out the Munich Pact. Hitler's favorite hotel, they say. Still, I slept peacefully last night, my first night here.

• • •

I liked the men in the Ministry of Justice. Young, straight, knowledgeable. We asked them to comment on the very low ratio of prosecutions of Nazis to crimes committed by them. Something like 5,000 prosecutions for millions of murders, untold plunder, etc. Also, we wanted to know how come convicted murderers, involved in multiple killings, have been getting paltry four year sentences. Answers: The Nuremberg Trials revealed that Nazis were rarely personally involved in the actual commission of crimes. Local help, Poles for instance, were willing and efficient accomplices. The Federal Republic is without jurisdiction in these cases. Also, many of the murderers fled; others were tried in foreign courts; an unknown number were killed in the course of the war. Finally, natural death—it's almost twenty years since Germany's surrender—has thinned the line-up.

Another lawyer continued at this point. He told of prosecuting a case in 1950 in which the defendants were charged with the Crystal Night pogrom of 1938. Twelve years had elapsed, and the state's witnesses were hazy, uncertain, self-contradictory. He lost the case. Still, he said, if you believe in the democratic principle that every man is entitled to his day in court, and to a trial before a jury of his peers, this is it. I had the feeling when he referred to peers and local juries that he was thinking of Alabama and Mississippi, and what do *we* do about it? Dispose of trial by jury? As to the light sentences returned by local juries, he reminded us that the top Nazis were tried and convicted by Allied courts. Today, they're free. Who freed them? The Allies. His point was that if local German juries are aware, and they are aware, that the Allies have commuted the sentences of top Nazis, should the Germans, they reason, pass harsher sentences on the smaller fry? I couldn't argue with that.

• • •

Nobody and Everybody. First, Nobody. I asked the official sitting next to me during the course of Herr E's speech, what E's first name is. He thought for a moment, came up with a blank and whispered across the conference table to a colleague, asking him what E's first name is. Again a moment's thought and then he, too, turned to the German next to him, and so on through three or four of E's colleagues. Finally my companion whispered to me, "Absurd, I know, but nobody in Germany knows anybody's first name."

Everybody. I get the impression after several days here that everybody needs a haircut. What happened to Eric von Stroheim and all those Junkers?

• • •

Spent the morning at the Ministry of Education. Their problems are not entirely unlike ours. Bonn isn't Germany any more than Washington is the United States. Washington proposes and all too often the sovereign states dispose. It's the same here. Bonn can encourage all kinds of democratic oriented textbooks for schoolroom and teacher use. Whether and to what extent the states (*laender,* they call them here) will adopt them is another question. Dr. P. told of the soul searching among German intellectuals at the war's end in 1945: the shame, the guilt, the *mea culpa.* "We thought: Shall we not give up being a nation and become instead German elements on an island once known as Germany? And before we could fashion an answer, bang, the economic miracle! And, reunification! Politically it's a necessary posture [he shuddered here] but it's too early for us, much too early to start with nationalism again. We're too rich too soon, too strong too soon. We need time, time to digest what happened and what is happening."

• • •

Professor R. was at a disadvantage with us. A good man, a bright man, he looked and sounded so much like Sid Caesar's caricature of a giddy, German professor, it distracted us—until he got down to business. Referring to his having been a refugee from Nazism's vaunted Thousand Year Reich, he referred to his 12 year exile with: "I have been away for 1,000 years." We started paying attention.

A sociologist, he observed that the new generation is isolated from its elders in Germany as nowhere else. The youngsters learn about the Nazi Reich in school, or in paperbacks, or on TV, and then when they ask questions—What were you doing then?—they get evasions, irritability, or lame

rationalizations. Hence the gulf between the generations. The professor feels that the rejection by the young of the old, the "isolation" from home in which the young are developing, is "admirable."

All over the United States, and through most of the world, I suppose, the straying of the new generation from parental standards and values is deplored. In Germany, it's "admirable." What a comment, what a judgment—and by what judges!—on the entire generation of Hitler *heilers;* to be sentenced to the rejection, even loathing, or at best the quiet hostility, of their own children. By comparison, the Nuremberg sentences are parking tickets.

* * *

The German language has no counterpart expression for the term "fair play."

* * *

Visited two Jewish cemeteries in Frankfurt today. In the first we came across a section with hundreds of tombstones, all alike, all telling the same story. So and so, age such and such, died January, 1942. So and so, such and such age, died March, 1942. In all, some 750 markers, each with an early 1942 date. It seems that all of them were suicides, who killed themselves when they received deportation orders.

And the other cemetery. It has a wall on which are listed Frankfurt's Jewish soldiers who died in action in World War I. After each of their names it reads: "Died for the Fatherland."

* * *

Before going to the cemeteries we visited with a number of Frankfurt Jews. The subject of their discussion was: Are we German Jews, or are we Jews in Germany? Twenty years later and they're still wrangling about their identity! Had the issue been put to a vote, the Jews-in-Germany side would have won and I'd have voted with them. But they're wrong. Germany is their home by choice. To choose to remain and yet feel this alienation is masochistic. The we're-German-Jews group is healthier. Still, emotionally, I am closer to the others.

The Jewish professor who insisted they are Jews in Germany pointed out that they were treated well, benignly even. Nevertheless, he stressed the absence of peer relationships between Jew and Gentile. We're strangers here, he said, "We Jews in Germany are living on an Indian Reservation."

The Jews here are remnants, old, gnarled and scarred ruins. Looking at them there's only the faintest flickering suggestion that they may have a tomorrow. No young ones and few who are even fortyish. Ironic, for all of the well intended philo-Semitism of the Bonn Government, there simply aren't any Jews here to be philo to. A *Judenrein* Germany, Hitler's one ultimately successful campaign?

* * *

The dinner tonight, I suppose it was a "state dinner," was an extraordinary experience. Tomorrow, maybe I'll write about the German as host, of the way in which the trout was served, of the wines, etc. But now, while it's fresh in my mind, the dinner:

Ten of them; ten of us. Ten German officials, some ex-Nazis and ten Jews whose profession is civil rights. The meal and its breaking of bread, the sitting down to it and the small-talk camaraderie all symbolized a kind of blood-brother ceremony. All of us were conscious of it. I think, too, that when the meal was over there was general disinclination to follow the unwritten but unyielding script that calls for "remarks." But they were unavoidable.

Ben's remarks had the right touch—brief, casually dignified. Herr A's response was in kind. It should have been left there, but it wasn't. Two of ours spoke eloquently, even movingly about the warm spirit of the dinner, the threshold that it was to a new relationship between Germans and Jews. One of them recreated his personal and his family's suffering during the Hitler years and then, obviously moved by the evening, his voice faltering with emotion, he toasted a new German-Jewish brotherhood. Nearly everyone was deeply moved. I wasn't. I wished I could get away.

Here's why. It's as when a man and a woman have a violent, soul-searing battle. They hate each other; could kill one another. That night, in bed, in the crazy chemistry of mind and body, they turn to each other. What wanted saying is said clearly in their silent, remorseful, embrace. Maybe later, they light a cigarette.

Our eating and drinking together tonight, Jews and Germans, was a deep intimacy. Talking the talk of haters and lovers was too much. We should have simply lit cigarettes.

* * *

Today we moved to Count N's home. We'll stay a week to get the feel of the "grass roots," how the man in the street lives, and so on. (A Count? The Man In The Street?) The Count greeted us in the garden and in the groping small talk twixt host-for-a-week and total-strangers, asked me if I shoot. I said, Yes, but it's been almost twenty years. In less time than it takes to say Fritz Mueller he was in and out of the house, offered me a rifle and pointing to a sparrow on a nearby tree, invited me to kill it. I was startled and asked why on earth I should. The Count explained that he loves birds, has feeders for them in the garden and that the sparrows chase away the singing birds. *Ergo,* the sparrows must go. By this time, thank goodness, the sparrow was out of sight. Now the Count invited me to shoot an apple off a tree and I got into position, squeezed the trigger and brought new hope to the neighborhood sparrowlife. I missed—ignominiously. Next, the Count. He took the rifle, no fooling, no posing, simply lifted it and bang, the apple was split in half. This, I think, is a host who I'm going to have to make an effort to like.

Later in the afternoon, the Count and his twelve-year-old daughter invited me to a game of croquet. I've never played it, but it looked like fun. The Count won, I barely beat the child, and I was beginning to wonder if maybe these people aren't in fact, a superior race. Now, the seven-year-old son joined in, and the four of us were malleting the ball across the lawn. And wouldn't you know, the three of them, father, daughter and son, led me through the last wicket! There was laughter, kidding, and I, stiff-upper-lipped, laughed too. Tea followed and while they drank tea and made conversation with Abe, I casually picked up a mallet and took a few practice swings, using a golf stance rather than the swing-it-between-the-legs stance. A few practice swings, and I was ready. "How about another round, Count?" I nonchalantly sang out. The kids whooped yes, the Count smiled—I suppose it wasn't really patronizing—and I was invited to lead off.

Did I clobber them! I went through the wickets in record time and simultaneously, must have set a record for minimum swings!

Silly? Of course. But it sure felt good, like the U.S. really did win the war, like I really was in the Marines. That apple, those first two games, I

felt as if Eisenhower, Normandy, Patton, all were lies. Now, the American soldier, Jewry, the Allies were vindicated! I still feel good about it.

* * *

Father von G. is nice. Looks like Fernandel. On the way to his mother's home he reminded us that she's a war widow. "You might not consider a widow's home as a typical German home, but it is. We lost fifteen million men in the war."

His mother's home is interesting. In the living room, a picture of her late husband, a uniformed three-star general in Hitler's army. Beside him is his father, the priest's paternal grandfather, also in uniform and he was a four-star general in the Kaiser's army. The two are a Hollywood type-caster's cliche for the Nazi general and the stiffnecked Junker general.

Father von G's kid brother is studying in England and his room—Picasso prints, Chagall (!) prints, college-age bric-a-brac, pipes—could have been my own college room.

I liked Mrs. von G. Motherly, dignified, intelligent, she didn't even mention that her husband had been part of the 20th of July plot on Hitler's life. (Father von G. also didn't mention it.)

It's all very confusing. If she were not so nice, if she were haughty, if she were stiff or proud, she'd fit snugly into the casting office's file on the wives of Nazi big shots. But she's nice and that's what's so disturbing. Was her husband, the three-star general, also a nice guy? I gather he was. Were they all "nice people"? Has it any real meaning, being nice?

* * *

Several Germans have remarked to me that they didn't like the English. I asked one of them why, and he said, "They're arrogant." *Gott in himmel!*

* * *

Liking, or trying to like "good Germans" is like trying to love a reformed prostitute. She's being a lady, she's trying hard, you begin to forget her past and then—unwittingly, unconsciously, she says or does something that reminds you of what she was, of what she can be again.

I've been to several schools in the past few days. The youngsters are okay. Whether it be from the schools, TV, reading, or whatever, they are learning "good" values. And these values are being offered up by "good Germans." But then the slip shows and you wonder.

In one classroom they had been learning about Bismarck. They were taught how he unified Germany and made it an important power through "Blood and Iron." We engaged the students in discussion, querying them as to their views of the "Blood and Iron" policy as a means of reunifying today's split Germany. Without exception they responded that while this method had worked in the 19th Century, it wouldn't do today. Today we must talk. War is no solution. Use the United Nations. It was all very encouraging.

In another class of twelve-year-olds, we asked the children what they knew of the Hitler years. (Students here are not taught about Hitler until they're fourteen.) We were curious as to what they had absorbed outside the classroom. One told of the "great congresses" that were held then; another knew that Hitler built the expressways; another commented that while everybody hates Hitler now, then they all loved him; one volunteered that everyone had been employed; another offered the information that women had had to work. We asked whether they had any information concerning the Third Reich and Jews. One told how

his mother had to run all over Germany, chased apparently, because "they" mistakenly thought she was Jewish; another child referred to "showers" and their use as a means of killing Jews; one thought that Jewish stars were burned into the arms of Jews; another had heard that Jews were spat upon. There was no nostalgia for the Third Reich, no childish romanticism about marching and might, but rather a sober, even frightened recalling of things they had heard.

In each classroom of the half-dozen we visited, we were questioned about Alabama and Mississippi. Not hostile, "if you're such a great democracy, how about . . ." questions. On the contrary, these were groping questions by genuinely confused children, who have been taught that democracy is an ideal form of government and that its natural habitat is the United States. How explain, then, the Negro sit-ins, the Freedom marches, the unsolved bombings? It was as if they wanted us to reassure them that it wasn't so, or at least that there was some simple explanation that would leave their image of the democratic ideal unspoiled. I felt sorry about their inevitable disillusionment.

Following a really rewarding experience in a classroom, we accompanied the principal back to his office. Sensing that we were pleased with what he had shown us, he relaxed, and soon the conversation turned to the Nazi era. At this point, he confided to us that anti-Semitism wouldn't have been so successful had not the Eastern European Jews monopolized the important posts in the professions!

Very well, then, so he's sixty and he hasn't been purged of all his anti-Semitic ideas. It shouldn't astonish. What is important is that he's teaching children and doing a good job of it. That night, seeking to confirm my own recollection of Germany in the Thirties, I asked the Count whether it was his impression that there were significant numbers of Eastern European Jews in Germany during the days of the Weimar Republic. No, he said, and why had I asked? Feeling close to him and genuinely friendly, I told him about my conversation with the principal. When I was through, the Count shook his head and muttered that the principal was an idiot. That couldn't have been the reason for the success of anti-Semitism because there simply hadn't been any Eastern European Jews to talk of here. The reason for Hitler's successful program against Jews was that the important posts were held by *German* Jews and they had "demonstrated their success too much." Not wanting to blunder over a language barrier, I inquired, "Demonstrated?" "You know," he said, "they showed off too much."

The principal is a force for good in Germany, no question about it. But the old poison still lingers. It's dormant, but it is there. The Count is one of democracy's best friends in Germany, and as reliable and sympathetic a friend of the Jews as one might hope to find here. He's thirty-seven, too young to know who was or wasn't Jewish in the Weimar days, but in him, too, the Goebbels fantasy lingers. They are "good Germans."

* * *

Talk of catharsis! The dinner party was going along pleasantly enough, and that's just what prompted me to say what I did. I mean, all the small talk and each of us being charming and clever just as if it were any one of fifty thousand Saturday night suburban parties back home. I kept feeling: What on earth am I doing here? And so I told the Count and the

Countess, Herr F. and his wife that I had a confession to make. I told them about my afternoon walk with Father von G. through the town cemetery; how we paused before a stone that read, "Hans Schmidt, 18 years old, Stalingrad"; how, notwithstanding the boy's age, I felt no pity, but instead, not without bitterness, I found myself thinking: Who asked him to go there?

I continued, telling them of Father von G's comment that he knew the boy's family and that they were "fine people." Knowing the priest well by now and liking him, I knew that his evaluation was one I probably would have shared. His words dissipated my indifference to the dead boy, but not my bitterness about Stalingrad. I grew troubled and that I still was, was my confession.

I suppose the deeply personal nature of my remarks—and the cognac we had all shared—changed the tone of the party. The Count revealed that he had been an "enthusiastic Hitler Youth leader" and Herr F., though with withered arm, that he had been a Hitler Youth leader too, and later, a member of the Party.

Somehow I wasn't surprised by the Count's having been "an enthusiastic" young Nazi. He shoots enthusiastically, plays croquet enthusiastically, and now he is an enthusiastic liberall What's more, I'm sure that he enthusiastically cultivates Jewish friends. I suspect it's a matter of personality-type, and that, similarly, many of those who were indifferent to Nazism are today indifferent about German democracy.

But I wanted to write down Herr F's remarks. During the Thirties his closest friend, more Aryan in appearance than he, was Jewish. "I knew, we all knew, Hitler's views on Jews, but we told ourselves that nothing would happen to the Jews we knew. After all, we told ourselves, our Jewish friends were not the kind that Hitler was talking about. At the end of the war, I went home to the Sudetenland to look for my friend, and as if to confirm what subconsciously I had known all along, but which I refused to think about, I went directly from the train to the Jewish cemetery." Was it sentimentality? The cognac? Sincerity? He choked up as he whispered, "I found him there."

We asked him what had made him a Nazi. His answer: "Idealism." Hitler's platform, cleanliness of mind and body, honesty in government, purging the nation of social and political decadence. "About Jews," he continued, "we have a faculty to block out things we don't want to believe. And when, in the closing years of the war, rumors reached us about the extermination camps, rumors we had every reason to believe, we still would not see. By now we had our own families to think about, virtually every German family suffered losses, our own lives to salvage from the bombing wreckage, and so we continued to refuse to see the genocide in our midst."

And how had he become an ex-Nazi?

"In the late Forties I was applying for a visa to the United States where an international conference to which I was a delegate was being held. An American sergeant routinely asked me if I had ever been a Nazi. I don't know what prompted me to tell the truth. It would have been so easy to simply say, No. But I said, Yes. The sergeant's cigar almost dropped out of his mouth. When he recovered he asked me if I was still a Nazi. I mumbled, No, I wasn't. He said, prove it. And now I was speechless. How does one prove a negative? Proof that I had

been a Nazi was simple; that I wasn't a Nazi, impossible. But at that point, an inspiration hit me. I held up this useless, deformed arm. I said to him, 'When I was young I had polio. I can't have it again.' He gave me the visa."

All of this quietly, so quietly we could hear each other breathing..

We asked the Count—and Herr F. too—about their "idealism" in 1938. After all, the German press was full of the pictures of Crystal Night, of the violence and the humiliation visited upon Jews. What of the intellectual Nazi's idealism *then*, and where was the good German's reaction?

The hour was late, the cognac and the frank conversation had softened and hushed the room, and in a kind of slow motion the Count whispered, "We were cowards."

* * *

Spent some more time with the *Bundeswehr* today. These Germans swing from extreme to extreme. Once the very personification of militarism, this Army is incredibly "democratic." They call it a civilian army and it *is* almost that. Enlisted men can even appeal officers' orders to civilian authorities. Clausewitz must be turning in his grave.

I gather, however, that some of the brass aren't too happy about it, and as time goes by are growing less self-conscious about saying so. I was part of a bull session today with several officers. Learning that I had been an officer too, shop talk came easy. They complained about the fact that they were not permitted to instill a sense of military tradition into their troops. It being a "new army," technically just born, rather than a continuation of the old *Wehrmacht*, they may not use the old regimental flags or instill a sense of regimental history into the troops. What is lacking, and it became evident during the several days I spent with the *Bundeswehr*, is the rah-rah *esprit de corps* of our Marines.

Still, I think young Alfred got to the heart of the "problem." When I asked him—he's a draftee who has already served his time—whether he felt that this absence of tradition impaired the effectiveness of the Army, he said, "If you believe in democracy, you'll fight to save it. Tradition is amoral. I don't miss it and don't need it."

* * *

Two unrelated items and my single reaction.

In Bonn, Cologne and Frankfurt, when we were there, and now in Berlin, people have told us of the *Wiesse Ferde*—the White Horse—the nickname for Ferdinand Weiss, a famous and apparently beloved German comedian in the time of the Third Reich. Virtually alone, he had the temerity to ridicule Hitler. He paid for it with several short prison terms. In recalling him, each of the people retold some of his gags—each telling the identical stories.

Weiss would come out on stage at The Porcupine, a political cabaret in Berlin, and hurl his arm out in what seemed like the Nazi salute. Holding it in this position for a moment, he'd lower it slightly, turn his palm over, arm still extended, and finally observe, "No, it's not raining." Or, he'd come marching out to the center of the stage, click his heels, make the Nazi salute, and intone, "Heil—Heil—er, what's his name again?" The *Weisse Ferde* story that is consistently told with the most relish is how he came out on stage laboriously pushing a wooden crate. After getting it front and center with amusing pantomime, he'd open the box and pull out three large framed pictures: Hitler, Goering, Goebbels. Propping the pictures up against the crate

so that the audience could view them, he'd walk back and forth pretending perplexed concentration and finally—his pantomime and his fame for double entendre having brought the audience to a heightened expectation—he would turn to the audience and muse: "Tell me, shall I put them up against the wall, or simply hang them?"

Now, the second, unrelated item.

Today we visited the 20th of July Memorial to the men who in 1944 tried unsuccessfully to assassinate Hitler in the famous bomb-plot. The government has been attempting to make the 20th of July a national holiday and in army education courses the leaders of the 20th of July are offered up as heroes who gave their lives for the honor of Germany. The memorial itself is the prison where the leaders of the plot were hung on meat hooks. The huge cell in which they were murdered—Hitler had movies taken of the butchery so that he might later enjoy it—has been left much as it was. It's dark; it's foreboding; it's a moving shrine to brave men.

My reaction to both the *Weisse Ferde* and the 20th of July? Everywhere in Germany the same anti-Hitler jokes of the White Horse are told and retold to me. It was funny the first time and even the second, but after a while I couldn't help but feel that the repeated retelling of these stories—20 years later—was a kind of political aside being whispered in my ear to assure me, "See, we didn't slavishly follow Hitler. No sirree, bob! We, in our own way, fought back!"

And the 20th of July movement? I remember their "conditions" for peace with the Allies—Germany to retain the booty Hitler had won prior to England's entry into the war!

These then are the symbols of Nazi-era heroism. A brave and principled night club comic and a movement of Hamlets (1944!) that mustered its bravery after Crystal Night, after the Anschluss, after Czechoslovakia, after Poland, after Rotterdam, after the camps, after the war was all but over.

* * *

Visited East Berlin today. Why they permit visitors is beyond me. It's like revealing one's failure to the public eye. Oh, there are the beautiful streets, buildings, monuments, but there is something about them that is frightening, like a Dali painting. The subject matter is there, almost normal, but you look again and it's limp, it's empty, it's eerie. And so is East Berlin, tree-lined streets, attractive shops, handsome empty buildings, all limply suspended between a long ago youth and the potential of future vitality.

Returning to West Berlin, we drove along the Wall. Our newspapers and TV never fully communicated to me the utter evil, the overwhelming sadness of the Wall. Miles of ugly brick, capped by jagged pieces of glass stuck into the top layer of cement, and over the glass, ominous barbed wire. On the East side, deserted streets, here and there a rifleman, and the feeling that in those buildings behind the blinds people are peering over the wall, hoping to catch a glimpse of freedom. On the West side, memorial markers to Herr so-and-so or Frau so-and-so who tried to escape and, jumping, landed in death. West Berliners standing on line to climb a platform from which to look over the wall and perhaps catch a glimpse of a mother, a father, a friend.

But like so much that I have experienced here, for me the Wall, too, has reverse English.

This evening we had dinner with Herr B. After dinner, he showed movie slides. The first slide was of the Brandenburg Gate, and seeing it again,

all of the morning's depression returned to me, sadness for these people whose city, families and friends have been sundered. Then came the second slide. Again the Brandenburg Gate, but this time all lit up, its statuary glowing warmly and happily, and you couldn't help but feel warm and happy too at this graphic representation of Before Communism.

But through the darkened room came Herr B's voice and his running commentary. "I took this picture in the good old days. 1936."

Of course, he meant nothing. Like the principal, like the Count, he's a good guy and I genuinely liked him. But, 1936, the good old days? For the moment there in the dark, I wished the Wall long life and to hell with them all. It's hard to be rational about these people. Maybe our children will be able to manage it; I can't.

* * *

I suppose as good a way as any to describe the Open Door is to call it a Salvation Army serving the emotional needs of people. Really, it's more than that. Jesuit sponsored, it's situated in downtown Berlin between the business section and a street of garish nightclubs. People with domestic problems, personal problems, or any kind of emotional disturbance can come in and talk things over with a trained psychologist. I picked up some interesting miscellaneous information. For instance, here in West Berlin, as thriving a city as there is in Europe, there is also Europe's highest suicide rate (the rate rose even higher with the building of the Wall). Interesting, too, is the fact that considerable numbers of colored people visit the Open Door. Why do they come? Usually out of frustration resulting from an inability to rent an apartment! There are some 40,000 mulattoes in West Germany, calling cards left by our Armed Forces.

Frau T., the psychologist in charge, told me of the sharp increase in the number of guilt-tortured people who have been seeking help from the Open Door since the showing of Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." I asked her, "Is it former SS men, or concentration camp guards who are coming in?"

"Oh, no," she responded. "Young people are coming in. People who were obviously children during the Hitler years. They are the ones burdened with guilt. The older people do not come. They have made an accommodation with their past."

Yes and no, I think. When we visited the Bergen Belsen Concentration Camp a couple of weeks ago, I saw something that disposed me toward a less resigned viewpoint. Here's a camp that's remote from any main highway, that offers absolutely no comforts—I don't remember seeing even a bench—that is simply a stark, excruciating reminder of the Nazi terror. We were there on a weekday; it was *Rosh Hashonah;* we came to pray for the dead. And notwithstanding its distance from any city, its unrelieved poignancy, its being the middle of the week, there were scores of young people there, somberly walking among the monuments, thinking God knows what kind of thoughts, making God knows what kind of vows. Yet there were older Germans there, too, doing the same thing. No, not all have made an accommodation. Some remember and can't forget and teach their young. Not much more can be asked of them.

File
Amer. Jewish Ctee

December 14, 1967

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Director
Domestic Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Nate:

Please forgive me for not acknowledging earlier your letter of November 22nd. I have not done so only because I wanted to read your article first. I have done so with admiration, though I seriously doubt I would have enjoyed the stay and the length of it which you describe.

I did make some kind of speech at the NAIRO meeting, but unfortunately only from very skippy notes.

It was good to visit with you when you were here. I only wish it could have been longer.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See
Ce Jewish
Amer. Jewish Cttee

January 11, 1968

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Harry:

Delighted to know you will be here for the Inter-Agency meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

January 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a note to let you know that I will be coming to the Southern Inter-Agency Conference meeting. I am particularly interested in the discussion on Black separatism since I think it raises many important questions for all our agencies, to say nothing of the future of the country.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

HF:eak

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File
Amer. Jewish Cttee

April 1, 1968

Mr. Walter Zand
Florida Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
701 DuPont Plaza Center
Miami, Florida 33131

Dear Walter:

Thanks for your invitation to speak to your class. I do hope to be in Miami some time this spring, and will let you know when I am coming.

Incidentally, the main purpose for my coming to Miami will be money-raising. If you know of any sources left over from your own needs, I would be very pleased to know about them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Greater Miami Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE 701 DuPont Plaza Center, Miami, Fla. 33131 • Tel.: FR 3-4749

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Assistant Area Director

March 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Your courtesy and cooperation in sending me 50 copies of Kenneth Clarke's speech is greatly appreciated.

The Human Relations Department at the University of Miami is still operating and we have a total of approximately 300 students in its courses this Semester. I am teaching Principles of Intergroup Relations and Group Dynamics and intend to use this material in the Principles of Intergroup Relations Class.

I have shared, incidentally, with the students in my classes, some of my learning and reactions to the Southern Regional Council Meeting last month in Atlanta.

Should there be any occasion for you to be in Miami sometime within the next few months, I would like very much for you to visit my Class to give them an overall view of some of the problems in the South as seen from your vantage point.

With warmest personal regards.

Cordially,

Walter Zand
Florida Area Director

WZ:bmb

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file

April 3, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

When I reached you at the Washington Hilton on March 22nd you indicated that you would immediately call your office and ask that the Sherrill piece on the Klan be forwarded to us.

Obviously there has been a slip twixt lip and cup, because as of this moment the manuscript has not arrived.

We would appreciate your forwarding it as soon as possible.

With kind personal regards,

Cordially,

Milton

Milton Ellerin

ME/lk

Paul I checked with Janet & she says Short on this. Put W. had her to head off sending it because Sherrill wants to fix up some things in it before it goes anywhere

file ajctte

April 12, 1968

Mr. Milton Ellerin
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Milton:

We're re-working the Sherrill manuscript and a copy will be sent you on Monday of next week. I'm getting very weary of that manuscript, published or unpublished.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

fwd ajcttee

April 15, 1968

Mr. Milton Ellerin
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Ellerin:

In Mr. Anthony's absence I have been asked to send you the enclosed four pages of revisions to the Alabama section of the Robert Sherrill piece. Otherwise, the manuscript sent to you recently is up-dated.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ/
Enclosures

Jice

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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62nd ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 23-26, AMERICANA HOTEL, N.Y.C.

May 9, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

After reviewing the "revised" manuscript, we have concluded that we should not join with you in its publication. Among other things, most of our concerns were ignored. Feeling as we here do about the manuscript, we'd suggest that you go it alone with publication in the New South.

You will recall, Paul, that at our November meeting in Atlanta we decided to wind up the five-part project as quickly as possible. At that time we were awaiting Reese Cleghorn's manuscript, which we knew to be under way, and you were uncertain, but were going to check, the status of Wilson Minor's article on the White Citizens Councils. To this date we do not know how far Minor has progressed and we would now recommend that if at all possible, it be dropped. That is to say, if Minor hasn't done any appreciable work and there is no contractual obligation on your part to go further, by all means let it die. On the other hand, if you are at the point of no return on the Minor article, i.e., the manuscript is finished or nearly so, then we will assume our share of the obligation. The remaining two articles originally planned can now be forgotten.

From our own conversations with Reese and Charles Wittenstein, we are satisfied that we will be getting a finished manuscript in the immediate future and, of course, Reese must be paid, as must costs incidental to its printing.

I suppose the simplest way to wind up the project would be to list the costs of the Sherrill manuscript, Reese Cleghorn's

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fee and expenses, and printing costs, and add it to whatever financial commitments exist between yourself and Minor. We would then, of course, split the total cost down the middle. Without any precise knowledge of the total bill, would we be correct in assuming that the American Jewish Committee would be receiving a return on our original $4,000 investment?

With all the very best wishes,

Cordially,

Nathan Perlmutter
Director
Domestic Affairs

NP:MRG

cc Charles Wittenstein
Milton Ellerin

file
Amer. Jewish Cttee

May 21, 1968

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Race Relatinns Coordinator
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Harry:

Thank you for sharing with me the checklist and the thought-starters. They are excellent, and I think the thought-starters would be particularly valuable for the state and local Councils on Human Relations. Would it be possible for you to send a copy to each state Council director, along with permission to draw from them or reproduce them for their local chapters, if they wish? If so, a directory of names and addressed is enclosed.

Incidentally, we have todate distributed some 15,000 copies of the Kerner Report Summary, and the demand is still heavy.

With warm regards,

Sincerely

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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May 3, 1968

Dear Friend:

The American Jewish Committee has been very concerned about ways in which it could harness the resources of AJC members in support of the Kerner Commission's recommendations. We held four regional meetings at which 235 leaders from over fifty communities brainstormed on activities in which they could become involved.

Enclosed is a listing of proposed programs entitled "Checklist of Program Proposals for AJC Emergency Summer Task Forces" dealing with short-range do-able activities, plus "Thought Starters for Local Action by AJC Chapters" dealing with longer-range programming. Many labor and community experts have requested us to share these materials with them. We agreed on the importance of the white community making it evident to American Negroes that we would not permit the Kerner Report to become a dust collector.

We should appreciate hearing from you what your organization is doing to support the recommendations of the Kerner Commission.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

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LPKE

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The American Jewish Committee

62nd ANNUAL MEETING
May 23-26, 1968
The Americana Hotel, New York City

Background Material for

Plenary and Round Table Sessions

on

CRISES IN OUR CITIES

For consideration by
the Board of Delegates

CHECKLIST OF PROGRAM PROPOSALS FOR AJC EMERGENCY TASK FORCES

It is essential that the American Jewish Committee do its utmost in the next three to six months, through its own organizational resources, through the efforts of its members in their individual capacities and by mobilizing the resources of the larger community, to help stimulate immediate action on the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

What is required now is immediate involvement in strategic projects whose impact is expandable through the use of key leverage points. We need to make dramatic and visible that which is do-able today. This can help reduce cynicism by demonstrating genuine concern and creating the feeling that progress can be made.

AJC, of course, must continue to work on many of the long-range problems related to jobs, housing, education, recreation, etc. A number of extremely valuable recommendations on meeting the long-range problems are contained in the attached memorandum "Thought Starters for Local Action by the American Jewish Committee Chapters" prepared by AJC's National Vice-President, Elmer L. Winter of Milwaukee. There are, however, a number of immediate problem areas that we can affect with a short term--i.e., three to six months--summer strategy. They include:

I. Help organize emergency aid in civil disorders. In many cities which experienced disorders after Dr. Martin Luther King's death, there were thousands of innocent sufferers in the ghettos and thousands were rendered homeless and without food. While emergency improvisations helped to meet some of the needs, we must plan now in case similar disorders occur during the next six months. The kind of planning that would make such activity interracial and interreligious, with strong Jewish participation, is described in a memo distributed to AJC's area directors April 12, 1968. Copies are available at AJC.

(over)

II. Support state legislation to develop insurance pools which would lessen the impact on any one company of underwriting insurance on ghetto property. New York State has just passed a sound law in this area, and President Johnson's advisory panel headed by New Jersey Governor Richard Hughes has developed recommendations which are available.

III. Help distribute the Summary of the Kerner Commission Report and stimulate discussion of it. (Over 200,000 copies of the Summary, published by AJC, ADL and 21 other groups, have already been distributed.)

IV. Stimulate the calling of community-wide conferences and the creation of groups of people--large and small--who will investigate at first hand the problems in their community and then undertake activity to correct any deficiencies. Where there is a functioning Urban Coalition, we should attempt to have that group convene a city-wide conference. Where one does not exist, an ad hoc group should be developed. The local counterparts of the organizations which joined in reprinting the Kerner Summary make a good basis for getting started. The purpose of such a conference is to pinpoint the factors that are likely to be combustible in the community, or that have already proved to be so, then to establish task forces to deal with the problems. Groups to be invited to such conferences include the following:

a) Community relations and human relations agencies. (Although this remains basically a conference to involve white participation, intergroup relations agencies should be invited.)

b) Local government leaders and officials.

c) The Council of Social Agencies and youth serving organizations.

d) Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and non-sectarian federations.

e) Business organizations as well as individual big business.

f) Organized religious groups (ministerial associations and lay groups) and key clergy.

g) Lay groups such as PTA's, fraternal organizations, service organizations like Lions and Rotary.

h) Labor unions.

i) Chambers of Commerce and business and industry associations.

V. Urge Mayor to send Summary of Kerner Commission Report to his department heads and other key officials. The Mayor's letter should cite specific recommendations for the attention of

appropriate executives with request for report on follow-up by a specific date. The communication by Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta may prove valuable in this connection and copies are available at AJC.

VI. Urge Mayors and police leaders to organize neighborhood task forces, through which more effective communication between local government and the minority communities can be achieved, and the delivery of city services to ghetto residents improved. New York City has used such task forces successfully as a means of defusing urban tension and preventing escalation to racial violence. (Copies of the news story in the New York Times of March 5, 1968, summarizing the New York City program, have been reprinted and are available upon request.)

VII. Make organized field trips into the ghettos in cooperation with Negro friends. AJC members, like other whites, rarely know at first hand what is actually going on in the ghetto, and such trips would help members learn at first hand about the problems of unemployment, slum housing, and inadequate welfare and medical services and recreational facilities.

VIII. Legislative Assistance. During periods when the State Legislature is in session, there are many bills that appear before the Legislature in connection with housing, code enforcements, garnishment, etc. The local AJC chapter should be encouraged to appoint a committee to keep abreast of legislation affecting the Central City. Oftentimes these bills die in legislature because of the lack of active participation by interested organizations. The local AJC chapter can spearhead efforts to make certain that there are appearances, in sufficient number, by those who are interested in legislative changes.

IX. Police Community Relations

1. Distribute and publicize widely AJC's new pamphlet, "The Police on the Urban Frontier" by Judge George Edwards and arrange for its use for police community-relations training programs and as a basis for programs which create Negro and liberal citizen support for fair and effective professionalized law enforcement. Such programs are outlined in the pamphlet. They were also discussed in AJC's earlier memorandum on "Help Shape a Safer City," copies of which are available at AJC.

2. Marshal public support for bringing Negro police officers into positions of authority (as was recently done in Newark). Such a step, it has been shown, can go far to dissipate ghetto tensions and distrust.

3. Advocate the creation of ghetto youth auxiliary police patrols in a program similar to the experiment presently being carried out in New York City. Details are available on the organization and purpose of this youth patrol.

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4. Urge the opening of storefront police stations. Such stations achieve positive visibility for police officials and new roles for the police in ghetto life. The storefront can serve not only as a decentralized crime prevention apparatus, but also as a complaint bureau. In this way, the police function is merged with the community relations function, augmenting the effectiveness of both.

5. Work for passage of gun registration legislation, both on a federal and local level. New York City recently enacted a law which can serve as a model bill.

X. Employment and Business Opportunities

1. Organize meetings of Jewish business leaders to spur jobs and training for hard-core unemployed and teenagers. We should also work with the National Alliance of Businessmen which has pledged to provide 100,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed by 1969 and further to provide 200,000 summer jobs for disadvantaged youths. Metropolitan Directors have been appointed in each of fifty major cities. It is the responsibility of the Metro Directors to get pledges from industry as to the number of hard-core unemployed and youth that these companies will employ. AJC should bring together its membership, particularly those who are employers, and ask the Metropolitan Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen to explain the program and to suggest ways whereby AJC can be of assistance. The members of AJC who are employers should make pledges under the NAB to hire the hard-core unemployed and youth for this summer. The local Manager of the Association of Commerce Office in any community can provide the name of the Metro Chairman for the National Alliance of Businessmen.

2. Urge Jewish businessmen to make a portion of their purchases from Negro-Puerto Rican or Mexican-American small businessmen. Jewish businessmen can serve as consultants to aid minority small businessmen through support for the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and Small Business Development Programs.

3. Check the municipal machinery for enforcing non-discrimination in employment. In this connection, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City has just signed an executive order putting an Equal Employment Opportunity Contract Compliance Program into effect. The program, developed by our race relations coordinator as a consultant to the Potomac Institute, was termed by Lindsay "the strongest measure taken by any government -- federal, state or local -- to assure jobs and job opportunities for members of minority groups with private companies bidding for and signing contracts with the city."

The executive order goes beyond the non-discrimination principle and calls upon all contractors and vendors to comply affirmatively with the equal opportunity laws in training, hiring, and promoting minority workers. Copies of the executive order and the Mayor's press release are being sent to each area director. Additional copies are available at AJC. This program can strengthen the fair employment program in any city, particularly those which have model cities programs.

4. Propose to Jewish businessmen in the ghettos to become more actively involved in the Negro community. For those businessmen wishing to leave the ghetto arrange for government and private financing which would enable Negroes to purchase white-owned businesses and permit the former owner to serve as trainer of the Negro businessman.

5. Explore with the Jewish Federation the possibility of establishing a special Martin Luther King Memorial Fund which would allow the Federation to fund important urban projects.

XI. Mass Media

1. Urge meetings between chapters and media people in their area in an effort to get more Negroes and other minority people into editorial jobs in newspapers and in important positions in the other media. Chapters should also press the media to report Negro life in other than tension situations.

2. Develop contact with the local Negro press and provide articles dealing with AJC activity in urban affairs. Personal relations with the publishers or editors of such papers can be most useful. We should also be sure to contact the local Anglo-Jewish press to insure sympathetic coverage of urban problems.

XII. Recreation and Day Care Facilities

1. Review the recreation facilities in the central city. Answers should be obtained to the following questions:

a) Is there a sufficient number of swimming pools to service the area?

b) Are there tennis courts, basketball courts and playgrounds that are open evenings, with proper lighting, supervision, etc.?

c) Would the area benefit by having additional "tot lots" -- (playgrounds for smaller children)?

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d) Will the school playgrounds be open during the summer months? In many cities these are closed up and are not available to the young people in the Central City.

e) Are there facilities available for young people to meet in the evenings for social gatherings?

f) Can some of the shopping centers, located in the Central City turn over their parking lots for playground purposes, after the Center is closed so that there can be supervised play for young people?

g) Is there a Little League in the Central City? A local AJC chapter can get its members to sponsor additional teams.

h) Are there enough parks to service the Central playground area?

2. Jewish Federations and other Jewish institutions often own land or buildings in or adjacent to ghetto areas which are not now being used and which can be of real value for recreational purposes. It has been suggested that these be leased or given to Negro organizations and that the Jewish agencies and federations develop ongoing programs with Negro groups. AJC could contact the proper persons in these Jewish agencies to help develop such a program.

3. Seek commitment from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish agencies for summer vacation spots for ghetto children. They should be encouraged to allocate a percentage of spaces in their summer programs, including day camps, country camps, and teen-age trip camps. Use should be made of suburban campus-like institutions (seminaries, private schools) for summer programming for ghetto children.

4. Day-Care Centers. Many Negro women are unable to work because there are not adequate Day-Care Centers available to them. The local AJC chapter can study the Day-Care Center needs and where necessary assist in developing plans to make available proper Day-Care Centers to minorities.

General

Each chapter should have a task force to meet weekly during the summer emergency to discuss assignments and report on progress. These can be as large as is needed to accomplish the specific purpose of each group.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THOUGHT STARTERS

FOR LOCAL ACTION BY THE

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE CHAPTERS

Thought Starter No. 1 - The Formation of a Local Urban Coalition

In August 1967, an Emergency Convocation was called in Washington, D. C. known as the Urban Coalition. Representatives of industry, labor, religious groups, civil rights groups and local government met in response to the urgent need for a concerted action in behalf of the nation's cities.

Subsequently an organization has been set up in Washington, D. C. to encourage the development of local coalitions so that there can be a coordinated effort to solve the community problems on a massive and unified basis. This will eliminate proliferation of effort, as many organizations are involved today with trying to solve these central city problems.

A local Urban Coalition is certainly an important answer to coordinate community effort. The AJC chapters should determine if there is in existence an overall coordinating organization. If not, an effort should be made to develop an Urban Coalition. Assistance can be obtained by contacting "The Urban Coalition, 1819 - 8th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., (Tel: Area Code 202 - 293-1530)".

Thought Starter No. 2 - Formation of Non-Profit Housing Corporations

In many communities, the business leadership is currently forming non-profit housing corporations to rehabilitate and build new homes within the Central City. Housing corporations, of this type, can receive the advantages of 3% interest money from the FHA, under Sec. 221-D-3.

The local AJC chapter should determine whether there is a local non-profit housing corporation in existence. If there is, support should be offered. If not, the local AJC chapter should spearhead the formation of a community-wide housing foundation program. Information as to how a housing corporation functions could be obtained by writing "Urban America, Washington, D. C."

Thought Starter No. 3 - Turnkey Programs

The FHA has developed a number of projects which are known as "Turnkey Projects". Under this method, a private developer builds a

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structure and turns it over to the City when completed. The local AJC chapter can determine from his local FHA Director whether projects of this type are being developed. If not, AJC can bring together some of the local builders to determine what steps can be taken to obtain FHA financing under the "Turnkey Programs."

Thought Starter No. 4 - Refurbishing Programs

There is a national organization known as "National Clean-up, Paint-up, Fix-up Bureau." This is a non-profit organization that will assist local communities in refurbishing the Central City areas. The local AJC chapter should determine whether a program of this type would be appropriate for their community. Further information can be obtained by writing the National Clean-up, Paint-up, Fix-up Bureau at 1500 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Thought Starter No. 5 - National Alliance of Businessmen

The National Alliance of Businessmen has just been organized. It is the function of this group to provide 100,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed by 1969 and further to provide 200,000 summer jobs for disadvantaged youths. Metropolitan Directors have been appointed in each of fifty major cities. It is the responsibility of the Metro Directors to get pledges from industry as to the number of hard-core unemployed and youth that these companies will employ. NAB would welcome participation by local AJC chapters.

It is suggested that AJC bring together its membership, particularly those who are employers, and ask the Metropolitan Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen to explain the program and to suggest ways whereby AJC can be of assistance. The members of AJC who are employers should make pledges under the NAB to hire the hard-core unemployed and youth for this summer. The local Manager of the Association of Commerce Office in any community can provide the name of the Metro Chairman for the National Alliance of Businessmen.

Thought Starter No. 6 - Insurance Coverage

Many of the residents of the Central City are unable to buy insurance on their homes. The local chapter of AJC might well appoint a committee to study this problem and try to bring about a change so that insurance becomes available.

Thought Starter No. 7 - Code Enforcement

In a number of cities, the codes are not adequately enforced against landlords. Necessary repairs and alterations are not made. A committee of the local chapter of AJC should make a study in the courts to see whether the code enforcement processes are effective. If not, efforts should be made to either strengthen the code enforcement ordinances or have stronger enforcement by the municipal authorities.

Thought Starter No. 8 - Model Cities Program

A number of cities have made application for a model city program. This encompasses the furnishing of many social services. The local chapter of AJC should determine whether a model city program has been submitted by the local city officials. If it has been, a review should be made as to how AJC can function in making the model city program more effective.

Thought Starter No. 9 - Relocation Facilities

With the development of expressways and the rebuilding of downtown areas, many Negroes, Puerto Ricans, etc., find themselves unable to obtain adequate housing. The relocation facilities of the community may be inadequate to meet this need. A determination should be made by the local chapter as to whether the facilities for relocation are adequate. If not, the local chapter of AJC should take the necessary steps to move in this direction.

Thought Starter No. 10 - Negro Businessmen

There is a need to develop Negro entrepreneurs. There are numerous programs which have been designed to provide loans for Negroes who wish to go into their own businesses. The Department of Commerce is very interested in this program. The local AJC chapter should determine whether there is an on-going program that meets the need of the community in finding and counselling Negroes who wish to go into their businesses. The local AJC chapter can provide the counselling services that are needed to insure success in this area.

Thought Starter No. 11 - Shopping Centers in the Central City

There is need to determine whether the retail facilities are adequate in the Central City. There are some instances where shopping centers are being developed which will house Negro shopkeepers. Some of them have franchises as tenants. It should be determined by the local AJC chapter whether it will be feasible to encourage the building of a shopping center of this type.

Thought Starter No. 12 - Formation of Opportunities Industrial Centers

In a number of communities, there are branches of OIC. This is a self-help job training program for Negroes and others who wish to join it. This program was launched by Reverend Sullivan in Philadelphia, Pa. A local AJC chapter should determine whether there is a local branch of OIC. If not, contact should be made with Reverend Sullivan of OIC in Philadelphia. If there is a local OIC organization, a local chapter of AJC should determine how it can be helpful in supporting the local chapter of OIC.

(over)

Thought Starter No. 13 - Education

The local AJC chapter can well involve itself with the solution of a number of our educational problems, particularly at the high school and vocational school level. Many communities have undertaken studies of their school systems. . . reports have been issued. . . but the implementation has not always been forthcoming. The local AJC chapter might well spearhead the formation of a blue ribbon committee to improve the quality of the educational programs in the Central City schools, many of which are predominantly and exclusively Negro.

In the vocational school area, the local chapter needs to be certain that the training which is provided, is geared to meet the needs of industry. Many vocational schools have Advisory Boards made up of representatives of industry. The local chapter of AJC should review the Advisory membership and offer assistance by making its members available to the local vocational school board.

Thought Starter No. 14 - Vocational

The local AJC chapter may well determine whether the facilities of the vocational schools, trade-schools, etc., are being made available to members of minority groups. Quite often these schools are not readily accessible to the Negro and Puerto Rican community. It might be necessary to set up a branch of the vocational school in an area that is adjacent to where the members of minority groups live.

Thought Starter No. 15 - Clubs in Central City

The local AJC chapter can make a quick study to determine whether there are branches of young people's organizations, such as Junior Achievement, Boys' Clubs, etc., that are functioning in the Central City. If not, arrangements should be undertaken to make these facilities available to the residents of the Central City.

Thought Starter No. 16 - Recreational Facilities

The local AJC chapter should review the recreation facilities in the Central City. Answers should be obtained to the following questions:

1) Are there a sufficient number of swimming pools to service the area?

2) Are there tennis courts, basketball courts and playgrounds that are open evenings, with proper lighting, supervision, etc.?

3) Would the area benefit by having additional "tot lots" -- (playgrounds for smaller children)?

4) Will the school playgrounds be open during the summer months? In many cities these are closed up and are not available to the young people in the Central City.

5) Are there facilities available for young people to meet in the evenings for social gatherings?

6) Can some of the shopping centers, located in the Central City turn over their parking lots for playground purposes, after the Center is closed so that there can be supervised play for young people?

7) Is there a Little League in the Central City? A local AJC chapter can get its members to sponsor additional teams.

8) Are there enough parks to service the Central playground area?

Thought Starter No. 17 - Cultural Facilities

A review should be made of the cultural facilities in the Central City that are available to minority groups. The local chapter of AJC should make certain that facilities are available for young people -- for those who are interested in art, music, the dance and creative writing.

Thought Starter No. 18 - War Against Prejudice

If we are to be successful in our work as it relates to minority groups, we must engage in a program of educating those who are part of the majority white race. We must, in effect, declare a War Against Prejudice throughout the country. Here's where AJC has expertise in changing attitudes of people as they affect minorities. Local AJC chapters can well embark on a number of programs to change the attitudes of our members, first of all toward Negroes and then move on to the general community as well. We have to make certain that our own membership is free from prejudice against the Negro and Puerto Ricans, etc. The National Office of AJC should provide programs to the local chapters in this direction.

Thought Starter No. 19 - Industrial Plants in the Central City

There is a great need to develop industry in the Central City so that jobs will be made available to the residents of that area. The local AJC chapter can assist in trying to interest businessmen of the community to open up plants within the Central City to provide jobs for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, etc.

Many companies have moved their plants to the suburban areas and transportation to new jobs is practically unavailable to those who live in the Central City. The local AJC chapter could concern itself with changing transportation facilities to more readily enable the minority groups to get to the jobs in the suburbs.

Thought Starter No. 20 - Summer Jobs for Youth

Vice President Humphrey has urged the citizenry to hire young people during the summer months. The local AJC chapter should

(over)

interest itself in determining how its membership can provide summer jobs for young people.

Thought Starter No. 21 - Police Department Relationships

The local AJC chapter might well concern itself with the relationship between the Police Department and the Negro community. Very often there have been hard lines drawn with resentment and suspicion on the part of the Negro community against the police. Many communities are providing facilities for better understanding between Negroes and the Police Department. Courses in Human Relations are provided to the Police Department, etc. The local AJC chapter can make available to the local Police Department materials that will enable the trainers in the Police Department to include courses in Human Relations, etc.

Thought Starter No. 22 - Legislative Assistance

During periods when the State Legislature is in session, there are many bills that appear before the Legislature in connection with housing, code enforcements, garnishment, etc. The local AJC chapter should be encouraged to appoint a committee to keep abreast of legislation affecting the Central City. Oftentimes these bills die in the legislature because of the lack of active participation by interested organizations. The local AJC chapter can spearhead efforts to make certain that there are appearances, in sufficient number, by those who are interested in legislative changes.

Thought Starter No. 23 - Day-Care Centers

Many Negro women are unable to work because there are not adequate Day-Care Centers available to them. The local AJC chapter can study the Day-Care Center needs and where necessary assist in developing plans to make available proper Day-Care Centers to minorities.

Prepared by:

Elmer L. Winter,
National Vice President
American Jewish Committee

3/27/68

See A. Jewish Ctte

May 23, 1968

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Nate:

While I am somewhat disappointed that AJC will not co-sponsor the Sherrill article in the forthcoming New South, I nevertheless understand, I believe, the thinking behind this. Otherwise, I agree completely with the thoughts in your letter and on the sharing of the costs encountered and the commitments made.

I do hope we can soon get Reese Cleghorn's manuscript, and while I will speak to him about it, I assume Charles is pushing this formally.

Your question about the return of the $4,000 confuses me. Certainly, it is available to be

returned should you wish it. However, would it not be simpler bookkeeping for both of us to consider this a part of the funds toward your 50% share of the costs? If we do this, when the final costs are computed we will take AJC's share from that $4,000 and return the balance, if any, as I would think there would be. At your convenience, let me know which way you would prefer handling this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Charles Wittenstein
Milton Ellerin

file
Amer. Jewish Committee

You are cordially invited to attend the
Sixty-Second Annual Meeting Dinner
of the
American Jewish Committee
in honor of
Morris B. Abram
in the
Imperial Ballroom, The Americana Hotel
New York City
Thursday evening, May twenty-third
Nineteen hundred and sixty-eight
six-thirty o'clock

R.S.V.P. Dress Optional

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Atlanta Chapter

Hartford Building, Suite 526 — 100 Edgewood Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta, Georgia 30303 • 523-8451

May 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is Reese Cleghorn's manuscript on, "The South and White-Collar Radicalism of the Right", which has been prepared for our joint publication.

I have read it and think it is good. My National staff will probably not get to it until after our Annual Meeting which is now in progress and the staff meeting which follows it. I think you probably will hear from us further during the first half of June.

Cordially,

Charles

CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
Southeast Area Director

CFW:ru
Encl.
cc: Pat Watters

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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file

May 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note of May 21st. Of course, we will be delighted to send along the Checklist and Thought Starters to your state and local Councils on Human Relations, and will give them permission to use them as they care to.

It's amazing how the demand for the Kerner Report Summary continues to grow. We have already distributed 700,000, and a new printing is being prepared which undoubtedly will bring it over one million.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

HF:eak

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Same letter was sent to all Executive Directors of State Human Relations Councils

May 28, 1968

Mr. John P. Murray, Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
3505 South Main Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Mr. Murray:

At the request of Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, we are sending you the enclosed Checklist of Program Proposals for AJC Emergency Task Forces and Thought Starters for Local Action by the American Jewish Committee Chapters dealing with the "Crisis in Our Cities," and our first Progress Report.

While these were prepared initially for use by AJC members and chapters, please feel free to utilize any of the material in them or reproduce them for your local chapters, if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

HF:eak
encl.
cc: Paul Anthony

June 17, 1968

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Associate Director
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

file

Dear Nate:

We are in agreement as I knew we would be.

I have read Reese Cleghorn's manuscript and like it. However, neither Pat Watters nor Bob Anderson have read it and I would like to get their reactions as soon as they can give them. I do hope we can move this one along very rapidly, and look forward to publication.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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62nd ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 23-26, AMERICANA HOTEL, N.Y.C.

June 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Now that our Annual Meeting and subsequent staff conferences are a thing of the past, I want to respond to your May 23rd letter and quickly clear up a misunderstanding.

It was never our intent to do other than that which you suggested, i.e. a complete sharing of the project's total costs. Such confusion as does exist apparently stems from your reading of my May 9th letter in which I suggested a return on rather than a return of our $4,000 investment.

I assume by now you have read Reese Cleghorn's manuscript as we have here, and your reaction has been as favorable as was ours. Certainly, we would want to go ahead and jointly publish and release it, possibly in pamphlet form, in connection with our Executive Board meeting in Atlanta the latter part of October. Again, of course, if this meets with your approval. We would jointly share the burden of Reese's fee and publication costs.

To reiterate and to clarify our position on the entire project, we would, as you suggest, add up the total costs of the entire project, split them down the middle, and then accept whatever is left on our $4,000 investment.

With all best wishes,

Cordially,

Nate

Nathan Perlmutter
Associate Director

NP:MRG
cc Charles Wittenstein
Milton Ellerin

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July 3, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Unfortunately, after our conversation this morning we discovered that the staff member who has the copy of the Cleghorn manuscript on which his few and minor changes were noted, has taken it out of the office, and we therefore cannot forward them to you, as promised, this afternoon. I hope to be able to send them on to you by Monday. Milton Ellerin assures me, however, that the corrections are matters of commas and tenses, for the most part, and that there is no reason to hold anything up on their account.

As we discussed, our hope would be -- if your staff is equally satisfied with the manuscript -- to have this off the press, as a pamphlet jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, early in October, for official release at the time of our Executive Board Meeting in Atlanta toward the end of October. Reese Cleghorn has agreed to reexamine the manuscript, preferably in galley, when he returns from Russia in August, with an eye to any updating that may be necessary at that time. It was also felt that a brief introduction, co-signed by the American Jewish Committee and the Southern Regional Council, might be prepared shortly before press time to focus the timeliness of the manuscript, and tie it to pertinent events of the summer.

As we agreed this morning, a format similar to <u>The Continuing Crisis</u> would probably be most appropriate. Reese Cleghorn suggested that it might be useful to break up the running copy with a few subheads, which can be done either before the manuscript is set in type, or after he has read the galley and before it is paged.

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Mr. Paul Anthony July 3, 1968

Milton Ellerin will be on vacation for the next several weeks, but should any questions arise, either as to content or format, I shall be glad to take them up here. I suggest that final decisions as to the size of the printing run and the price to be set on the pamphlet be made after the galleys have been reviewed.

It was nice talking with you this morning and I hope to be in touch again soon.

Sincerely,

Sonya F. Kaufer

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SFK:f

file

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 8, 1968

to Sonya Kaufer

from Marc Tanenbaum

subject Reese Cleghorn Paper

Thank you for letting me read Mr. Cleghorn's paper on "The South and White-Collar Radicalism of the Right."

In light of my work with Catholic and Protestant groups nationally as well as in the South, you and Selma Hirsh have asked me to react especially to that section dealing with the relationship of religion to the radical right in the South. Following are my first impressions:

1. While I believe that his characterization of the theology and sociology of "fundamentalism" and the radical right" is in the main accurate and valid, I believe that he does not do justice in terms of balance and precision to several other features of this problem. By this I mean: ~~as follows~~:

   a. A balanced presentation of present realities of the role of southern Protestant institutions and leadership would require that greater weight be given to the renewal that is taking place in the major "conservative" Protestant denominational bodies such as the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (commonly called Southern Presbyterian), the Southern Baptists and the Southern wing of the Methodist Church. I have been meeting with the leaders in these three denominations, which are among the largest in the south, and it is very clear that they are making a major effort to develop a cooperate social ethic. This is more than a theoretical enterprise. They are investing several millions of dollars in programs throughout the south designed to reflect their moral and religious commitment to deal with the urban and rural problems, anti-poverty, etc. Each of these groups for example is a member of Operation Connection, IFCO, and related militant activist programs.

The point is that, first, it is essential to make some distinction to the effect that there is a broad range of social, political and economic positions to be found today in Southern Protestantism which ranges from conservative to fundamentalism. More weight needs to be given to these developments than the text presently does.

For evidence that supports this point, I would suggest that Mr. Cleghorn glance through recent issues of such publications as SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSIONS, PRESBYTERIAN LIFE, each issue of which contains articles that could easily have appeared in any other mainline Protestant publication that deals with the urban crisis, poverty, etc.

2. A distinction could properly be made between this advanced leadership in the southern conservative Protestant denominations and the membership in the pews. That gap between the generals and the infantry that refuses to follow their lead is an essential part of the crisis of conservative Protestantism in the South. (At the same time, there are similar parallels to be found in the tensions between church leadership and membership in the North as well.)

3. Some distinctions need to be made between attitudes and practices of Catholic churches in the South and those of southern Protestant denominations. My readings and experience leads me to feel that Anglo-Saxon racism is more widespread and manifest in Southern Protestant culture than it is in Catholic societies which have originated in France and Spanish cultural traditions which have been more open to "mestizo" patterns of interracial relations than has been true of the Anglo-Saxon influences.

4. It seems to me somewhat odd that no reference is made to those fundamentalist preachers who have strategically used religious anti-Semitism as well as racism as their usual bag of tricks.

See p. 42 - Jewish synagogues vs Christian and Jewish houses of worship.

MHT:as

CC: S. Hirsh
N. Perlmutter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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July 11, 1968

Dear Paul:

I am very glad I reached you before you took off -- if only to keep my credit good. As I promised, I am attaching a xerox of Marc Tanenbaum's comments on Reese Cleghorn's manuscript, for you to share with Reese when he gets back from Russia and is ready to take a fresh look at what he has written.

Rabbi Tanenbaum has been deeply involved in recent tri-faith efforts to come to grips with race prejudice and urban problems. As you will note from his comments, he is concerned lest the positive steps that a number of Southern churches have taken get lost in Reese's rather sweeping -- and largely deserved -- condemnations. My guess is that once this is called to his attention, Reese will himself want to add the extra sentence or two required to put the issue into its proper balance. If there is any difference of opinion on this, I will be glad to put him in touch with Marc Tanenbaum so that they may discuss it directly.

I know that Milton Ellerin and the others who are very much interested in this project of ours will be glad to hear that Reese Cleghorn has agreed to add a brief analysis of the election, insofar as it relates to the material in his manuscript, <u>immediately</u> after the elections are over (with the understanding, of course, that if we are all agreed that there is nothing further to be said, he won't say it). The fact that he is as convinced as we are that all of the material would be quite worthless if it were held up beyond the necessary delay imposed by our tax exemptions, is most reassuring. We are naturally somewhat concerned about how quickly Reese will come through with his analysis, in light of the many months that elapsed before we received the original manuscript. I think your plan to have a completed galley in October, to which Reese can append -- either as

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a separate epilogue, or as added comments dotted throughout the manuscript -- the updating indicated by the election returns, is an excellent one. If it works out as promised, we should have finished pamphlets off the press by the end of November, representing a most timely combination of background and analysis.

When the galleys are available and we have some way of estimating length and production costs, we will be able to tell you how many copies we will need. Do let me know if there is any other information you need from me in the meantime.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Sonya

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SFK:RGB
Enc.

September 12, 1968

Mrs. Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sonya:

I have, today, asked our editor to make a final check with Reese Cleghorn and thereafter to get the manuscript to the printer.

Glad to know the vacation was a good one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

September 10, 1968

Dear Paul:

Now that I have returned to my desk after a long and pleasant vacation, the plans we made last July for the Reese Cleghorn pamphlet no longer seem so far away. This is just a note to check on whether the decision to go into galley and have Reese make his post-election amendments, either as a separate epilogue or as added comments dotted throughout the manuscript, still holds. If so, I assume we should be seeing galleys within the next few weeks.

It may well be that the observations on the outcome of the Wallace candidacy will turn out to be the most important part of the pamphlet. If so, just think how wise we will have been, back in July.

Do let me know where things now stand. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Sonya

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Bring up Oct. 15, 1968

September 20, 1968

Mr. Max M. Fisher, Chairman
National Executive Board
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Fisher:

Thank you for your gracious invitation to be with you on the evening of October 26th. I accept with gratitude.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Biography 15

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

September 17, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The American Jewish Committee will hold its National Executive Board Meeting in Atlanta during the weekend of October 25 - 27, at the Regency Hyatt House.

Our Annual Executive Board Dinner on Saturday, October 26, is the highlight of our weekend sessions and this year should be an especially exciting evening since it will feature the Presidential Address by our newly elected President, Arthur J. Goldberg.

My colleagues, the officers of the American Jewish Committee, and I, personally, would be honored to have you join us as our guest on this occasion. The pre-dinner reception for our guests of honor is scheduled for 6:30 P.M. in the Phoenix Ballroom of the Regency Hyatt. Black tie will be in order for the members of the dais, where a seat is being held for you.

Note

I very much hope you will find it possible to be with us. I look forward to hearing from you and to greeting you on the evening of October 26.

Cordially,

Max M. Fisher

Max M. Fisher, Chairman
National Executive Board

MF:hr

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, President

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000

Enclosed herewith are your tickets (s) for the Executive Board Dinner of the American Jewish Committee, October 26th at the Regency Hyatt House, 265 Peachtree St., N.E., Atlanta Georgia.

Looking forward to greeting you, I am

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) Norma Kaufman

nk

Note: Paul You're the Dias Guest on Oct 26 at AJC dinner too! 6:30 Regency Phoenix Ballroom

October 15, 1968

Mr. DeJongh Franklin
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear DeJongh:

Thank you very much for the invitation to attend the luncheon on Sunday, October 27th. I shall be more than pleased to be with you, and to share in this deserved honor for Morris.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

October 10, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The American Jewish Committee is holding its National Executive Board meeting here in Atlanta during the weekend of October 25th - 27th.

I hope you will be our guest at the luncheon session, Sunday, October 27th which will honor Morris B. Abram and feature a major presentation by him. Morris just recently became Honorary President of AJC in recognition of his years of dynamic leadership and, as we all know, was installed as President of Brandeis University earlier this month.

My colleagues, the officers of the American Jewish Committee, and Morris especially, would be greatly honored by your presence on this occasion and we look forward to hearing from you that it will be possible for you to be with us.

The luncheon will begin at 12:30 P.M. in the Phoenix Ballroom of the Regency Hyatt House.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

DeJongh

DeJongh Franklin
National Vice-President

DF:hr

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MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

"BRIDGING THE PREJUDICE GAP"

By Katherine Davis Fishman

It isn't enough, this article maintains, to expect that well brought up white children automatically acquire wholesome, non-prejudiced attitudes toward Negroes (one could infer other "out groups" as well) from their parents and teachers. "Suggestions of the experts," says the author, "point to a need for self-examination, honesty and information /to/ make the road to understanding between white and Negro somewhat smoother."

In brief, certain more direct approaches are indicated. You may, perhaps, not endorse all the suggestions of the persons consulted by the author; they are, nevertheless, informative and worthy of consideration.

Reprinted from the New York Times Magazine, copies are available at 10¢ each, with a 50% discount for quanities of 100 and over. Distribution is recommended to parents organizations, teachers, and other workers with children and youth.

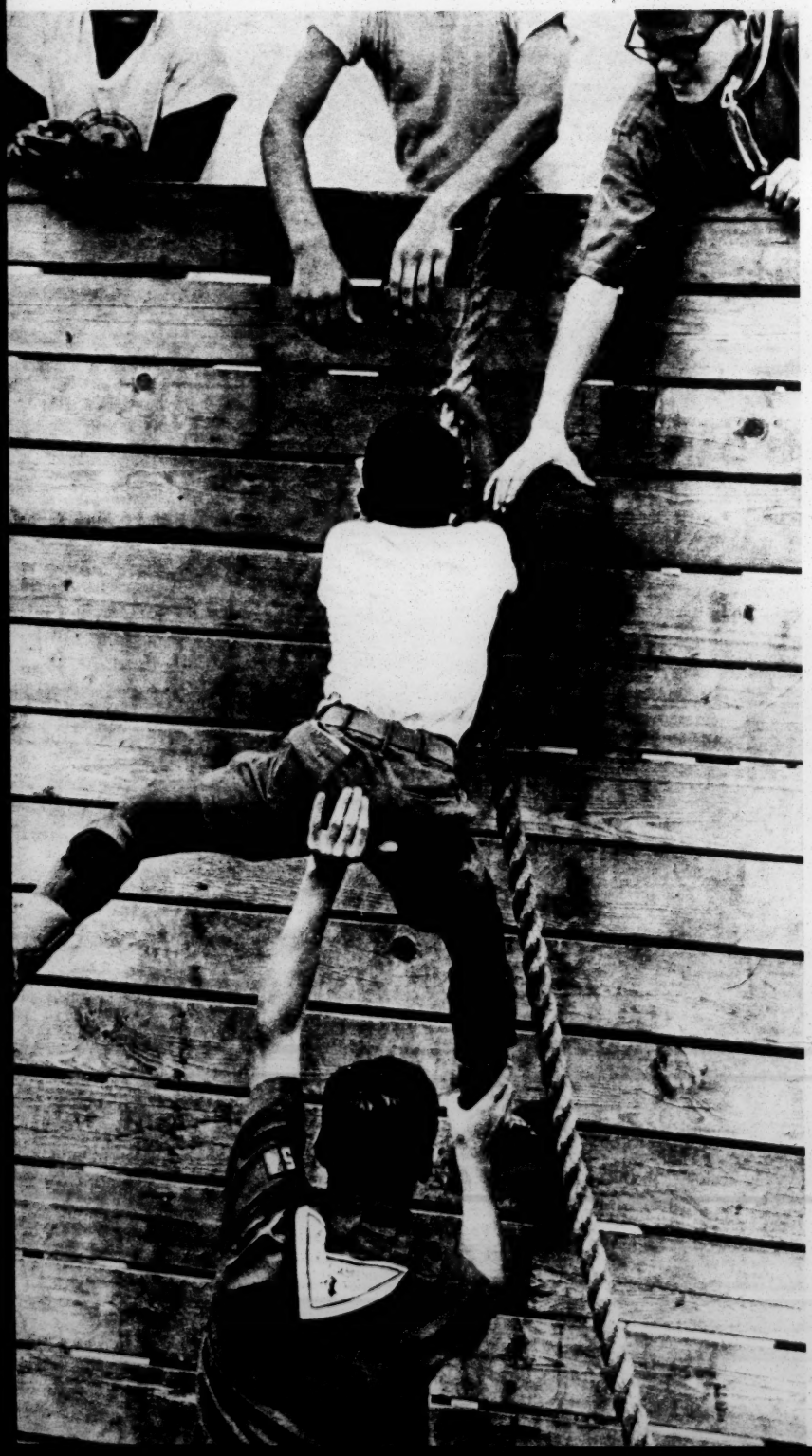
Isaiah Terman

March 15, 1967
1f2m3a-iLD
Encl.

See Amer. Jewish Office

Bridging The Prejudice Gap

By KATHARINE DAVIS FISHMAN



"MISS JONES, do I have to hold hands with that black boy?"

"Mommy, how come all the kids in the dumb class are Negro and Puerto Rican?"

"No one can escape all contamination of racism in an essentially racist society," says Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology at City College and the first Negro member of New York State's Board of Regents. "So-called liberals must face up to their own ambivalence and learn to fight it."

A public school on Manhattan's West Side enrolls many white students from comfortable families who could well afford the price of a private education; the parents, presumably, have opted for public schooling out of the best liberal sentiments. Recently, a well-dressed white mother voiced this complaint to the school's guidance counselor: "It seems as if all my child's friends are Negro and Puerto Rican. Why does he have such a low opinion of himself?"

In sophisticated Northern society, condemning racial prejudice is like coming out against sin. Many Northern parents, told when they were 5 years old that "we're all the same inside," quote Rodgers and Hammerstein's old slogan, "you've got to be taught to hate and fear," to show that their children will grow up untainted by bigotry. But when a Negro talks frankly about the subtler brand of Northern prejudice, it cuts deeply into white complacency. Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman of the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, says the old humanitarian clichés are not only inadequate but often further racial misunderstanding. "'We're all the same inside,'" she observes, "implies that there is

66Prejudice is visceral, not intellectual, and no expert can propose a magic formula to do away with it.99

In integrated schools, most youngsters are sophisticated —and unconcerned—about the racial facts of life.

something wrong with Negroes outside. 'I'm color-blind' is condescending and dishonest."

PREPARING one's children to live in a progressively more integrated world requires soul-searching. In "How to Bring Up Your Child Without Prejudice," a pamphlet published by Public Affairs Pamphlets, Mrs. Margaret Young writes: "The first step for any parent who would bring up his child without prejudice is to examine his own feelings about people who are different. Sometimes this self-appraisal is the most difficult step if the readjustment threatens an old comfortable pattern of living." Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist on the staff of the Harvard University Health Services who spent five years studying the effects of school desegregation on Southern children, notes that "there is a definite relation between prejudice and the rigidity of parents' general attitudes toward strangers and toward differences in race, income, habits and customs."

The preferred answer to a small child's first questions about race begins, "All kinds of pretty flowers grow," and goes on to explain that Negroes, like white people, come in a variety of shades. But just knowing the proper responses to 10 common questions is not a foolproof method for raising children without prejudice.

PSYCHOLOGISTS seem to agree that children first notice racial differences at about age 4, while 5- and 6-year-olds understand that these differences affect status. "I don't believe in indoctrination of 2- and 3-year-olds," Dr. Clark says. "With race, as with sex, premature discussion tends to block communication. The average child will make it clear to sensitive parents—by his questions, his statements and his actions — that he is ready to learn. When this time comes, you must respect the child's curiosity by being perfectly forthright. Tell him that discrimination exists and is wrong, and that we must all work to change it. If a Negro child has abused your child, you get angry just as if he were white. On the other hand, you direct your anger at the individual, not his race. When a dispute does have ugly racial implications, it's time again to be honest about the problems of discrimination."

News of civil-rights marches, trials and even of racial violence should be included in this frank discussion, Mrs. Young advises. Parents should point out that demonstration is an honorable means of protest. They might then tell their children that the policemen who mistreat demonstrators are prejudiced, but many other policemen are helpful to all races; and that "the people who riot, breaking the windows and looting, are wrong. . . . Grown-ups, like children, don't think clearly when they are hot, tired or hungry. . . ."

While most white parents accept the truism that bigotry stems from ignorance, few are well-informed about Negroes. When a child asks why the sky is blue or what makes rain, dutiful mothers pull down the encyclopedia, but a question about Negro life usually elicits a simple "I don't know." Both Mrs. Young and Mrs. Hedgeman feel that this hesitancy nourishes prejudice and urge that white parents read more books by and about Negroes.

Often, the first Negro a white child gets to know is the family's maid, and the way she is treated has a strong effect on the child's attitude. "This is the age of the working mother," says Mrs. Alaine Krim, a psychiatric social worker at the Child Study Association. "She might explain that household help makes an important contribution to the family, freeing the mother to go on with her job and spend time with her children." Dr. Clark, however, warns against go-

ing overboard: "I certainly wouldn't invite the maid to join the family at dinner, just to show how democratic I was."

The maid or cleaning woman is frequently not just the first but the only Negro a child gets to know. One parent reports riding with her son in their apartment house elevator, in company with a well-dressed Negro woman. After the woman had left, the boy observed, "Someone on the seventh floor has a new maid." Dr. Clark puts it squarely: "White parents have got to work very hard to show their children that difference in race doesn't mean difference in ability. Of course, when a child asks why most maids are Negro, you should explain about job discrimination. But it's even more important to widen your social sphere to include Negroes in the professions, the arts, or business. Inevitably, I suppose, your first attempts to find Negro friends may be slightly forced. But you should genuinely like the Negro families you befriend. No Negro wants to be anybody's test case and besides, children can always spot a phony situation."

DESIRABLE as a mixed circle of friends may be, the question, "How do you meet Negroes?" seems to stump the experts. Even when children attend integrated schools, the chances of encountering Negroes from a variety of backgrounds are slim. "There are the rich white kids from the co-ops on Central Park West," observes one parent whose child goes to public school, "and the poor Negro and Puerto Rican kids from the brownstones on the side streets. Upper-middle-class Negroes seem to send their children to private school or move out of town."

The racial situation is certainly considered, either directly or obliquely, by parents choosing a school for their children. The common complaint, "I'm not going to sacrifice my child's education for noble principles" conjures up pictures of jaded teachers manning old buildings with peeling plaster and rank smells for hordes of ineducable pupils. Certainly in the districts where white parents who can afford to choose are likely to live, however, this picture is unrealistic. P.S. 87, for example, an elementary school housed in a cheerful 11-year-old building on 78th Street and Amsterdam Avenue has a yearly magazine which has won many Columbia Scholastic Press Awards, an annual art show, and several choral groups. The ethnic composition of its 989-student population is listed as "31 per cent Puerto Rican and other bilingual children, 14 per cent Negro children, and 55 per cent other children." A Human Relations Committee, composed of faculty volunteers, concerns itself with intergroup problems. A story told at a recent meeting shows that 87's children know the racial facts of life. Two Negro and two Puerto Rican children were picked for some innocuous reasons, to lead an assembly. When a teacher asked the student body why they had been chosen, a little girl swiftly answered, "Because they're underprivileged."

"We reorganized the lower grades to avoid clustering of groups," says Arthur Block, the principal. "We want the classes to reflect our actual ethnic composition, but we must also balance this somewhat with achievement levels. We've found the mixing doesn't interfere with the education of either bright or slow students —it simply requires more individual attention. We do have grouping by ability in the fourth and fifth grades, and the intellectually gifted classes are predominantly white English-speaking. But I think we need to re-evaluate the standards by which we judge students' performance. Many children who don't read quickly have lively, imaginative minds Our mixed classes are more spirited than the old homogeneous groups. Recently, I was asked if our problem children were mostly from minorities, and we studied our records. The problem group came out 55 per cent white English-speaking, 31 per cent bilingual, and 14 per cent Negro, just like the school."

THE private-school attitude toward Negroes ranges from vague benevolence to serious efforts to provide a realistically mixed student body; formal segregation has certainly gone out of fashion. Trinity School, founded as a charitable enterprise, has had Negro students since 1956. "Before that," says Richard Garten, the headmaster, "none applied." The present nonwhite population of Trinity is 16, 10 Negroes and six Orientals, out of a total of 485 boys; some are on scholarship and others pay full tuition. "We took one Negro student last year," said Mr. Garten, "on a 'challenge' basis, admitting him without the usual testing requirement. We are anxious to have more Negroes, and hope they will apply."

MR. GARTEN reports no racial problems at Trinity. The president of the school's social fraternity last year was Negro. It is, we assume, relatively easy to absorb 10 Negroes and six Orientals into a student body of 485. Downtown Community School, on the other hand, is 25 per cent Negro and its awareness of the subtleties of prejudice parallels that of P.S. 87. Norman Studer, the director, explains: "We were founded 20 years ago as an intercultural school, but we've had large Negro representation only in the past 10 years. The Negro revolution made our Negro parents more active and articulate about school problems. When integration is just tokenism, these problems are purely theoretical. We try to find Negro and white children from all classes and backgrounds. Integration involves the daily

life of children in the classroom, their parents' attitudes and efforts to break across race lines, and of course, curriculum study. When feasible, there has been social mixing. Many of our Negro students live far away, which makes it difficult for the younger children." Mr. Studer, like Mr. Block of P.S. 87 questions ability grouping: "I'm dead opposed to competitive intellectualism. Some kinds of intelligence don't show up on tests."

Elementary school children seem to adjust rather well to differences in background. Adolescence, however, and dating give rise to new problems. In her pamphlet, Mrs. Young quotes a Negro teen-ager: "Donna and I were real good friends all through elementary school, but when we got to high school, something happened. I don't get invited to her parties now that she has boy-girl parties. And we don't call each other any more." Parents are likely to get emotional when boys and girls start liking each other even when they are of the same race, and many mothers and fathers are terrified by the thought of interracial dating.

Mrs. Krim, Dr. Coles and Dr. Clark suggest discussing your fears frankly with your child. Dr. Coles says, "It's not horribly racist to admit you're troubled, as long as you respect the child's ideas as those of a different generation. We must come to terms with our children, who see a different world than we did."

DR. COLES is optimistic that these difficulties will one day be resolved. "More and more interracial dating will occur as time passes, and will progressively bother parents less and less. They will feel that it is a logical part of white America's getting involved not only with the Negro but with the whole world. The barrier will be lowered as children go out with people their parents know and like. It may take a hundred years, but it will happen."

In this hundred years there are no easy answers to any of the problems that arise as our society becomes more interracial. Prejudice is visceral, not intellectual, and no expert in child care or civil rights or both can propose a magic formula to do away with it. But the suggestions of the experts do point to a need for self-examination, honesty and information which must make the road to understanding between white and Negro somewhat smoother.

Reprinted with permission from

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

OCTOBER 23, 1966

For additional copies, write to
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1950
Southern Regional Council

Larry Koch

May 2, 1950

Manheim S. Shapiro

I received the memorandum in which you indicate that you are about to enter Atlanta and try to stir things up a little and my best wishes go with you.

George Mitchell was here yesterday and spoke about Southern conditions and the Southern Regional Council to a group of staff members. I was also able to have some private conversation with Dr. Mitchell.

He indicated his pleasure at the fine financial contribution our Atlanta group had made as a result of his meeting with them. He also expressed the desire to have some of these people participate in the work of the Southern Regional Council. He is apparently thinking of this pretty much along the lines which we discussed when you were here. He is also hopeful that you will be able to cooperate with him in suggesting the names of people both in and out of Atlanta who might be interested in the work of the Council and in whose activation might be of assistance. I informed Dr. Mitchell that you would probably be in touch with him.

Best regards to yourself and Mollie.

MSS/fbf

cc: Isaiah Terman, Nate Weisman, George Mitchell

AJC

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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June 1, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

My thanks for the copies of the Greenville self-survey report. Not only will I read it eagerly, but I shall also see to it that some of the other people here get the chance to read the survey.

I expect to be in Atlanta briefly the early part of next week and will telephone.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Manheim S. Shapiro

Manheim S. Shapiro
Community Relations Consultant

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MSS:gk

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JUN 5 1950
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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES LOUIS CAPLAN, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
405 The Employers Insurance Bldg.
Young and Ankard Streets
Dallas, Texas

DANIEL LICHTENBERG
Regional Director

March 19, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

As Milton Kulick may have informed you, I am lining up something for you in Houston to be coordinated I hope with a similar meeting in Dallas at the same time.

I will keep you posted.

Sincerely,

Dan

Daniel Lichtenberg

DL:im

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MAR 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

3/29 - Thanked for letter - Said GM out of town -BR

Copy to Kalish 3/30

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES LOUIS CAPLAN, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

RECEIVED MAR 28 1951 Southern Regional Council

March 26, 1951

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE
405 Employers Insurance Bldg.
Dallas, Texas

DANIEL LICHTENBERG
Area Director

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Seems to me that I have written you twice now telling you that great things were going to happen. Well, the mountain has labored and brought forth - or perhaps I should say - has brought up - a luncheon which will take place in Houston on May 2. I am trying to line up other groups and organizations, among them the University of Houston and your own group in that city, to the end that you will have an opportunity to speak more than once to responsive and receptive gatherings.

I am assuming that a luncheon has been planned for you on May first (1st) and have reserved a dining room at the hotel. On the other hand, the Dallas Jewish leadership (community relations wise) constitute the scariest bunch of grown-up men it has ever been my misfortune to meet (don't quote me). Their unexpressed feeling is, I am sure, they run the risk of being accused of bolshevism if they sponsor you. I have impressed upon them, however, that you are (a) of impeccable anglo-saxon background. (b) a native southerner. (c) were a college professor (d) a Rhodes scholar - so I think they are going to take a chance.

Regardless, plan on being here on May 1. There are other people in this town, not community leaders, who are anxious to see you and who, undoubtedly, will be greatly stimulated by your presence, as I know I will be. So, Damn the Torpedoes and Full Speed Ahead!

Sincerely,

Dan Lichtenberg

Dan Lichtenberg

April 6, 1951

Mr. Max H. Nathan
Nathan's
626 Main Street
Houston 2, Texas

Dear Mr. Nathan:

I have had the pleasant news from Mr. Lichtenberg that through your kindness and that of others, I am to be present at luncheon with members of the Houston chapter of the AJC May 2.

I greatly look forward to this opportunity to widen the Council's circle of friends in your city.

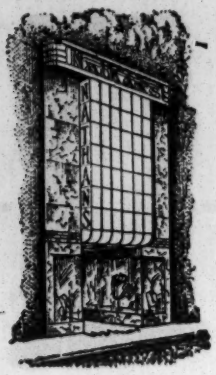
With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

3/12/51 Wrote to say Gen sect of tour
Send copy to Kilpatrick BR



Nathan's

626 Main Street
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

March 10, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is a rather late date to be answering your letter dated February 13, however, I won't you to know that I have not neglected taking this matter up with several individuals in Houston, and also have met with Mr. Dan Lichgenberg and together we hope to work out some meeting in Houston in the near future. I understand that Mr. Lichgenberg has been in touch with you and has kept you informed concerning this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Max H. Nathan

MHN/bjn

Max H. Nathan

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

CC: Milton Kulick

April 6, 1951

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Dan Lichtenberg in Dallas (405 Employers Insurance Building) operates the Southwest Area office of the American Jewish Committee. In Atlanta and a number of other cities, local members of AJC have been particularly helpful to the Council.

Lichtenberg has arranged for me to appear at a luncheon meeting of the Dallas chapter of the American Jewish Committee May 1 and similarly in Houston May 2. I am to make my usual talk about the South and will hope that some of those present will become members of the Council and that all will form a link with it which will be mutually helpful over the years. I will of course make it clear that the Council has no active program in Texas and that the way to exert oneself directly for these causes in the State is through the Texas Commission on Interracial Co-operation.

I give you this much advance notice that I am to come to Houston on the chance that you may have already planned some occasion or purpose which I could help on. I will of course come to see you and hear all the news about the Commission.

We are grateful always for the strength you put into this whole work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cr

April 6, 1951

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

With the help of Mr. Dan Lichtenberg, who at Dallas represents the Southwestern Area of the American Jewish Committee, I am to appear at a luncheon meeting of members of the local chapter of the AJC in Dallas on May 1 and in Houston on May 2.

I am to make a talk on Southern matters to each group and will hope that some of those present will join the Council and that this will begin a link with us that will be mutually helpful over the years.

I give you this advance notice of my coming on the chance there may be some way in which I can be useful to friends of yours.

I will of course call you and hope to find you at your desk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

April 6, 1951

Mr. Arthur W. Mitchell
Box 670
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On behalf of the Dallas and Houston chapters of the American Jewish Committee, I have been asked to go to each of those cities (Dallas May 1, and Houston May 2) to appear at luncheon meetings of the local AJC chapter members. I suppose I am to make my usual speech about the South and will hope that numbers of those present will join the Council and begin a link with it which will be helpful over the years.

Is there anyone you would like me to see in either city?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

AJC

CC: Milton Kulick

April 6, 1951

Mr. Daniel Lichtenberg
405 Employers Insurance Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dan:

Many thanks for your cheering letter of March 26. I have marked on my calendar Dallas, May 1, and Houston, May 2. It is mighty good of you to organize these two luncheon occasions, and I look forward to meeting with you and your friends.

I went to Memphis a couple of weeks ago and met with most of the Executive Committee of the local chapter of AJC for dinner and with a goodish audience later that evening. Dr. Tendler, who could not be present, was kind enough to write me that his inquiries had turned up only praises for the occasion.

Let me know later on just when and where I am to be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

CC: Milton Kulick

April 6, 1951

Mr. William Katz
American Jewish Committee
127 North Dearborn Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Katz:

I thank you for all your recent efforts about an appearance for me with your Chapter in Chicago.

I will be a most willing visitor sometime in the Fall, if that later on fits the Chapter's plans.

Do remember me warmly to Mr. Silberman. He and his wife are particularly nice people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Wrote 3/12/51 saying I'm out of town
— BK

Send copy to Kulick

Chicago Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

127 N. DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS ANDOVER 3-6137

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JOSEPH WILLEN
Vice-Presidents

NATHAN WEISMAN
Director, Community Activities Department

Copy for HK

March
Eighth
1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
#342, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you know from Leonard Sperry's letter to you of February 14th, the possibility of your addressing one of our Chapter luncheon meetings was discussed at a recent meeting of our Program Committee.

Unfortunately our schedule of meetings for the Spring months is already completed. However, we are hoping that it may be possible to invite you to address the Chapter at one of our Fall meetings. I shall be in touch with you again about this in September.

David Silberman, Jr., another of our Chapter members, has been giving me most enthusiastic reports about you and I am looking forward to the possibility of meeting you in Chicago in the Fall.

Sincerely yours,

William Katz

William Katz
Executive Director

wk/frw

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

a-Misc

July 11, 1951

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lukas:

Many thanks for your encouraging letter of July 9.

I called Kulick's office, but he doesn't get back for a couple of days, and I am leaving tomorrow, north bound. I expect to be in New York July 16 and 17 and will come to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED JUL 1951 Southern Regional Council

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. Cable Address, "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"
Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT • EDWIN J. LUKAS, *Director*

July 9, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

Your letter of June 28 arrived at a most propitious time. Our regional directors were gathered in New York for the Annual Institute that the AJC conducts for its field personnel. Some of them are still here, particularly our three southern and southwestern representatives.

Consequently, it has given me an ideal opportunity to discuss with them the attractive project that you propose, namely, to examine into the inequality which has plagued the southern negro for so many years when he makes contact with law enforcement agencies. It is, as you know, a matter in which I had been concerned for long, while I was a practicing criminologist; I am attracted to it even more now, in light of my more intensive preoccupation with civil rights as such. I was, therefore, the more pleased when I observed the immediate response that our field men gave to the proposal, and which greeted it when I discussed it with some of my colleagues in New York.

We now feel that this project should gain wide support among southern liberals, in our own constituency and others. I have set up a couple of meetings to discuss details further and hope soon to be in touch with you. Milton Kulick, who makes his headquarters in Atlanta, would also be prepared to discuss the matter with you when he returns shortly. Perhaps by that time, or soon thereafter, the means for securing financial and other resources that you need to carry through will have been at least in part worked out by us, and by Kulick and the two southern field men with their respective groups.

I am eager to know something concerning your meeting with your advisory group, with particular reference to any increased activity ~~in~~ by SRC in some of the pending litigation (the NAACP attack on segregation in the public schools) or, if that litigation does not offer the prospect of your involvement, any other matters in which SRC would be likely to engage itself.

Meanwhile, my warm regards to you.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL/al

318

GSM Nov. ~~12~~ 9

Milton Kulick wanted me when in Chicago to go and see his man Will Katz.

There has been some discussion of my making a luncheon talk in Chicago for Katz's people.

See memo of Sept. 20 from Milton Kulick and Will Katz.

UTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

Will Katz

September 20, 1951

Milton Kulick

Southern Regional Council - your memo, September 10, 1951

I am glad to learn that your Program Committee is meeting September 18 and will consider the possibility of inviting Dr. George Mitchell to address the Chapter in December or any months to follow. I will relay your suggestion to have Dr. Mitchell contact you while he is in Chicago in November. It is not necessary to have him appear at a formal monthly luncheon meeting. His purpose would be well served if you could get up a small group (of influential people) at an informal meeting or luncheon.

I was interested to learn that Leonard Sperry is now in Los Angeles and I will inquire from Fred about Sperry's address and the possibility of an allocation from the Sperry Foundation to the Southern Regional Council.

Regards.

mk/lc
cc: Manheim Shapiro
George Mitchell
Fred Schreiber

(dictated - not read due to field visit)

MUrray Hill 5-0181

FIFTEENTH FLOOR
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 30, 1952

Dear George,

I just learned that an old friend of mine, William Emerson, is in charge of the southern bureau of Collier's Magazine, with offices in Atlanta.

It occurred to me that the unequal penalties study, that you are about to initiate, might receive some much needed publicity if you were to interest Emerson in its potentialities as a subject for an article which might be written by my old friend Ralph McGill, for example, or Hodding Carter, Jonathan Daniels, or one of the liberal and enlightened editors.

If you think well of the idea, might I suggest that you establish contact with Mr. Emerson, convey my very warm regards to him and, if you need any further assistance in stimulating his interest, let me know.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

EJL/al

A/C

September 30, 1952

Mr. Seymour Semat
213 N. E. 2nd Ave.
Miami, Fla.

Dear Mr. Semat:

I've been thinking about our conversation in Atlanta.

Some of the things that need doing in the South are the following:

1. Decent housing for everybody in our cities. (Rural housing is a diminishing problem, for reasons which I won't go into.) Generally speaking, what has occurred is that in the last fifteen years, all but the very poorest of the white people in the Southern cities have got into acceptable housing, but for the Negro population, only the narrowest wealthy strata, plus those admitted to public housing projects, have been acceptably re-housed. In the cities the matter of housing is one of the last great inequalities.

2. Representation of Negro citizens on appointive and elective governmental and policy boards.

3. Admission of Negroes to the standard occupational and professional associations.

4. Up-grading qualified Negro employees.

5. Increased technical training for all and equal availability of technical training to Negroes and to whites.

6. A more democratic pattern of land ownership, particularly in the older plantation areas of the South.

7. Growth of industrialization in the large stretches of the South as yet hardly touched by it.

8. Growth of a public opinion supporting such breaks in the pattern of segregation as become possible in education, transportation, and public facilities.

These are tasks which call for informed, earnest, persistent and courageous leadership by Southern people. They need solution in almost all Southern communities. I think that in many instances Jewish citizens, for reasons which you and I discussed, have withheld themselves from full participation as citizens, along with all other interested people, in the solution of these problems.

I am confident that in all Southern communities a greater degree of participation and leadership from the Jewish community would be welcomed by all forces working in these problems.

It would be extremely helpful if, in ever increasing degree, interested members of the Jewish community would merge their efforts along these lines into those of the general community leadership. In so far as the Southern Regional Council, locally and as a whole, shares in the effort to produce improvement, it will be found that the Council's members everywhere would welcome warmly the participation, in thought and effort, of additional members of the Jewish community.

I advance as a particularly appropriate device for organized solution of these problems the method of the community self-survey, which has been notably successful in Jacksonville, Greenville, Shreveport, and some other Southern cities.

I do greatly hope that in the future there can be increasing cooperation between the Southern Regional Council and the leading Jewish organizations, and in particular, that within the States and in local communities, Jewish people will in growing numbers take up the burden of action toward attaining in the South basic equality and cooperation between all the people of the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. Cable Address, "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

January 5, 1953

Dear ~~Mr. Mitchell:~~ George:

About six months ago, I brought to your attention a new social action handbook, YOU HOLD THE KEY TO HUMAN RIGHTS. Published by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, this "how to do it" book deals with effective community action to support equality of opportunity, freedom of expression and full and equal education.

Since the first printing is now exhausted, orders are again being taken for a second run. Because of our deep interest in human rights, the American Jewish Committee has undertaken to contact a number of organizations with similar concerns to suggest that YOU HOLD THE KEY be included among their educational materials. I am therefore enclosing a copy of the handbook and hope you will agree that its simple, easy-to-read style and wealth of practical information makes it extremely useful to action-minded groups such as yours.

YOU HOLD THE KEY TO HUMAN RIGHTS is available from the Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, N.Y. 16, N.Y. at 50¢ per single copy and 35¢ each in orders of fifty copies or more. Orders of 300 or more may be imprinted on the back cover with the name of the distributing organization at an additional cost of $17.00. Special runs of 5,000 copies, with imprints on the inside front cover in place of the Methodist imprint, are available at 30¢ per copy.

I hope that your organization will decide to order copies now, while they can be furnished quickly. Won't you let me know your decision soon?

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

EJL:fpr
enc.

46th Annual Meeting - Hotel Commodore, N. Y. - Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 1953

318
F. 140

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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RECEIVED
FEB 12
Southern Regional Council

February 10, 1953

Dear George:

It is a long time since we met at the NCRAC and I expressed my surprise that you were not on a mailing list of the Community Service Department of the American Jewish Committee. We should have been sending you for a very long time some of our literature and releases.

Under separate cover I am sending you copy of a catalog of our materials ("The Pen Is Mightier"). Also, I will be happy to put you on a mailing list, if you will kindly return the enclosed post card. It is a practice of this department never to put anyone on any mailing list unless we have that person's written request on file.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

S. Andhil Fineberg

(Dr.) S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

S af/lhp
Encl.

Mr. George Sinclair Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A/C

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

RECEIVED
FEB 27
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

February 25, 1953

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is in reply to your letter to Dr. Fineberg, in which you request fifty copies of our catalogue, "The Pen is Mightier," without charge if possible; otherwise, a dozen copies, which is the most you feel you can afford.

Because of the limitations of our current budget we have, unfortunately, had to decide to charge for our materials at cost. However, we are making an exception and are sending you twenty-five copies of "The Pen is Mightier" without charge. If you want an additional dozen copies, we will be glad to send them at 25¢ per copy. We will not, however, send you these copies unless you let us know that you want them in addition to the twenty-five going forward to you.

We know you do a fine job with our materials and we only wish that we could continue to send them gratis. Unfortunately, that is impossible for the time being.

Dr. Fineberg has asked me to give you his regards.

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy M. Nathan

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
Community Service Department

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DMN:SLK

October 15, 1953

Mr Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
213 N E Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Suitable speech title would be "Progress and Policy for the South".

One hundred Questions and Answers being shipped. Bill enclosed at 12¢ each plus postage.

Mats of mug herewith.

As agreed, I am your man from the late afternoon of Monday, November 9, until a late night northbound plane Tuesday November 10; but I would like to do some sleeping the latter part of Tuesday afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t
enclosures: 2

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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	COLLECT			

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

OCTOBER 20 1953

SEYMOUR SAMET
213 NORTHEAST SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI FLORIDA

ARRIVING MIAMI EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT W-715 SEVEN FIFTY NINE A M NOVEMBER NINE SO AS TO BE AMPLE TIME FOR LUNCHEON ENGAGEMENT STOP NOBODY NEED MEET ME STOP WILL SHOW YOUR OFFICE EARLY FORENOON

GEORGE S MITCHELL

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(02)...

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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AA27

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1953 OCT 19 PM 4 22

GEORGE S MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

ATLANTA

HAD SCHEDULED YOU FOR LUNCHEON MEETING MONDAY NOV 9TH AT 1230 IFIMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE IT WE CAN SCHEDULE IT FOR TUESDAY NOV 10TH SAME TIME PLEASE WIRE YOUR CHOICE AT ONCE=

SEYMOUR SAMET=

RECEIVED
OCT 19
Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

SOUTHEAST AREA
213 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida
Tel.: 82-4984

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

Dear George:

I thought you might want to have copies of the attached for your files. The AJC luncheon will be a small one of about 25 people. Your presentation on the Supreme Court decisions will be an excellent introduction to considerations which we are planning on a regional basis regarding AJC program & policy in the South after the decision is rendered.

Best regards —

Seymour

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

DATE Oct. 21, 1953

TO Greater Miami Chapter

FROM George Bertman, Program Chairman

SUBJECT Luncheon Meeting

We are fortunate in being able to meet with Dr. George Mitchell at a luncheon in his honor to be sponsored by our chapter Monday, November 9, 1953 in the Biscayne Terrace Hotel at 12:15 PM. Dr. Mitchell, who is the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, will speak to us on "The Courts and The Schools" and will analyze the issues now before the Supreme Court regarding segregation in the Public Schools.

Here is an opportunity to hear and meet the South's most distinguished authority on community relations, We urge that you and your friends join with us for the luncheon and make plans to attend the dinner meeting (described in the attached letter) the following night at which time Mitchell will make a major address to the community.

Your reservations for the luncheon may be enclosed in the Dade County Council envelope along with your dinner reservation.

Please make_____reservations at $2.00 each for the American Jewish Committee luncheon, November 9, 1953 12:15 PM at the Biscayne Terrace Hotel, 340 Biscayne Blvd.

_____

Name (Please print)

F 114

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GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
213 N.E. 2nd Ave., Miami,
Phone 82-4984

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RICHARD WOLFSON

SEYMOUR SAMET
S.E. Area Director

ANNOUNCING AN EVENT OF IMPORTANCE !!!

The Dade County Council on Community Relations, on which we are represented, has been fortunate in persuading Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and noted author and lecturer, to speak at their November 10 dinner meeting, which is open to the public. The dinner will be held at the Colony Restaurant, 3500 Coral Way, at 7:00 p.m., and the price of $3.25 will include tax and tip.

The enclosed information about the Dade County Council on Community Relations will be of interest to you. The fact that such an organization was created by the Dade County Commission, and is active here, is a fact that is known to too few people.

Industry, labor, and community leaders know the value of sound community relations, and know also the cost to the community when tension situations arise and are not properly handled. These cannot be met only on a "fire alarm" basis, but an ongoing program of education and effective work in the field of community relations is essential.

The Dade County Council on Community Relations, which represents you, is dedicated to this program. Its membership is drawn from every facet of community life. Won't you kindly use the enclosed card to make a reservation for the dinner on November 10, or to become a member of the Council?

Honorary Dinner Chairman

Hollis Rinehart

Dinner Co-Chairmen

Paul Scott Malcolm Ross Burnett Roth

October 29, 1953

Mrs Dorothy M Nathan
Community Service Department
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N Y

Dear Mrs Nathan:

Kind of you to write me October seven. Mr Rosner did duly order 200 copies and they were forwarded.

We are having good success with getting the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS out. What I gravely lack is paid staff to organize discussion groups in cities and big towns. These are the precious weeks in which people's minds are open. After the Court decides, partisanship will close minds.

Meanwhile, we have done another one as a follow-up to the first. Theory is that after a discussion group has worked up the issue, they can, with this new one, get the facts.

I had some pleasant days not long ago in the company of Flieshman, and remember me warmly to Shapiro and many others in your office.

By the way, I am to go down to a AJC Chapter meeting in Miami November 9 and do a dinner meeting of the Dade County Commission on Human Relations November 10. Seems to have been arranged by Seymour Samet.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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October 7, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 8
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As long ago as August 31st you wrote to me about our possible distribution of the Southern Regional Council's publication, "Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts." There was a long delay while we discussed what distribution to give the piece, of which we think very highly. It was finally decided that we would distribute it jointly with the Anti-Defamation League and Mr. Joseph Rosner, of that organization, therefore placed an order covering his needs and ours.

he wrote 200 shipped. GSM.

I am merely writing you this letter because I do not wish you to think that I ignored your letter of August 31st. It may be that after the initial distribution we will want an additional supply for a further group of agencies with which we work. In that case I will write you again or re-order through Mr. Rosner.

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy M. Nathan

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
Community Service Department

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DMN:SLK

November 23, 1953

Mr Seymour Samet
213 N E Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

I have been only back a day or two and get now to thank you for the Miami trip. It was a grand occasion and clearly gets you off from a start such as will be helpful for years to come. My warmest congratulations to you and to your associates for it.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

November 27, 1953

Mr Morton L Weiss
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N Y

Dear Mr Weiss:

I have been out of the city and am therefore delayed in confirming acceptance in being present for the Atlanta Chapter meeting at the auditorium of The Temple at eight P M on the evening of December second.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

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MRS. I. M. WEINSTEIN

SEYMOUR SAMET
Metropolitan Bldg.
Miami, Florida
Area Director

November 18, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 19
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o The Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I just want to let you know how much we are looking forward to having you with us as our speaker on the evening of December 2. This will be a general membership meeting for the Atlanta Chapter, American Jewish Committee and will be held in the auditorium of The Temple at 8:00 o'clock P.M.

Either DeJongh Franklin or I will contact you personally before that date to make arrangements for your convenience, both before and after the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Morton L. Weiss

Morton L. Weiss

MLW:sa

December third, 1953

Mr Seymour Samet
Area Director
Southeast Area - A J C
213 N E Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

I appreciate a lot your letter of November 27.

My considered opinion is that my own speech was nervous and not well adapted for the audience but I am not sorry I put before them some things that are clearly to come.

Alice and I met with your Atlanta Chapter last night and greatly enjoyed the occasion.

I will try to have in mind what you say about using some of your Dade County Research Committee's information in our integration work hereabouts.

Come up and come to see us.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

During The Week . . . As I See It

By LEO MINDLIN

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HELD a luncheon Monday at the Biscayne Terrace Hotel. The affair was a prelude to the Tuesday evening dinner at the Colony Restaurant sponsored by the Dade County Council on Community Relations. Principal speaker was Dr. George Mitchell, president of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Mitchell had much to say about segregation in the public schools, a matter which will soon be deliberated upon by the Supreme Court.

Segregation in the South is less a function of the politically explosive civil rights issue than a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and its Equal Protection Clause. In the face of this amendment, the practice of segregation of the Negro has continued since its passing in 1868 with virtual immunity from legal attack. Indeed, Dr. Mitchell elaborated upon the Plessy vs. Ferguson case of 1896 to illustrate the means by which the Supreme Court was used to uphold as constitutional a Jim Crow Louisiana act providing for segregated transportation facilities on that state's railroads.

In making its ruling, the court said such segregation practices may continue so long as the transportation facilities provided were equal in every respect with those accorded White persons.

Out of the Plessy vs. Ferguson case evolved the "separate but equal" doctrine which has been used as a buffer against the precepts of the Fourteenth Amendment. While the constitution guarantees that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," it has become virtually standard procedure to regard separation and equality as a legal and moral excuse for segregation.

Dr. Mitchell emphasized that the "separate but equal" doctrine must be considered an infraction of the Fourteenth Amendment by virtue of two important reasons. Reared in the South and a student of its history, geography, economy and politics, he pointed to numerous states in which equality of educational facilities for Negro and White children does not exist. Many Negro children, he said, attend school in dilapidated barns, old churches and in ramshackle, deserted buildings. These are not owned by the individual states at all, he said, and little effort is made to disguise that fact.

» » » « « «

THE MATTER OF SEPARATION, although not as physically obvious a constitutional violation, is nontheless as flagrant. Dr. Mitchell said that the Negro abhors being segregated because it marks him as inferior. This, it seems to me, approaches the problem from an emotional viewpoint, and although it is, in effect valid, begs the issue. In June, 1950, the late Chief Justice Vinson ruled in the case of Sweatt vs. Painter and clarified the matter of separation in legalistic terms. Sweatt, a Negro, sought entrance into the University of Texas Law School.

That venerable institution of education, denying him admittance, recognized the possible legal consequences of its decision and established for Sweatt a segregated and obviously inferior law school in order to avoid a showdown.

In discussing the matter of separation, Justice Vinson wrote that the law school is the proving ground for legal learning and practice, and it cannot be effective in isolation from the individuals and institutions with which the law interacts. "Few students," he said, "and no one who has practiced law would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which the law is concerned."

The Sweatt vs. Painter case and the McLaurin vs. Oklahoma State Regents case in which a Negro applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma for courses leading to the Doctor of Education degree, while notable victories in the battle against segregation, nontheless represent only patterns of procedure for the impending conflict vis-a-vis the public school system. The latter, unlike the former which do not in every instance benefit from state or federal aid, becomes associated with the issue of states' rights. From there, it is merely a small step to the civil rights controversy.

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» » » « « «

THE SOUTHERN STATES HAVE WARNED time and again that they will not abide a Supreme Court ruling on segregation in the public schools. South Carolina, as an example, has already indicated that it is prepared to abolish the public school system should the highest court in the land hold that segregation is unconstitutional. The political implications of the civil rights and states' rights question were long ago made clear cut, indeed, well before the formation of the Dixiecrat Party. But the Democrats were not the only scapegoats. Last week, Georgia Governor Herman Talmadge cautioned the Eisenhower Administration to go easy on the matter — one which he termed "suicidal."

Dr. Mitchell made the Supreme Court's dilemma apparent. He said that the possibility of the court's reaffirming the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision and the "separate but equal" doctrine would fail to bring any real change in the school segregation issue. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Negro populations are not equally distributed throughout the South. Dade County, as an example, is only thirteen percent Negro. Certain northern areas of Florida run four times that high.

According to Dr. Mitchell, some counties in the Southern states only include a handful of Negroes as opposed to thousands of White residents. This means that a Supreme Court ruling based on the "separate but equal" doctrine would necessitate the expenditure of astronomic sums of money to build and furnish segregated schools with White standards for Negro children. In those areas where Negroes reside in mere handsful, such expenditures for separate educational facilities would hardly be considered practical and present practices with regard to Negro education would undoubtedly continue. In other areas, where amends are "practical," the building process, itself, would serve as a further constitutional violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

But apart from the political and economic implications that must inevitably rise out of the Supreme Court's decision, there remains the fundamental problem of civil liberties. It was good to see the American Jewish Committee identifying itself with this important matter. Its motivating impulse is a concern for the rights of all of humanity and of the protection of minority groups from what is, at times, the tyranny of majority rule.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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NOV 30
Southern Regional Council

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

November 27, 1953

SOUTHEAST AREA
213 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida
Tel.: 82-4984

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

Dr. George S. Mitchel, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear George:

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee and myself I would like to express our appreciation for your presentation to the luncheon meeting of our Chapter on November 9, 1953. Your remarks and the suggestions emanating from them have offered us several challenges which we are now considering as program possibilities for the near future.

You may be interested to know that one of the organizations with which we hope to co-sponsor at least one meeting is Kappa Delta Phi, the honorary education society, which has a branch in the University of Miami. I've been in contact recently with their faculty advisor who is also a member of our Chapter and who is interested in getting this highly respected group of educators to consider the manifold problems which may emanate from whatever the Supreme Court decision may be.

As you may have anticipated, our Dade County Council dinner was a succes in many respects, apart from that of a large audience. However, it has also created many problems and one of these days when we get together in Atlanta I hope to have an opportunity to tell you about all of them. Suffice it to say that many of the people came there unprepared for a mixed audience and were unprepared for the kinds of things they heard from our various participants.

We are now working on a follow-up to the meeting which will resolve some of these problems and also which will take advantage of some of the positive things which occurred from this program.

I have suggested to our Atlanta Chapter that they consider using some of the information which our Dade County Council Research Committee is obtaining regarding the techniques for integration which have been accumulated from the experiences of other communities throughout the United States. I have urged that as an outgrowth of your meeting with them, they consider adopting this material for presentation to the school system in Atlanta. I hope that you will be able to press this point.

Best regards to you and the family,

Sincerely, Seymour

Happy Hanukkah

SS:sm

149-1-53

December 24

Dear Seymour,

Good news that you are coming. I have put the days on my calendar, and will plan to be in town for the whole time. You must come out to dinner and we can sit by the fire and plan to make the world behave.

Sincerely,

G.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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SOUTHEAST AREA
213 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida
Tel.: 82-4984

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

December 22, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

My present plans will take me into Atlanta for the three days beginning January 13th and ending on the evening of the 15th. I would like very much to have an opportunity to spend a little time with you in discussing problems which I think are of mutual interest.

Until I do see you my best wishes to you and the family for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm

18
149-1-53

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

Sent NS for 1953
List of "open" colleges
1-4-54 Ant

GH

December 29, 1953

To: Group Relations Agencies

From: Will Maslow

The American Jewish Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are now preparing the sixth issue of their annual Balance Sheet on Group Relations. Copies of previous issues have been sent to you. It will be very helpful to us if you will send us any material you may have containing information that can be included in the 1953 report.

The 1953 report will cover developments during the 1953 calendar year and also reports issued during the year describing events of previous years not covered in previous Balance Sheets. Hence, we would like you to send us both (1) the reports issued by you during the year and (2) any additional material you have or can prepare describing significant developments not covered in your reports.

We shall need this material by January 20. However, if reports concerning 1953 are issued after that date, I hope you will send them to us. Material should be sent to Joseph B. Robison, American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84 Street, New York 28, N. Y.

I know that this is a large order, but we are counting on your co-operation to make this year's Balance Sheet as comprehensive as possible.

January 18, 1954

Mr. Joseph B. Robison
Staff Counsel
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robison:

Thanks for your letter of December 21.

I dictated weeks ago a complete annual report, whereupon the typist took ill and it is not yet off her machine. I am hoping it will be available within a few days and will send you a copy then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Secretary

GSM:hh

American Jewish Congress

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RECEIVED DEC 28 Southern Regional Council

December 21, 1953

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

We are now starting work on the 1953 edition of the annual Balance Sheet of Group Relations which we publish jointly with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Previous issues of the Balance Sheet have been sent to your office. You will note the following items on pp. 19 and 44 respectively:

> The Southern Regional Council estimated that 1,100,000 Negroes had registered to vote in 1952 as compared with 750,000 in 1948.
>
> A report released by the Southern Regional Council called for improvement in police training to combat the fact that "there are still far too many instances of police violence, forced confessions and a double standard based on race." Recognizing the key role played by civil officers in everyday relations in the South, the Council called for higher standards of police work, thorough training for recruits, police courses in human relations and better pay for personnel. As part of its program to stimulate increased community interest in police and court administration, 3,500 church women among its membership signed pledges to attend hearings and court sessions in their localities and to report any injustices based on race or class distinction.

We hope to have similar or more detailed data for inclusion in the 1953 report. I would therefore greatly appreciate it if you would let me know whether the Council has issued any reports since those covering 1952 and whether it plans to issue a report covering all of 1953 in the near future.

We hope to publish the 1953 edition early in 1954. Although I realize a complete 1953 report will not be available until sometime after the end of the year, I hope you can let me know now, how soon such a report may be expected.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph B. Robison
Staff Counsel

808

February 8, '54

Dear Mr. Robison,

I promised you a 1953 Report on SRC, which you wrote for Dec. 21.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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RECEIVED
MAR 15
Southern Regional Council

March 12, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I have finally received definite word that the CIO will take 10,000 copies of the McGill column reprints. We are still trying to get other unions to commit themselves.

Will you advise actual or approximate cost per copy in quantities of 5,000 and 10,000?

You may, when they are ready, send the 10,000 copies to George Guernsey, Associate Director in Charge of Education, CIO, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., and bill the CIO directly.

Also, send us a dozen or more copies so that we can attempt further promotion with the unions.

Sincerely,

Ted

Theodore Leskes

tl/bwl

1265 per yr first run
Reruns -
10 yr - $104.00
5 yr - 55.00

Send Leskes copies + prices
4-1-54

281
148-2-54

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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March 2, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchel
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have not been able to get a definite commitment from the unions with respect to the number of reprints of the McGill Articles, which they would take. I am still trying and, as soon as I have a definite figure, will send it along to you.

If you should decide to go ahead with the reprinting, and not delay for the CIO's order, it would be alright. It will merely mean that the CIO will have to bear any extra costs for special make-up or quantity printing.

Sincerely,

Ted

Theodore Leskes

TL:gvs

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

261
148-2-54

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT • EDWIN J. LUKAS, *Director*

January 22, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Just finished speaking with George Mitchell about reprinting, by photo offset or by some other inexpensive process, the two columns by Ralph McGill in the December 1st and 2nd issues of the Atlanta Constitution.

George agreed that these columns should be reprinted by the SRC, for wholesale distribution through labor unions and other mass membership organizations in the South. I offered to do the actual reprinting here in New York, but George insisted that it be done by a Southern printer so that it would bear an appropriate union "bug". We already know that the CIO will take in excess of 15,000 such reprints and we are seeking to determine from other national labor unions how many they will want. I will be in touch with you about quantities in a few days.

I therefore suggest that you "dummy up" the columns so that they will make an attractive and inexpensive pamphlet. The cover page might carry something like the following:

Notes on Segregation
and
The South Faces A Fact

by
Ralph McGill

Reprinted from the
Atlanta Constitution
by the
Southern Regional Council

The two columns might then occupy the two inside pages. The back page might be used to tell what the Southern Regional Council is, and who are members of its board of directors.

This plan, however, is entirely up to you and you may accept or reject any or all of my suggestions.

I am enclosing a letter from Ralph McGill which is authorization for such reproduction, and copies of the December 1st and 2nd columns. George felt that the December 11th column should definitely not be included in such a pamphlet because he disagrees strongly with a number of things that Mr. McGill says therein.

I will be in touch with you, then, in a few days after I have secured additional estimates with respect to the quantities of such a pamphlet which would be taken, at cost, by mass organizations.

Very sincerely yours,

Theodore Leskes

Theodore Leskes

TL:ZL
Enc.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT • EDWIN J. LUKAS, *Director*

January 21, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 23

AIR MAIL

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sure you have seen Ralph McGill's three columns on the school segregation cases (appearing in the Atlanta Constitution December 1, 2 and 11, 1953). Ed Lukas recently discussed these columns with Mr. McGill, who gave us permission to reproduce them for mass distribution. However, Mr. McGill thought, and we agree, that the most effective form of reproduction would be under the imprint of the Southern Regional Council.

What we are planning, therefore, is a four-page photo offset reproduction job, the front page of which would say that these are three articles by Ralph McGill, reprinted from the Atlanta Constitution by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., followed by the address. Several CIO labor unions have already indicated an interest in distributing as many as 30,000 of these reprints.

May we therefore have the permission of the Southern Regional Council to produce the pamphlet as we have described?

With kindest personal regards, I am

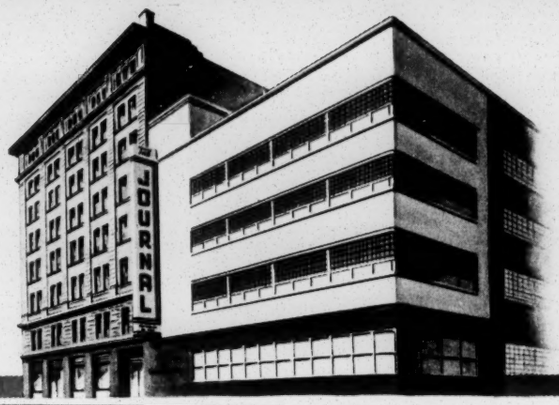
Very sincerely yours,

Ted Leskes

Theodore Leskes

TL:ZL

The Atlanta Journal
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
PUBLISHED BY
ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS, INC.
BOX 4689



RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

January 13, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 25
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lukas:

Thank you for your letter.

We do not do any reprint business. It will have to be done by someone else.

Also, I have refused a number of organizations, but I will be delighted to have the Southern Regional Council make use of it if it desires.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph McGill

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

April 20, 1954

Mr. Morton Weiss
160-196 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bud:

That was as kind of you to write as could be. We are overborne by the responsibility, but hopeful that with the help of friends over the South we can get stable organizations going in each of the states.

I tried to get the news through to you ahead of the release by calling Louis Regenstein, but failed to get him on one or two trials, and then got swamped with things coming in.

We want you to be fully a part of all the Council does.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Montag BROS., INC.
FASHIONABLE WRITING PAPERS
180-196 MARIETTA ST., N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 19th, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 20 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just returned from a short trip out of town and was extremely pleased to read the notices about the $40,000.00 grant received by the Council from the Ford Foundation.

Leonard called me about this. It is an extremely great compliment to you and the work you have done the last few years to receive this sizable amount. I know that it will enable you to multiply manyfold the effectiveness of your work throughout the South.

My very best wishes for all your aims and ideals.

Sincerely,

MONTAG BROTHERS, INC.

Bud Weiss

President

MLW:mc

May 16, 1954

AIR MAIL

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

No excuse for answering on May 16th your letter of April 26th, but it is important and we want to get it right.

The right time for Mr. Bergen to be in Atlanta is the morning of May 23rd. I am out of Atlanta the afternoon of the 23rd and on the 24th. And Fred Routh is gone both days. But if Mr. Bergen will be here the morning of the 23rd, we will fetch together some activists to confer with him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Jewish Committee
30 rue La Boetie
Paris, 8e, France
July 5, 1954

REACTIONS IN EUROPE TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION CONCERNING RACIAL SEGREGATION IN U.S. SCHOOLS

In Western Europe, virtually universal approbation and much enthusiasm greeted the decision of the United States Supreme Court concerning racial segregation in U.S. schools. Groups and publications which are usually luke warm to U.S. policies, or opposed to them, joined in this approval. And some extent of the impact of the decision on public opinion, and its ideological importance in the struggle between the Western World and Communism, can be gotten from the fact that papers like L'Humanite -- the leading French Communist daily newspaper -- did not print a single word about the action of the Supreme Court, though it was front-page news in all but Communist papers.

In England, the leading Labor Party paper, the Daily Herald, often critical of the U.S., editorialized under the headline, A Great Victory: "There is news from the United States that will make every friend of humanity and every believer in democracy cheer....This is not only a legal ruling of historic importance (but) a social document whose effects will be far-reaching....This is the heartening, human sort of a thing that can happen only in a democracy, where the troubles of a black child or a white in Kansas or Virginia are not too unimportant to occupy the highest court in the land."

The popular News Chronicle's editorial was entitled Hail Columbia and went on to say: "America awakes! She awakes to the idea that the Rights of Man include all men and don't stop short at a black dusky skin...."

Like almost all papers that treated the subject, the News Chronicle went on to point out the obstacles that could be expected in the implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and how various groups would attempt to make the ruling meaningless. Concluded the paper: "They will try to get round this one. Perhaps, at first, they will succeed. But they will not succed for long. American history is the record of the triumph of law over injustice, bitterness and prejudice. It will triumph again. The way is open for it now."

The more serious publications were, in a quieter way, equally elated. Typical was the reaction of The Observer, one of the most respected of British papers, under the headline A Great Decision:

"The unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court.... is perhaps the most important ruling it has given in the 164 years of its existence. In the first place it is a simple decision, based on equity rather than precedent....it has restored the Supreme Court to its rightful position as the arbiter and interpreter of the prevailing mood of the majority of Americans....(and) the decision has given America and the free world a badly needed reminder of the essentially liberal foundation of the modern world's oldest democracy."

* * *

If, across the Channel in France, the reaction was somewhat more subdued, there was no diminution in the appreciation of its importance.

The leading afternoon paper in France, Le Monde, is a spokesman for the "neutralist" elements in the country, and often has harsh words for American actions. But it devoted a front-page editorial to the subject in the following terms:

"....This decision, long awaited, marks a victory for justice over racial prejudice, a victory for democracy....Thus 'anti-colonial" America accomplished a gesture which has more than merely a symbolic meaning. For the European who landed in the new world was always disagreeably impressed by the discriminatory practices still alive in the South...." After a lengthy summary of the kind of opposition that could be expected to the Court's decision, on the basis of past techniques used against the Negro, such as the "grandfather clause" to keep him from voting, Le Monde asserted:

"But today, the situation is different. Since the war, racial discrimination has almost totally disappeared in the armed forces. It will not last much longer in the field of education. Little by little, thanks to a vast social ferment, the state of mind is improving. To accelerate this process, positive action in law was necessary. Now this has been done, and the present government will reap the fruits of long efforts, whose accomplishment will redound to its credit."

One of the writers in France with the greatest influence is Andre Siegfried, noted sociologist and historian who, on the European continent, is considered a leading expert on the United States. In a long analysis on the front page of Le Figaro, the leading morning paper in France, he declared:

With this step, "the status of Negroes shows immense progress. By singular coincidence, this happens within two years of the centenary of the famous book by Mrs. Beecher-Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin....To measure the ground covered since then towards the emancipation of the Negro, we only have to go back and review the situation one hundred years ago...."

After making such a review, M. Siegfried concludes: "Many years will probably pass and, perhaps, the Negroes will never attain the goal they are pursuing, total equality in custom as well as law.... This having been said, let us be just: the progress made is remarkable. More and more legal discriminations grow weaker, and even in custom there is undeniable amelioration: elective or administrative posts are opening up to Negroes....Certain French writers assert that in twenty years there will be no more Negro problem in the United States. They exaggerate, surely, but, since the days of Uncle Tom's Cabin, how much as been accomplished for the cause of humanity!"

The independent French newspaper Combat has, in recent years, been attacking the U.S. more and more in its columns. While the paper dealt primarily with the political reactions that might arise out of the Supreme Court decision, it said:

"The attacks of Mr. Talmadge of Georgia or Mr. Eastland of Mississippi can do nothing about the unanimous and irrevocable decision of the Supreme Court....It would be easy for we French, among whom a colored skin has never been a reason for approbrium, to cavil and say that such a decision could not wipe out the situation incarnated in Uncle Tom's Cabin....But racial segregation is more often a matter of custom than of legal rights. And racial prejudices are the ferocious and absurd expression of the white man's fear of the Negro. The prime importance of the decision of the Supreme Court is that the nine Federal judges have dared to proclaim the equality of whites and blacks, and have thus ratified the slow transformation which has been taking place since the war.... (This decision) opens the road to total equality. It shows the way for the future. And, in this, it is historic and revolutionary."

While the official Communist newspaper in France, L'Humanite, did not so much as mention the decision, a Communist-line paper Droit et Liberte, showed the Communist "line" with regard to the decision:

For those who supervise the destinies of the American government, this decision is essentially an "article for export" to repair the immense loss of prestige America has suffered in Asia because of its policy of discrimination against Negroes.

It will not end racial discrimination in America.

This is a victory of the Negroes and the organizations who have fought for them over the United States. In the first line of the fight was the (Communist controlled) Congress of Civil Rights, those who defended McGee, the Martinsville seven, the Trenton six, etc.

Examples of the negative reactions in the South were stressed, as were the difficulties still to be overcome.

* * *

In other countries, the nature of the reaction was fairly much the same as in France and England. The typical article or editorial described the decision and its meaning; showed the obstacles to be overcome in its implementation; and would conclude in somewhat the following terms, as did, for example. the Tribune de Geneve in Switzerland: "This decision marks a red-letter day in the history of the great American republic....This is not the victory of any one party, but of a concept of national life which gained headway slowly and with difficulty: its effects will be well-felt outside the frontiers of the United States."

Or, to use the terms of the Stuttgarter Zeitung, an influential German newspaper:

"On May 17 a revolution occurred in the United States, a political change of unusual significance which presages a fundamental renovation in the life of America. It was a bloodless revolution; in accordance with the principles and traditions of the American constitution it

occurred by a simple decision of the Supreme Court...." And the paper then went on to describe the decision and its meaning.

It should be noted, moreover, that the decision gave rise, in all lands, to a host of feature articles and magazine pieces, still appearing, which describe -- in much fairer and objective terms than has hitherto been the case -- the history of the Negro in the United States, and the progress he has made in the last 100 years.

# # #

July 23, 1954

Mr. Edwin Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for the roundup of foreign opinion which you had Mr. Segal send me. We are making good use of it.

Our pamphlet on the Supreme Court decision is finally out, and I am sending you a copy separately.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

File

August 4, 1954

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I am glad you are going to get Kenneth Clark's materials into print. He has a most valuable contribution to make to the thinking of this area.

Unfortunately, our resources, though they look large in the lump, are minutely budgeted out to help the twelve fledgling state organizations. We couldn't reach anywhere near to 500 copies at $1.50 each. Though goodness knows the price is reasonable. Fifteen copies I could properly buy and get out to me head state people. And I would be quite willing to pay more than the $1.50 with so small an order.

If, on publication, you can send me a leaflet about the book, I could undertake to get circulation of the leaflet to, perhaps, 3,000 people in the South, some of whom will buy the book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San-Francisco, Vice-President*

August 2, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

We have been asked to arrange to publish in book form Kenneth Clark's manuscript, tentatively entitled "Prejudice Among Children." This manuscript, prepared for the White House Mid-Century Conference, was based upon the material assembled by Clark which was referred to in the Supreme Court's decision in the segregation cases. This material should be very pertinent to the educational efforts now being planned, to insure acceptance of the decision and to facilitate its implementation. I think you will agree that it deserves publication and its early appearance would domuch toward supporting programs of the various agencies in the field.

As is customary in these cases,in making tentative arrangements for the publication, we learned that it will be necessary to guarantee the purchase of a few thousand copies (we may be able to knock down that guarantee somewhat). Would it be possible for your agency to undertake the purchase of about 500 copies at, say, $1.50 a copy (the book will retail for about $3.00 a copy)?

I would appreciate your advising me as soon as possible; the more quickly you get word to me, the more expeditiously we will be able to complete publishing arrangements.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

261
148-2-54

Enclosure to a. H.
7/1/54 issue
of Common Sense

August 5, 1954

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I will watch out for Common Sense hereabouts. The citizens of Georgia suffer from the Linder line, and at public expense because he prints his stuff in a publicly supported journal called the Market Bulletin.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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August 2, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The enclosure (July 1 issue of Common Sense -- a "hate sheet") should interest you. Of course, you will find none of it recognizable, except for Tom Linder's speech. I imagine that this issue will receive wide circulation in the South, in an effort to stir up anti-Semitism there. I would appreciate hearing from you in the event that you learn an effort is made to circulate this edition of Common Sense in any large-scale fashion.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

RECEIVED
AUG 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 9, 1954

Dear Seymour,

We appreciate the order for A for A, which have been shipped.

Fred's up here, and will make us a good man. Glad to have all his Miami training.

Come to see us.

Sincerely,

EB Note ~~Here's hon. bill.~~

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

September 7, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please send us 100 copies of Answers For Action, as soon as possible, and bill us for same.

OK RHA

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Seymour Samet
S.M.

sm.

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

September 21, 1954

Mr. Fred I. Baker
AJC Southwest Area Office
814 Fidelity Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Baker:

I have your letter of September 7 inviting me to speak to the Dallas and Houston Chapters of AJC in January.

My schedule iscompletely free and I will ~~gla~~ be glad to come out on whatever date your set.

Dr. Mitchell sends his best regards.

Sincerely,

HCF
Asst. Director

Hcf recent

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

FRED I. BAKER
Area Director

814 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS, TEXAS
Tel. PR 2830

September 7, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Those of us who were afforded the opportunity of meeting with you at Joe Ross' home and also given the stimulating experience of hearing your address before the Annual Meeting of the NAACP, are convinced that your inspiring leadership of the Southern Regional Council will help further the objectives of intergroup relations and the American Democratic ideal.

The program planning committees of the Houston and Dallas Chapters of the American Jewish Committee are agreed that there is need for additional education and understanding of the problems which will probably confront the average southern community in the desegregation process. Each of these chapters is planning a membership program meeting on this subject during January 1955. The chapters feel that it is unfair to ask you to return to Texas so soon after your recent visit and, therefore, have asked me to inquire about the availability of your able assistant, Mr. Harold Fleming, to address them on the above subject.

The AJC leadership is cognizant of the Southern Regional Council's endeavors in the interracial field and the role which you are fulfilling in assisting citizens to accept their responsibility in this educational process.

I would be pleased to learn from you that Mr. Fleming will be available to address our chapters at the above indicated time.

Sincerely yours,

Fred I. Baker

FIB:im

FRED I. BAKER

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

264

NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

December 1, 1954

TO: Group Relations Agencies

FROM: Edwin J. Lukas

TAH.

We are sending you a copy of the December issue of the Committee Reporter, because we thought you would be interested in its timely articles on the use of bigotry in elections and the plight of Jews in Soviet Russia and in North Africa.

A few additional copies are available upon request.

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

December 3, 1954

Mr. Lawrence Bloomgarden
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Larry:

I am sorry you have to write to me twice about the materials on the Equal Penalties Project. They all rest at Chapel Hill where the man Barth is supposed to be polishing up his final draft of the analysis. I have written him to hasten it on. When he is finished I will send the whole matter up to you.

You and I have both suffered from the leisurely pace of academic personages. But when I can get it you may be assured that I will take advantage of your willingness to go through it further and see what it means.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San-Francisco, Vice-President*

November 29, 1954

RECEIVED
12-1-54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Please send me the materials on the Equal Penalties Project, as you know we have been looking forward to having it for quite some time.

Sincerely,

Larry.

Lawrence Bloomgarden

lb/hm

261
148-2-54

December 28, 1954

Mr. John Slawson
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

I have again sent my annual appeal to Mr. Dubinsky. I will be grateful if you will again press whatever is your magic button.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

JAN 14 1955

January 4, 1955

TO: Group Relations Agencies

FROM: Edwin J. Lukas

1) The enclosed copy of the "Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups" issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on December 17, 1954, is being sent to you for your information and files.

2) Also enclosed is a copy of an official statement given by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Harvey V. Higley, to the American Jewish Committee's Consultant on Veteran's Affairs.

to L.H.

January 11, 1955

Mr. John Slawson
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

Among other magazines I plow through in the stilly-watches of the night, is the Progressive. Its January issue has a pleasant two-page article by Richard H. Rovere called "Of This I Sing." The burden of this is that he has noticed in the last few years that prejudiced talk is less than it used to be. He doesn't credit anybody in particular for this; he just says that it is a nice gain.

I am satisfied that the careful and responsible work of the American Jewish Committee has played a large part in this significant American gain. And, for one man, I thank you and your whole organization for good work done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

copies mailed 1/26/55 see "Hughes" file

January 19, 1955

Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Nathan:

'Way back in December you wrote and said AJC had reprinted the Alan Paton articles and we could get some.

I send up a check for $1.50 for fifteen. We will send out one to each of our fledgling State Organizations, and suggest that they can get more from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

RECEIVED
1/3/55
Southern Regional Council

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA TODAY

The articles by Alan Paton entitled The Negro in America Today, which appeared in the October 15th and 29th issues of Collier's, elicited so much interest that we have made them available in pamphlet form as per the enclosed.

Mr. Paton was asked by Collier's to make this special survey of the Negro in America. His objectivity in surveying the American scene provides new insights into race relations as they exist in the U. S. This objectivity, however, in no way lessens his sympathetic understanding of the colored people about whom he wrote so eloquently when dealing with them in South Africa.

While encouraged by the end of segregation in American schools, Mr. Paton is aware that this advance will not bring an end to the Negro housing and other problems in the U. S. At the conclusion of his survey, however, he felt convinced that America would in time put an end to all segregation and discrimination for constitutional, moral and political reasons. While the smaller number of Negroes in America makes it easier to end segregation and discrimination here than in South Africa, Mr. Paton believes that lower percentages are really irrelevant. The most important requirement to achieve the desired end, he says, is to see people of color as fellow humans. Thinking of people in numbers, he points out, is destructive not only of justice but also of progress, national security, world peace and man's peace. While Mr. Paton indicates much that must be done before race relations will be satisfactory in the United States he believes that optimism is justified.

Additional copies of The Negro in America Today are available from our office at 10¢ per copy or $8.50 per hundred. The National CIO and various CIO international unions are distributing copies of this reprint with their own imprints.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
December 22, 1954
Encl.
SKE

153-10-54
261

January 25, 1955

Mrs. Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor
Speakers' Bureau
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Ashman:

How very kind of you. I have an old purpose to reach as many of the chapters of the American Jewish Committee as can be worked out; so nice for that to be remembered.

The Chicago engagement is for a dinner on the night of Wednesday, March 16. I have to be in Cincinnati the day before. I have no engagement Thursday, March 17th or Friday, March 18th.

Most convenient to me to do either the Milwaukee chapter or the Chicago chapter at lunchtime, Wednesday, March 16, but for either there would also be available Thursday, March 17th, or in a pinch Friday, March 18th.

An evening discussion would have to be on Thursday, March 17th.

Suppose I simply give you full authority over the person of George Mitchell for Thursday, March 17th, and you do anything with him you want! Remembering, also, that March 16th is free except for the evening engagement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman*

A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

January 21, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell,
Atlanta, Ga.

JAN 24 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have been advised that you are addressing the annual fund-raising dinner of the Council against Discrimination in Chicago, Wednesday, March 16. As you know, our chapters have all been anxious to have the privilege of a talk from you and I wonder this time if you could address our Chicago chapter at lunch and in the evening a home discussion meeting in Milwaukee, which, as you probably know, is about an hour or so from Chicago.

The Chicago chapter can pay a honorarium of $75, but our Milwaukee chapter is able only to pay your travel and personal expenses.

Would you let me know whether this can be arranged either on the 15th or 17th of March.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Eleanor W. Ashman

(Mrs.) Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor, Speakers' Bureau

EWA/ms
cc. Mr. Manheim Shapiro

January 27, 1955

Mr. Harry J. Alderman, Librarian
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Alderman:

You have our correct name and address, although you might want to add the street number shown on this letterhead.

Our officers are as follows:

Marion A. Wright .....President
Carter Wesley .....Vice-President
Gordon B. Hancock .....Vice-President
A.W. Dent .....Vice-President
Rufus E. Clement Chmn., Exec. Com.
Leonard Haas .....Counsel
George S. Mitchell .....Executive Director

If your Library of Jewish Information is not already on our mailing list, I will see that it is added. We receive many of AJC's mailings, but if we're missing any of them, I will appreciate your seeing that we are included.

OK
rha 1/27/55

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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LIBRARY OF JEWISH INFORMATION

HCP

for action

January 19, 1955

JAN 21 1955

Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

We are currently revising our library file on local intergroup relations agencies. In this connection, we would appreciate your cooperation in verifying the correct name and address of your organization and in supplying us with the names of your present officers.

If you maintain a mailing list for the regular distribution of your bulletins, reports, or other literature, we would be most grateful indeed if you would include our Library of Jewish Information.

If you are not already on the mailing list of the American Jewish Committee and would like to be included, please let us know, and we shall be glad to arrange it.

Sincerely yours

Harry J. Alderman

Harry J. Alderman
Librarian

HJA:sc

February 14, 1955

Mrs. Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor
Speakers' Bureau
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Ashman:

All straight for my appearance before the Chicago Chapter of the American Jewish Committee at midday March 17th. And that evening at Milwaukee. Do send me the exact time and place for each.

Info on GSM and pictures coming to you.

For a title maybe "The Schools and Community Relations." Or a more pointed one, "Southern School Systems Now."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls - Photograph
Biographical Statement from Who's Who.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman*

A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

February 11, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FEB 14 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Falk of our Chicago Office has asked me to confirm with you the date of March 17 for an address before our Chicago chapter at luncheon and our Milwaukee chapter that same evening. I hope that this time is still available for you.

Would you please send me by return mail, if possible, biographical material and pictures of yourself for publicity and introductory purposes. Have you any particular title that you would like to give to your address? Shortly before the meetings I will send you some background information.

Cordially yours,

Eleanor W. Ashman

(Mrs.) Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor, Speakers' Bureau

EWA/ms
cc. Manheim S. Shapiro

261
149-10-54

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

February 15, 1955

FEB 17 1955

Dear Friend:

Enclosed please find copies of three Statements adopted by the American Jewish Committee at its 48th Annual Meeting, held in New York City on January 28-30, 1955. We believe they will interest you.

The stirring address delivered by Judge Learned Hand at the Saturday evening dinner was reprinted in full in the Magazine Section of The New York Times on Sunday, February 6, 1955. As soon as copies of that address are available for distribution, you will receive one.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin J. Lukas

Edwin J. Lukas, Director
Department of National Affairs

enc.
EJL:hm

261 158A-4-54

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

48TH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 28-30, 1955

STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION

In his Message on the State of the Union on January 6, 1955, President Eisenhower declared that despite sincere efforts to administer the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 humanely, certain of its provisions "have the effect of compelling actions in respect to aliens which are inequitable in some instances and discriminatory in others. These provisions should be corrected in this session of Congress."

This statement applies with equal force to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

While supporting the President's views, the American Jewish Committee nonetheless believes that only fundamental revision will overcome the discriminatory features of the McCarran-Walter Act and the cumbersome, unworkable provisions of the Refugee Relief Act.

We commend those members of Congress of each political party who, during the last session, joined in sponsoring bills to improve these laws. We approve the reintroduction of these bills and the early adoption of legislation based on American democratic principles.

Adopted January 30, 1955
Hotel Roosevelt
New York, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

48TH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 28-30, 1955

STATEMENT ON INTERNAL SECURITY

The existence of a world power seeking to undermine American democracy, and unfortunately supported by some persons within our country, is ample justification for a Government loyalty-security program. Such a program, effectively to protect American democracy against its internal and external enemies, must be democratic in concept and just in execution. Our present program falls short of these standards.

In the interests of our security and the preservation of the basic rights and the morale of the individual, a thorough re-examination of the entire loyalty-security program should be promptly undertaken. Such an examination should be conducted by persons who have no stake in defending past or present procedures. We urge the prompt establishment of a nonpartisan Presidential commission composed of informed citizens to re-examine the entire loyalty-security program.

Adopted January 30, 1955
Hotel Roosevelt
New York, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

48TH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 28-30, 1955

STATEMENT ON DESEGREGATION

Noting that progress has been made in carrying out public school desegregation in a number of border states and the District of Columbia, and further noting that resistance to the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, is intense in some Southern states, the General Committee of the American Jewish Committee reaffirms the following views expressed in the Statement adopted by the Executive Committee on October 24, 1954:

> The principle that the American Jewish Committee has long cherished, that there is no place in America for discrimination, finds expression in the epochal decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, requiring desegregation in the public schools. We now commend the prompt and firm action by public authorities in instances where illegal resistance to the decision has been manifested. The American Jewish Committee joins with those groups and individuals throughout the country whose concern for law and order has been stirred by these episodes, and stands ready to cooperate with them in national and local programs designed to overcome throughout the United States any obstacles to school integration.

We request the officers of the American Jewish Committee to take appropriate steps to implement these views.

Adopted January 30, 1955
Hotel Roosevelt
New York, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

February 17, 1955

FEB 19 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please pardon my delay in acknowledging your kind letter of January 13th before this, due to preoccupation with our Annual Meeting at the end of January.

I have read the article in the January issue of the Progressive, and want to thank you for calling it to my attention. I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness and your words of commendation.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

John Slawson

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

JS/ss

148-2-55

February 28, 1955

Mr. John Slawson
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

This year, 1955, the ILGWU very kindly sent its $500 check to SRC in response to my usual January letter of request. You will recall that in previous years your good offices in this matter were needed, and were deeply appreciated.

I merely write this time to say that we won't have to call on you in 1955 for that help. But I appreciate knowing that your willingness to be helpful is always there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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CHICAGO CHAPTER

the American Jewish Committee

127 NORTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

PHONE: ANDOVER 3-6137

March 7, 1955

MAR 9 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am enclosing two notices each of the AJC meetings which you have promised to address.

The Chicago Chapter meeting will take place on Thursday, March 17 at the Standard Club, beginning promptly at 12:15 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. // Noted

The second meeting will be held in the evening of the same date in Milwaukee at the home of Mr. and Mrs. David A. Herman, 2607 N. Wahl Avenue, beginning at 8:00 P.M. // Noted

We shall leave for Milwaukee on the Milwaukee road, Union Station at 3:30 P.M., arriving in Milwaukee around 5:00 P.M. I have made a hotel reservation for you at the Hotel Schroeder. // Noted

The Milwaukee Chapter Executive Committee is holding an informal dinner party for you and Mr. Murray at the Juneau Restaurant at 6:00 P.M. We shall adjourn around 7:30 P.M. in time to attend the evening meeting.

NATIONAL OFFICERS
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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
SOL SATINSKY, Chairman, • A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director

I am looking forward to being with you on March 17. I met you in San Francisco about three years ago when I was AJC Director of that area. I have been receiving the publications of the Council and have always read them with great interest.

I shall see you on March 16 at the Council Against Discrimination Dinner.

Cordially,

Gustave Falk

Gustave F. Falk,
Executive Director.

March 10, 1955

Mr. Albert C. Heller, Chairman
American Jewish Committee
759 N. Milwaukee Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Heller:

My friend, Dr. George S. Mitchell, tells me that he is planning to visit your Chapter to speak around the 17th of March. We in the AJC Chapter in Atlanta have enjoyed a close relationship with Dr. Mitchell for several years and almost all members of the Executive Committee have been personally interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council and from time to time have made contributions to the Council's budget.

At this particular time the Council is faced with an enormous responsibility growing out of the Supreme Court decision in the segregation cases. It is the only indigenous organization in which members of both races work together towards a solution of the problem by gradual and democratic means outside litigation. Thus the role of the Council at the moment is unique and its achievements have been considerable.

The Council now has a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic, but under the terms of the grant significant funds must be raised elsewhere. It is difficult to find all these funds in the South for obvious reasons.

Dr. Mitchell is not a fund raiser, though it has been largely through his efforts that the Council survived in the difficult period between the end of the Rosenwald grants and the beginning of the Ford Foundation's interest in the program. I very much hope that individuals in your Chapter who are able to do so and who are interested will undertake to raise some funds for the Council. The Council enjoys tax exemption status.

With every kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram, Chairman
Atlanta Chapter
American Jewish Committee

A/c

BC: Dr. George S. Mitchell

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CHICAGO 3

March 14, 1955

MAR 16 1955

Mr. Morris B. Abram, Chairman
Atlanta Chapter
American Jewish Committee
515 Healey Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Abram:

I want to thank you for your letter of March 10th, with reference to the impending visit of Dr. Mitchell with our Chicago Chapter. We are looking forward to it with pleasure.

I am sure, as you point out, that the Southern Regional Council can use additional funds to carry on its important work and I shall be glad to present the matter at our next Executive Committee meeting in an effort to elicit some support from our membership.

Cordially yours,

Joseph J. Levin

JJL:r

Joseph J. Levin

Walter Case
Hilla Pickard
Roy Dentry

MADE IN U.S.A.

[redacted] 11 1955

March 10, 1955

Mr. Joseph I. Levin, Chairman
American Jewish Committee ✓
120 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Levin:

My friend, Dr. George S. Mitchell, tells me that he is planning to visit your Chapter to speak around the 17th of March. We in the AJC Chapter in Atlanta have enjoyed a close relationship with Dr. Mitchell for several years and almost all members of the Executive Committee have been personally interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council and from time to time have made contributions to the Council's budget.

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With every kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram, Chairman
Atlanta Chapter
American Jewish Committee

Eastern Fidelity Union Shop

A/c
BC: Dr. George S. Mitchell

March 15, 1955

Mr. David Danzig
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed are two copies of my letter of last June to Max Rabb which we discussed when you were in Atlanta last week.

Although the letter is brief, I believe the proposal it makes is self-evident. The only element that is left out is the political one -- for obvious reasons. Suffice it to say that in our opinion all the parties mentioned in the proposal should find it in their self-interest to counteract the tendencies towards defiance of the decision, which put the executive branch in a very difficult position as the enforcing power.

Anything you can do to advance this idea in influential quarters would, I think, be a real contribution to orderly compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Let me know of any plans on which we can work together. Meanwhile, all the best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

Hold for advice to and reply.

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May 17, 1954

Dear George:

Joseph Ross was in touch with me following your meeting in Williamsburg.

I understand that one of the concerns of the meeting had to do with getting a constructive interpretation of the Supreme Court decision when it is made public.

Joe urged us to offer our assistance in this connection and I want to assure you that we will be glad to do all we can to aid in a national public relations program.

I would be happy to learn from you what major problems are anticipated and what activities it would be valuable and appropriate for us to undertake.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Dave

David Danzig

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
DD:lh

Ans. 5/27/54

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 16, 1956

Mrs. Eleanor W. Ashman, Supervisor
Speakers' Bureau
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Ashman:

All straight and I will be there Monday, April 9, at the Harmonie Club at 4 East 60th Street a few minutes before 12:15 P.M.

Here are a couple of mats and a glossy.

If you will call up the Abbey Hotel on 51st Street and ask them to hold me a single room I will be grateful. Ask them to hold it for late because I will take an evening flight to New York and probably shan't get to the Hotel until 10:00 or 11:00 at night. I pick that hotel because the training school at the ILG will use me from 9:00 until 11:00 April 9 to teach their trainees. And they will pay me fifty dollars or so. So between the New York Chapter's kindness in covering the expenses and ILGWU - I am in the black.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls. (3)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

March 13, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 15 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Blvd.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for accepting the invitation of our New York Chapter to address its next luncheon meeting on Monday, April 9 at 12:15 o'clock at the Harmonie Club at 4 East 60th Street.

I have given to the Chapter the title which you suggested, "At What Pace in the South?" The Chapter, in all probability, will not publicize the meeting and agrees with you that writing a speech in advance might limit the scope of your talk. As soon as I have more details of the meeting and a copy of the meeting announcement, I will send the material to you.

Thanks very much for giving our Chapter the privilege of a firsthand report from the South. I am sorry that the Chapter can do no more than meet the expenses which you incur. I am, however, hopeful that other of our chapters will be able to have a message from you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor W. Ashman

(Mrs.) Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor Speakers' Bureau

EWA:eb

P. S. If you have some glossies and mats, I would appreciate having a few. Can you let me know when you expect to arrive in New York, and where you can be reached. If you would like us to obtain a hotel for you, we will be glad to do so. Let me know your preference.

Speeches, 1955

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION

COME AND HEAR ABOUT:

Southern School Systems - Now

Desegregation in Southern Schools

National and Local Implications

The Southern Regional Council
What It Is..How It Works

Guest Speaker

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Atlanta, Georgia

auspices

Committee on Education
CHICAGO CHAPTER
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1955

STANDARD CLUB
320 SOUTH PLYMOUTH COURT
12:15 P. M. to 2:00 P. M.

The historic Supreme Court ruling on Desegregation in Public Schools poses many difficult and challenging problems....how will this decision be put into effect....will it lead to legally-supported segregation or integrated education....

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, is one of the foremost authorities on the status of Negroes and minority groups in the south. Born in Richmond, Virginia, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University and a Rhodes Scholar, Dr. Mitchell is well qualified to present a southerner's observation on the changing patterns and attitudes that are now taking place in the southern states, with particular emphasis upon the Desegregation Issue. A discussion period will follow his address.

Mr. A. Harold Murray, National Director of the AJC Community Affairs Department, will be our guest.

Please return the enclosed Reservation Card

Be sure to bring your friends

Luncheon $2.25 per person
(including gratuities)

Milwaukee Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

402 East Daphne Road, Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin • FLagstone 2-8064

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ELMER L. WINTER

TO: MEMBERS OF THE CHAPTER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FROM: ALBERT C. HELLER, CHAPTER CHAIRMAN

At the Chapter Home Meeting on March 17, we shall have the presence of two distinguished visitors -- Dr. George S. Mitchell of Atlanta and Mr. A. Harold Murray, National Director of the AJC Community Affairs Department.

To welcome and extend the customary Milwaukee hospitality, the members of the Chapter Executive Committee will entertain them at an informal dinner before the general meeting at the Juneau Hotel Restaurant, Thursday, March 17 at 6:00 P.M. I am sure that you and your wife will want to welcome our two guests. (Dinner $3.00 per person).

We shall adjourn around 7:30 P.M. in time to attend the meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. David A. Herman. Mr. Oscar A. Rozoff, in my absence, will chair the dinner and Chapter meeting.

Please return the enclosed Reservation Card to Mrs. Richard Teweles who is in charge of arrangements. I hope that you will be able to attend.

Encl.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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SIMON H. RIFKIND, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION

COME AND HEAR ABOUT:

Southern School Systems - Now

Desegregation in Southern Schools

National and Local Implications

The Southern Regional Council
What It Is..How It Works

Guest Speaker

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Atlanta, Georgia

auspices

MILWAUKEE CHAPTER

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

in cooperation with

MILWAUKEE JEWISH COUNCIL

THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1955

at the home of

Mr. and Mrs. David A. Herman
2607 N. Wahl Avenue

8:00 P.M.

The historic Supreme Court ruling on Desegregation in Public Schools poses many difficult and challenging problems....how will this decision be put into effect....will it lead to legally-supported segregation or integrated education....

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, is one of the foremost authorities on the status of Negroes and minority groups in the south. Born in Richmond, Virginia, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University and a Rhodes Scholar, Dr. Mitchell is well qualified to present a southerner's observation on the changing patterns and attitudes that are now taking place in the southern states, with particular emphasis upon the Desegregation Issue. A discussion period will follow his address.

Mr. A. Harold Murray, National Director of the AJC Community Affairs Department, will be our guest.

Please return the enclosed Attendance Card

Be sure to bring your friends

March 18, 1955

Mr. Gustave F. Falk
Executive Director
The Chicago Chapter of the
American Jewish Committee
127 North Dearborn Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Gus:

You are a mighty good egg to stand beside me, usher me around, pay all my bills, fend for me, and make friends for me for all day yesterday, and I appreciate it.

I always feel perfectly at home with local groups of the American Jewish Committee. It is mighty good of them to have that keen interest in things this far away.

Anyway, the warmest thanks for making and putting through all those kind and careful arrangements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

On Monday GSM to mail official receipt for $100 to Mr. Falk

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GUSTAVE F. FALK . . . . . EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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ADOLPH WOLDENBERG
MRS. ALICE W. WOLFF

CHICAGO CHAPTER

the *American Jewish Committee*

127 NORTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

PHONE: ANDOVER 3-6137

MAR 21 1955

March 18, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I want to take this opportunity to tell you how much I enjoyed your visit to Chicago and the opportunity to speak to you about subjects of our mutual interest. The members of the Chicago and Milwaukee Chapters thoroughly enjoyed your informative, analytical and interesting address about the desegregation issue in the South. It was encouraging and stimulating to all of us and we shall long remember your visit.

I have written to Mrs. Ashman about the success which you have scored in the two communities.

I hope that you have had a pleasant return visit to Atlanta.

Whenever you are in Chicago, I shall always welcome the opportunity of renewing our acquaintance.

Cordially,

Gustave Falk

Gustave F. Falk
Executive Director

GFF:ft

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March 22, 1955

Mr. John Slawson
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

Various of the people in the American Jewish Committee were kind enough to let me talk last week to a group from your Chicago Chapter and later on at a meeting of the Milwaukee Chapter.

I just want to say that I appreciate the opportunity to be before these informed and thoughtful groups. I like what AJC is after and the way it goes about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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March 25, 1955

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the letters.

I will discuss with Ed Lukas and other staff members here the proposal which you and George made during our luncheon at Atlanta.

If there is any hope of favorable action, I will be in touch with you.

May I remind you of your offer to send us copies of literature being distributed by bigots and other material of this kind which either you or Fred Rauh come across on your trips.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Davl

David Danzig

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
DD:lh

148-2-55

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DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

MAR 30 1955

March 28, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Dr. Slawson discussed with me your note to him of March 22 and asked me to write to you for us all.

You will surely be interested in hearing that we had received word from both Chicago and Milwaukee about your talks there, both of them extremely laudatory. Like myself, Dr. Slawson has always felt that cooperation between our two organizations is a "natural" in that the pragmatic approaches of both organizations are so similar.

We do hope this kind of cooperation can continue. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Manheim

Manheim S. Shapiro

MSS:if
cc:J. Slawson
G. Falk
S. Samet

April 21, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Generally I agree with Hodding Carter's article. We suppose that in the course of time, and of not a great deal of time, the more responsible people who are presently in control of the Citizens' Councils, finding that their measures prove ineffective in maintaining segregation, will withdraw and will leave the organization to people readier to resort to violent action. By the books that is what happened to the Klu Klux Klan in the old days.

The white Councils in Mississippi did put around a reading list including the publications of Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Frank Britten, and Common Sense.

We have heard of no public denial by the leaders of the movement that they or the Councils are anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic. I would expect them to go further down these bad channels.

I do not think that Negroes are going to knuckle under to economic pressure. Some will, but many won't.

I am told on good authority that the Mississippi Citizens' Council recently sent an emissary to the Arkansas Delta to spread the movement thereabouts. The Little Rock paper sent an able reporter to cover the speech-making. The emissary outdid himself in crudities. His speech was carried, nearly verbatim, in the paper and that is the last that was heard of the Citizens' Council in Arkansas, which is encouraging.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FBR - for the "heads" of a suitable reply

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See attached

April 12, 1955

APR 13 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I assume that you have long since read the Hodding Carter piece in Look, describing the councils that have been springing up -- in Mississippi and elsewhere -- designed to impose economic boycotts and exert their pressures as part of the resistance to desegregation.

There are at least two features of that article that are not a little disturbing, and I turn to you for your own valued judgment in connection therewith:

1. Do these councils shape up as potential sources of violent or other untoward resistance to desegregation, and do you see them in the same portentous light as Carter;

2. Is there much evidence around (and, if so, of what nature) to indicate that these councils are breeding grounds for anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic activities.

We would deeply appreciate your views in this matter and will, of course, keep their expression confidential, if you should so desire.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

148-2-55

Ready line
N L C S
N R A
Frank Britton
Common Sense

Pudder
Patterson
Black Monday

April 19, 1955

TO: GSM

FROM: FBR

RE: Letter from Ed Lukas, 12 April, 1955.

1. Do these councils shape up as potential sources of violent . . . ?

A. At the present time, the Councils are headed by fairly responsible people in the community. If these economic measures prove ineffective in maintaining segregation, these people are apt to withdraw and more irresponsible people who advocate more violent action are almost sure to assume control.

B. As in the case of the Klu Klux Klan: when planned activities got out of hand, responsible leadership during the period of Reconstruction withdrew, and more violent leadership took over.

C. As the Negro community organizes to meet the onslaught of presently used economic sanctions, more stringent methods will probably be utilized.

2. Is there much evidence around of anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic activities . . . ?

A. A quote from Patterson in the Jackson, Mississippi paper saying he would utilize pro-segregation material even though it were anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic in nature.

B. The distribution by the white Councils of a reading list, including the publications of Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Frank Britten, and the publication Common Sense.

C. No public denial by Patterson or other leaders of white Citizens' Councils that they are anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic in nature.

(This is the best information available, after talking with Grace, Harold, and Art Levin. Another thing that might be valuable is Item X, page 4, of Bob Hughes' report on Alabama dated April 1, 1955, "Status of Race Relations in Alabama." Available in file.)

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April 26, 1955

RECEIVED
APR 27 1955
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted to learn that you will be with us on Sunday, May 8, at the meeting of our Executive Board in Washington. This is good news indeed, because no one is more competent than you to discuss with our national leaders the perplexing problems involved in the implementation of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

I hope you can arrange to have lunch with a few of us at the Shoreham on that day, before the 2:30 session begins. If we could gather around 12:30 or 1:00 P.M., we would have the time that we may need to go over with greater particularity some of the things we would want to get out of that afternoon's session.

Specifically, what we had in mind was something like this: We would hope that you could, for about twenty or twenty-five minutes (allowing at least a full hour for some rewarding discussion) delineate for us some of the outstanding community problems you have encountered in the deep south in connection with your efforts to prepare the communities for the process of integration. You might want to follow the description of those problems with a few examples of intra-community tensions that have been, and yet will be, engendered as a result of the resistance to desegregation. (This might include the gratuitous stimulation of anti-Semitism, a circumstance in which our group would be especially interested.)

Finally, you might want to say something about the task ahead, in terms of the roles of national agencies and local community groups. This would have an especial interest for us since, as you know, we seek to find levels of cooperation with other agencies interested in the promotion of sound and enduring intergroup relations.

Your presentation would then be followed by questions, suggestions, and other remarks from the floor, in the course of which you will be enabled to get in a few more licks in respect to matters that you were not able to cover in your initial presentation.

I trust the foregoing meets with your approval.

I look forward to seeing you. Meanwhile, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

April 21, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I am safely back, and all is in order for the Washington trip to be at your service, Monday, May 8th in the afternoon from 2:00 on.

I will go up Saturday night on the Seaboard train and check in at the Cosmos Club Sunday morning, and be available there, and on tap at the Shoreham at 2:00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 22, 1955

Mr. Simon H. Rifkind
Chairman, Executive Board
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Rifkind:

All perfectly straight, and I am to be at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, Sunday, May 8th from 2:00 to 4:30 p.m.

I have so written Mr. Lukas.

I am grateful for this opportunity to be with your Executive Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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April 20, 1955

APR 22 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am gratified to learn that you will join us at our forthcoming Executive Board meeting Sunday, May 8 at the Hotel Shoreham in Washington, D.C. As Mr. Lukas indicated, we shall discuss community problems in connection with implementing the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decision. We look forward to your presentation to start our discussion.

In the next few days, several of us here will consider some tentative suggestions about how the session might be arranged so as to yield the most fruitful results. As soon as we have them, I shall see that these proposals for the structure of that session are passed along to you for your comments. Then perhaps by telephone and letter we can work out the final details.

Meanwhile, may I confirm the previous arrangements made with you by Mr. Lukas, and then by Mr. Robin with your office:

Time: The session will be held Sunday from approximately 2 to 4:30 P.M.

Travel: Of course, the Committee will be happy to defray any travel expenses to and from our meeting and to make whatever accommodations you may desire.

Meanwhile, if you should have any immediate reactions, would you kindly get in touch with Ed Lukas as I shall be away for several days.

I look forward to meeting you personally and again wish to express the appreciation of my colleagues for your acceptance.

Sincerely yours,

Simon H. Rifkind

Simon H. Rifkind, Chairman
Executive Board

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

148-2-55

April 29, 1955

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southern Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
213 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Muchas gracias for the letter of April 27th. Mr. Warren Cochrane's address is YMCA-Butler Street Branch, 22 Butler Street, N.E., Atlanta. I am sure he will find useful the things you send out on your mailing list.

Regarding the question you asked me when you were last up here about the Augusta Country Club: can't seem to find out any real information. The two people I know who live in Augusta don't belong to the club, I discover, and said they had asked friends but no one knew. So I am afraid I can be of little help on that matter.

How about dropping me a note and letting me know how things are going with the Date County Council. I am still very anxious to see that a success, and would feel a personal loss if it should fold.

Have just returned from a trip to Washington for a NAIRO board meeting and certainly think there is a great deal of merit in that organization. I imagine offhand that you are a member of it but in the rare case that you are not, as Chairman of the Southern Division, may I suggest you send your $10.00 in to John Field, NAIRO, 565 N. Erie Street, Toledo 2, Ohio. One of the things the organization definitely needs is more members in the South.

That's all the news from this end of the line. Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

April 27, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

We would like to put Mr. Warren Cochrane, director of the Negro YMCA of Atlanta, on our mailing list, but do not have the local address. Would you be good enough to send it to us?

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm

YMCA - Butler St. Branch
22 Butler St. NE.
Atlanta, Ga

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APR 30 1955

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SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida
Telephone: 82-4984

April 26, 1955

THE JEWS AMONG US

The attached article is a reprint from the April issue of Readers' Digest. Members of the national AJCommittee staff acted as consultants to the author in the preparation of this article.

The Jews Among Us begins with the story of Julius Lehmann, an immigrant, who, at his recent death at the age of 92, left $60,000 to the United States as a token of his gratitude. It then traces the history of the Jews in America, stressing their devotion to the United States throughout the centuries, in peace and in war.

I believe the article merits the widest distribution. Any suggestions you may have would be appreciated. Additional copies are available from the Southeast Area office.

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Can Social Fraternities Be Democratic?

By ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

Reprinted from THE JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION
Volume XXVI, Number 4, April, 1955

For additional copies write to
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Can Social Fraternities Be Democratic?

By ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

Views of an Educator

SOCIAL scientists have given little systematic or even serious attention to voluntary undergraduate social organizations. We actually know more about certain primitive secret societies than we do about American college fraternities and sororities.

In policy making, college administrators make many assumptions about how such organizations function. For example, the preamble to official regulations concerning membership eligibility in fraternities and sororities at Syracuse University contains this statement: "It is the ultimate aim of a democratic educational institution to foster beliefs and practices free from prejudice and discrimination." This reflects a basic concern of the university for the nature of extra-curricular campus influences upon students, but it leaves more questions unanswered than it answers. How democratic is the informal training our students get in our social fraternities and sororities? How democratic can it be?

The Syracuse conception of corporate responsibility for the membership practices of student organizations is not widely shared by American colleges. A more typical view is that taken by the University of Missouri in its assertion, "the University does not concern itself with the basis for membership in these organizations [fraternities and sororities] other than to require that members be students enrolled in the University." This dictum gives some clue to our relative unconcern for the rôles played by social fraternities and sororities in the educational experiences of their members. In interpreting this rule, the Missouri vice-president in charge of student activities writes, "I don't believe in making the University a

tool for reform even when I agree that reform is needed."

In spite of this typical effort to brush the problem aside, a reform movement against the prevalent racial and religious discrimination by fraternities and sororities has been long overdue, and it developed with the return of veterans of the Second World War to the campuses. This reform movement has been almost entirely a spontaneous one, local in character and without national leadership or co-ordination. Unfortunately, after reaching a peak in 1948–50, it slowed down perceptibly.

Less than 25 per cent of fraternity colleges now have any antibias regulations, however mild. Moreover there is a serious question whether the results in democratization at the colleges which have adopted such regulations—short of the Princeton and Amherst patterns—are really significant. With few exceptions, the accusation still stands: American college fraternities and sororities are training schools in antidemocratic racial and religious snobbishness rather than the democratic microcosms their orators and their statements of principles so often proclaim.

Is this necessary? Can these organizations maintain the interest of students and become democratic in operation? Since they give one in five of our undergraduates three or four years of vivid experience in racial and religious prejudice, the answer to these questions is a fateful one. This is especially so when one realizes that this fraction of almost four hundred thousand students includes many of our more personable and otherwise privileged students.

Available studies and incidental materials do not prepare those concerned with American life to understand the pervasive rôles played by these organizations among middle and upper-class Americans. Social scientists have analyzed some of their rituals, discussed in general how their members rate, are rated, and date, reported a range of their members' opinions, and given some impression of how these organizations fit in general into the social structure of our campuses. But we still know too little concerning the social rôles and the parts in personality development which such organizations play. Such novels as Percy Marks's *The Plastic Age* (1924) and Sinclair Lewis's *Gideon Planish* (1943) give impressions fairly typical of those held by many concerning fraternities. The flattering house organs of the national bodies and the occasional sensational news items and magazine articles help to describe the associations, but they give only biased and superficial conceptions.

That academic social scientists have largely neglected social fraternities is not surprising. Whether they were members of fraternities as undergraduates or not, liberal-arts professors are drawn largely from among the persons less identified during student days with the gang-like play groups of their fellows. As a result in part of this continuing social distance between professors and fraternity members, in other words of our lack of knowledge concerning fraternities, college policies often take shape as reactions against primitive rituals and juvenile pranks and in response to noisy, wealthy, and sentimental alumni. Such policies thus frequently treat fraternities as at best

necessary evils occasioned by misguided alumni or by playboys or by a shortage of dormitories. Alliances between fraternities and alumni who are devoted to over-emphasized athletics do not make faculty understanding any easier.

FACULTY policies seldom reflect a clear recognition that organizations absorbing so much of the time and effort of many selected undergraduates are powerful campus influences and that they have educational as well as less constructive rôles. I am, of course, not taking too seriously the 1938 statement by the Association of American Colleges and the National Interfraternity Conference that "properly organized and maintained" fraternities are "an essential feature of the educational process." The two bodies were formulating ideals; they were not conceptualizing actual fraternity practices or possibilities.

The principal criticisms faculty members make of social fraternities are that they prolong adolescence and that they are necessarily built upon snobbishness, especially upon discrimination in each case against all but one religious and one racial group. As fraternities are now organized, there is considerable evidence to support these charges. If the charges are correct and cannot be refuted, then, in my opinion, efforts should be made to eliminate fraternities entirely from our campuses. But available facts do not indicate such clear and dogmatic conclusions. Let us look at the first charge briefly and then treat the second one in more detail.

The contention of professors that fraternities prolong adolescence reminds one of comments by overprotective parents concerning their children's "horrible" playmates. Apparently both parents and parent-substitutes in our culture all too often assume that the next generation can be assimilated only into the superficial morality of home and school, and with only this set of values can achieve what passes functionally in our society for maturity. In this simplification they often overlook the need felt by many for the achievement of a degree of personal autonomy and the relationship of such autonomy to maturation. They also overlook what is frequently called the schizoid nature of value systems and attitudes about values in our society.

In spite of appearances and stereotypes, it is possible that the superficial morality and the authoritarianism of our schools do much to prolong adolescent dependence, and that such gang-like groups as fraternities and sororities may sometimes help adolescents to achieve independence. Examples of fraternity failures in this regard haunt chapter houses from time to time, especially during football seasons and class reunions, but educators also see about campuses examples of their own lack of success in severing umbilical cords; some of these psychological dependents are among their own colleagues.

The alternative frequently advocated by faculty members for the social fraternity is the group or club developed about such special interests as debating, politics, or vocations. The chief difficulty with such clubs—especially in these tense days of carefully controlled and insulated campuses—is their dependence upon

experts (faculty members or outside equivalents) for guidance, and for considerable control. I have observed the destructive forces which converge upon deans of students, but the volume-length mimeographed codes for the "recognition" and "regulation" of campus organizations still shock me. They prove more conclusively than anything else that "recognized" campus interest groups are seldom anything other than extensions of the classroom. The codes by which they are regulated are preoccupied largely with ways of blocking "controversial" activities.

Campus special-interest groups frequently have all the ritualism and stuffiness of the formal activities of a Sunday-school class or a Boy Scout troop. Apparently the only voluntary student organizations to which we still grant relatively high autonomy are the fraternities. And with them as with the Boy Scout troops, it is their informal rather than their formal aspects which have chief significance in personal life histories.

LET us look at the other criticism of fraternities, the contention that they necessarily build upon snobbishness and especially upon discrimination against persons of other racial and religious groups. In faculty dining rooms and committee meetings, this is the most serious reason advanced for reforming or eliminating fraternal organizations.

The example of Phi Delta Theta has stimulated concern again with this criticism. This national fraternity suspended chapters at Amherst and Williams in 1953 because they violated the constitutional clause limiting membership to persons of "full Aryan blood." Even after changing that clause in 1954, the Phi Delts would not reinstate the two chapters. The University of Chicago threatened to disband its Phi Delta chapter if it did not comply with university nondiscriminatory policy, but the superficial clause change apparently satisfied that university.

The University of Connecticut forced four fraternities—Lambda Chi Alpha, Sigma Nu, Kappa Sigma, and Sigma Chi—to sever their national ties in order to comply with a university ban on discriminatory membership policies. Dartmouth, Columbia, and Wisconsin are preparing to withhold recognition from any group which limits its membership for reasons of race or religion. Hoping to reform rather than punish, they have set 1960 as a deadline, in order to give the fraternities several national conventions at which to accept what is for them a new conception. The Columbia and Dartmouth actions have the support of student referendums.

Only seven of the 125 leading "fraternity colleges" surveyed by the National Committee on Fraternities in Education have taken so firm a stand. A more popular position, held by perhaps two dozen schools, bans new discriminatory societies, but it permits those already on the campus to remain on condition that they make "sincere efforts" either to reform their parent organizations or to gain freedom of action.

By and large, the struggle is being led neither by colleges nor by national fraternity leaders but by undergraduates. These student leaders find that college action is necessary to consolidate their gains, but most schools have yet to take a stand on the issue. The National Committee's survey revealed that at about 95 of

the 125 leading "fraternity colleges" the policy of the colleges in the matter is a negative one, a failure to accept responsibility.

Recent experiences of the State University of New York illustrate in a rather extreme manner some facets of this type of criticism. Its administration became concerned with the antidemocratic nature of fraternities and sororities on its far-flung campuses. It therefore required all such groups to eliminate racial and religious membership restrictions. Chapters of national fraternities followed this policy only superficially, and it was learned that some nationals exacted secret pledges and imposed ritualistic observances which negated State University policy. President William S. Carlson insisted that all fraternities and sororities adhere to the spirit of the policy. Because the national organizations persisted in frustrating that spirit by what Carlson and his associates considered "pernicious" practices, the Board of Trustees decided it was not possible to bring chapters of the nationals to genuine compliance. The Board therefore decided to withdraw recognition from the chapters of all national fraternities and sororities. Only local fraternal groups could continue to receive recognition. The experience with the latter had been better.

Thus, the State University of New York not only went as far as Syracuse University, the University of Connecticut, and some other schools in asserting its concern for the existence on its campuses of antidemocratic organizations. It concluded, whether too hastily or not, that only by eliminating the influence of national fraternal organizations could it foster nondiscriminatory social groups.

IN 1949, moved by undergraduate pressure, the National Interfraternity Conference recommended that those of its constituent organizations which had discriminatory membership policies should review such provisions with a view to their removal. Since then, however, more conservative elements in the Conference have prevailed. Its most recent resolution on the subject calls for "fraternity autonomy." This means: National fraternities will determine membership standards—colleges please keep hands off.

So much for a few evidences of harmful discrimination and resistance to it. Let us look at the two campuses which furnish the best illustrations of nondiscriminatory social groups, Princeton and Amherst. Princeton's eating clubs and Amherst's fraternities have gone further toward the elimination of racial and religious exclusiveness in their membership selection policies than the social organizations in other colleges and universities. They may well point the way toward the adaptation of fraternities to more enlightened standards of democratic living.

In both Princeton and Amherst, all interested men may join social societies, and all social organizations find places for all interested men. Members of minority groups are not segregated in special clubs but find themselves assimilated into a range of eating clubs and fraternities. The highly successful Princeton and Amherst systems are perhaps the best answer to those who contend that fraternities must always be snobbish.

What are the prospects for change in this situation at other colleges? Henry Merritt Wriston, president of

Brown University, has observed that racial and religious restrictions in fraternities would disappear if left to the students themselves. This view is corroborated by such evidence as a nation-wide Roper survey of college students, made in 1950, which revealed that 60 per cent of them opposed any such discrimination while only 20 per cent favored exclusion. An additional 20 per cent believed partial restrictions to be a solution. Contrary to what many would expect, there has been little difference in the voting of fraternity and nonfraternity students. The national and world movement which gave us the school antisegregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, has also had some reflection in campus thinking. To cite but one case, a 1948 Dartmouth referendum gave 21 per cent of the votes to the continuance of racial and religious restrictions, and another referendum there in April, 1954, found only 14 per cent of the students still maintaining this position.

Unfortunately, student fraternity members are themselves part of a system which prevents them from moving in the direction President Wriston predicted. It is a system over which they have little control and which rather effectively prohibits a great many of them from exercising the right of free association. Most national fraternities are governed, if not nominally then actually, by alumni. These alumni are not, it needs to be stressed, a cross section of fraternity alumni. Many who take active rôles in national fraternal affairs caricature the worst aspects of fraternity life and are completely wedded to the fraternal *status quo*. Drawn from among these alumni and helping to perpetuate outworn ultra-clannish tendencies are the fraternity bureaucrats. Nonconformist chapters occasionally rally large groups of alumni to their support, but these forces rarely have been able to sustain the effort necessary to effect a basic change.

TWO levels of change are needed to bring the racial and religious practices of campus organizations closer to the democratic educational objectives of the college. The first concern has been with the removal of restrictive clauses in the constitutions; this appears to result in little change in actual practices. The second level, and the one signifying fundamental change, has been reached only where the college has determined that continuance of racial and religious restrictions is incompatible with its basic educational policy. More than eighty per cent of college presidents have expressed a desire to achieve such a goal in some fashion, but less than one-fourth of the fraternity colleges surveyed have done anything about it, however little. Expression of concern with this problem is still short of an assumption of responsibility for its solution.

It is now likely that the number of national fraternities with offensive clauses will diminish considerably within the next four years. Among members of the National Interfraternity Conference, the number has fallen from about 25 to 9 in the past six years. Only one sorority in the National Panhellenic Council now has such a provision. Concern with clauses, however, is merely a first step and largely a formality. It only removes an obstacle; it does not promote integration.

It was found at Dartmouth that many fraternities without restrictive clauses were bound by unwritten national restrictive policies. The student referendum of April, 1954, recommended that unwritten as well as written restrictions be brought under the antibias rule.

To move toward the second level, that of actual integration, considerable research is necessary into the complex nature of these organizations as extended families, as steps from home life to the large community, and as instruments for the rating, dating, and mating of college students. Each year a few more schools undertake, with varying degrees of stringency, to reform fraternity policies, and every so often a Greek-letter social organization modifies its membership practices from within. It seems apparent, however, that no significant change will occur unless the efforts of college administrators, alumni, faculty, and students are greatly stimulated and encouraged.

In order to obtain information and to encourage such stimulation, a group of college educators and community leaders have formed the National Committee on Fraternities in Education. This group believes that social fraternities and sororities can become democratic microcosms in which cross sections of campuses can have genuine and important experiences in democratic living. The Committee plans to achieve its goal by: providing information on developments in fraternity and sorority policies and programs; undertaking appropriate research and study, including further examination of the damage to educational objectives and to personality development already indicated by preliminary evidence; making information and consultation services available to fraternities and sororities, colleges, other student organizations, and the general public; stimulating conferences among alumni, undergraduate fraternity leaders, and college administrators and trustees to promote understanding of the problem and corrective action, campus by campus; and encouraging colleges, national organizations, and alumni to recognize the importance of permitting young people to select their own companions on the basis of personal criteria.

The National Committee on Fraternities in Education is just getting its program under way. It is dealing with a social problem in which there is now sufficient interest for good results to be achieved. With the support that the Committee has already received, it can look forward to furnishing undergraduates and others interested in eliminating discriminatory practices with the services of a stable source of advice and information for their efforts. From the faculty standpoint, an important contribution will be help in decreasing the social distance between professors and future leaders in business, politics, and union affairs, who frequently find more stimulation—for better or for worse—in social fraternities and sorities than in college classrooms.

Can social fraternities be democratic? We will learn more about the probable answer to this question as the struggle goes on, led primarily by some of our finest undergraduates. Certainly the Amherst chapter of Phi Kappa Psi—now the Phi Alpha Psi local—gives plentiful assurance that certain fraternities at least can be democratic. The national threw it out in 1948 because its members

unanimously wished to initiate a Negro. The local weathered every storm. It maintained its high recognition both in student activities and as the group with the highest scholastic average on the campus. In addition, in a period in which students have had to face unusual social and moral conditions, the Amherst president stated that Phi Psi is one of two houses in which he has complete confidence. Little wonder that Alfred S. Romer, an alumnus of this fraternity and the Director of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, wrote recently of this group, "The fight has been won; the flag still flies." Social fraternities can be democratic. Let us hope that more of them shortly will be.

[Vol. XXVI, No. 4]

May 2, 1955

TO: Robert E. Hughes

Am sending you the enclosed proposed statute for the permanent files of your state organization.

While it may be some time before such legislation is probable in the Southern states, and while our organization may not engage in the advocacy of legislation, it is important to have a working knowledge of what such legislation might include.

FBR

Enclosure:

CLSA Reports - Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress

Sent to:

Alabama: Hughes
Arkansas: Griswold
Florida: Finner
Georgia: Wells
Kentucky: Dagen
Louisiana: Vigo
Mississippi: Lyells
North Carolina: Jones
South Carolina: Spearman
Tennessee: Beckman
Texas: Sutherland
Virginia: Smith

May 4, 1955

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
213 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Enclosed is a copy of our SRC NEWSLETTER which I thought you might find of interest. In it you will note that the state staff people are listed and their addresses given. I think it would be helpful to them if you put on your mailing list for AJC these names and I am sure a copy of the Readers Digest reprint, "The Jews Among Us," would be of interest to them. I recognise that some of them are probably outside of your area of jurisdiction and that the central office may have to put them on the mailing list, but I think it would be appreciated.

Best regards to your family and you.

Sordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf

May 11, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your most kind letter, and for the check.

If AJC members throughout the South will play their proper part, the whole country will be a lot further along the way to peaceful integration in the public schools. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of urging that course on those who were present.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

May 10, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In sending to you the enclosed check for $75.00 KS (to cover your expenses to and from Washington last Sunday), I want you to know how delighted we all were with your presentation. It was precisely the sort of thing we had in mind, and it served immeasurably to stimulate our Executive Board into a greater awareness of the problem, and willingness to encourage programs, jointly with other agencies, looking toward the solution of that problem.

Again, our thanks for your thoughtfulness, and my warm regards to you. I hope to see something of you again soon.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

May 16, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Many thanks for your Newsletter. As per your suggestion I am placing your state staff people in Georgia, Alabama and Florida on my mailing list. I am also asking my New York office to service the rest with their regular service to community relations agencies. You may wish to tell them to be on the "receptive lookout" for such materials.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: D. Nathan
I. Terman
M. Shapiro

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

May 16, 1955

Dorothy Nathan

Seymour Samet

as
Do you know the Southern Regional Council is now setting up State offices throughout the South? I have asked Fred Routh, Associate Director of the Council, to send you the names and addresses of the new staff for these offices so that you may be able to include them on your list of national contacts.

Regards.

cc: I. Terman
M. Shapiro
Fred Routh

April 19, 1955

TO: GSM

FROM: FBR

RE: Letter from Ed Lukas, 12 April, 1955.

1. Do these councils shape up as potential sources of violent . . . ?

A. At the present time, the Councils are headed by fairly responsible people in the community. If these economic measures prove ineffective in maintaining segregation, these people are apt to withdraw and more irresponsible people who advocate more violent action are almost sure to assume control.

B. As in the case of the Klu Klux Klan: when planned activities got out of hand, responsible leadership during the period of Reconstruction withdrew, and more violent leadership took over.

C. As the Negro community organizes to meet the onslaught of presently used economic sanctions, more stringent methods will probably be utilized.

2. Is there much evidence around of anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic activities . . . ?

A. A quote from Patterson in the Jackson, Mississippi paper saying he would utilize pro-segregation material even though it were anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic in nature.

B. The distribution by the white Councils of a reading list, including the publications of Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Frank Britten, and the publication Common Sense.

C. No public denial by Patterson or other leaders of white Citizens' Councils that they are anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic in nature.

(This is the best information available, after talking with Grace, Harold, and Art Levin. Another thing that might be valuable is Item X, page 4, of Bob Hughes' report on Alabama dated April 1, 1955, "Status of Race Relations in Alabama." Available in file.)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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MRS. CAROLINE K. SIMON, *New York, Vice-President*
JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

May 16, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Personally, and on behalf of the officers of the American Jewish Committee, I want to say how pleased we were to have you address the recent meeting of our Executive Board.

Your talk was a most enlightening one, and certainly one of the high points of our two-day meeting. I am sure that it was particularly meaningful to our members from Southern communities.

Sincerely,

Simon H. Rifkind

Simon H. Rifkind, Chairman
Executive Board

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SHR:pm

148-2-55

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

May 19, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A copy of Morroe Berger's Equality by Statute is being sent out to you today, under separate cover.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

261 158-4-54

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

JUN 1 1955

May 20, 1955

Dear Friend:

I enclose for your information copies of three resolutions adopted by the Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee in Washington on May 8, 1955.

One is a statement on desegregation in the District of Columbia, the second is an endorsement of the United Nations on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, and the third urges improvement in the Refugee Relief Act and in basic U.S. immigration policy.

Additional copies of these statements are available.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

Edwin J. Lukas
Director
Department of
National Affairs

ejl/bwl
Enc.

261 158A-4-54

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

MAY 7-8, 1955

STATEMENT ON DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON D. C.

The progress in Washington in abolishing segregation in the public schools, following its elimination in restaurants, theatres and other places of public accomodation, is a source of satisfaction to those who have worked long and earnestly for this objective. The President, the Administration and the District officials responsible for carrying out the program are deserving of the highest commendation, with a special word of praise for the heads of the District school system.

The successful integration of the public schools of the nation's capital into a single system, now being brought about so expeditiously and harmoniously, will set an example for the rest of the country. It will have international implications as well, for what is done in Washington symbolizes the pattern of our society not only to our own citizens, but also to people everywhere.

The American Jewish Committee expresses the hope that all communities whose school systems are affected by the desegregation decrees of the Supreme Court will follow the example set by the District of Columbia.

Adopted - May 8, 1955
Hotel Shoreham
Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

MAY 7-8, 1955

STATEMENT ON

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee, convening as the United Nations approaches its tenth anniversary, extends congratulations upon a decade of significant achievement.

Born at the dawn of the atomic age, the UN has grappled with crises -- in Iran, Indonesia, Greece, Kashmir and Palestine -- which might well have erupted into warfare immeasurably more destructive than any conflict of the past. In Korea, Communist invasion was countered by the first collective action on the part of free nations to resist aggression.

Even while dealing with these outbreaks, and despite cold war tensions which have gravely retarded all moves toward international cooperation, the UN has initiated farsighted measures designed to bring dignity and economic security within the reach of millions. Many victims of war, disease and starvation have been helped to help themselves. Modern agricultural and industrial methods have been brought to many impoverished lands. New UNESCO-sponsored schools are helping to reduce illiteracy and to combat superstitions and prejudices that keep men from working together for their common welfare.

With the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the UN took the first step toward securing for all

people those basic freedoms of the individual which have protected Americans against despotism. While acknowledging the difficulties to be overcome in translating the principles of the Declaration into binding agreements, we voice the hope that this task will go forward. For, only when human rights are universally respected, will there be an end to dictators and their drives for conquest.

The full potential of these manifold efforts can be realized only if public opinion recognizes that the UN is neither a threat to our sovereignty nor a panacea, but rather an instrument that can be no stronger than the will-to-peace of the peoples of the world and their determination to support international cooperation. To foster this essential understanding, to help marshal this vigorous support, the American Jewish Committee pledges its continued endeavors.

Adopted - May 8, 1955
Hotel Shoreham
Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

MAY 7-8, 1955

STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION POLICY

It is now plainly apparent that the administration of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 has collapsed.

Only 17,000 aliens, of whom a mere 1,000 are refugees, have been admitted out of a total of 209,000 provided for by the Act. This despite the fact that over half of the three-year life of that law has elapsed.

The Act is being administered unsympathetically. Obstacles to immigration contained in the inherently inadequate and rigid law have been magnified. Operation of the law has been seriously impeded by the inflexible and discriminatory provisions of the country's basic immigration statute, the McCarran-Walter Act, whose standards govern the Refugee Relief Act.

We commend those members of Congress, in each major party, who have joined in sponsoring bills to improve the Refugee Relief Act, as well as the basic immigration code. We call upon the Administration and Congress to implement in deeds its oft-repeated advocacy of a forward-looking, humanitarian immigration policy.

We urge the appointment of officials who will carry out the Refugee Relief Act with understanding and sympathy, and we call upon the 84th Congress to undertake a fundamental revision of the immigration laws for the purpose of removing their discriminatory features.

Adopted, May 8, 1955
Hotel Shoreham
Washington, D. C.

May 23, 1955

TO: GTH

Seymour Samet, the professional person for the Southeast employed by the American Jewish Committee and station at Miami, 213 N. E. Second Avenue, was in Atlanta May 20th.

He came by the office and asked to be brought up to date on matter of Georgia and the forthcoming White House conference on education.

I told him I would ask you to write him and fill him in.

GSM/eab

May 26, 1955

Mr. Will Maslow
Dir. Commission on Law
and Social Action
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Please send us 50 copies of your mimeographed "A Model State Human Relations Commission Bill."

We have distributed copies to all of our state organizations in the twelve Southern states and some of them are beginning to find them useful in talking with some of their friends in the legislatures.

With best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR:rnf

May 27, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed,

Thanks for the copy of Morroe Berger's book. I have been delegated to write you that we all agree that its strategic circulation in the South would be helpful and particularly timely just now.

If the AJC has a supply of the book that it can afford to distribute free, we could use 50 copies to good effect; these we would get into the hands of leadership people in our affiliated state movements. The thesis that Berger sets out is not so well known even among the "persuaded" leadership down here that they could not profit greatly from the book.

If you are thinking of developing a more general list of strategic persons in the South to receive the book, we would be glad to work with you on it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for
Information

HCF:rnf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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May 4, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 6 1955

Dear George:

I wonder whether you are familiar with Morroe Berger's Equality By Statute, published a couple of years ago by the Columbia University Press (confidentially, it was a book that was part subsidized by us). It was designed to develop the history of certain types of civil rights legislation in this country, and to indicate the gradual liberalization of the attitude of our courts toward that legislation. Several of its chapters deal with the importance of law as a means of educating the public away from prejudiced attitudes and behavior.

It occurred to me that, in addition to the Ashmore book, the Berger book could be strategically distributed in the South to and among important leaders who may yet not be convinced -- despite their good will -- that with all of its limitations, law does play an important role as an educational tool. Berger makes out an extremely convincing case in that direction.

If the book has not yet been made available to you, let me know and I will have a copy sent to you at once, following which I should appreciate your comments on this proposal.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

Requested 5/17 - HCF

Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan
Department of Community Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Nathan:

Thanks so much for your letter about "Equality by Statute".

We will be most grateful for the gift of 50 copies and will try to place them as effectively as possible. I will look forward to hearing further from you or from Seymour Samet.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director

HCF/vc
cc Seymour Samet

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

June 2, 1955

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is in reply to your letter of May 27th addressed to Mr. Edwin J. Lukas on whose behalf I am writing to you.

Although copies of Morroe Berger's book EQUALITY BY STATUTE sell for $3.25 we have been making the book available at our special discount price of $2.10. In view of what you say of the good effect this book would have, were it put into the hands of strategically placed individuals in the South, we will find some means of making the 50 copies available to you without charge. I am writing to our Southern area director, Mr. Seymour Samet in Miami, Florida, to determine the procedures involved in supplying these copies to you. You will, however, hear further from me very soon or directly from Mr. Samet.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy M. Nathan

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
Department of Community Affairs

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm. 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DMN/pc

cc: Seymour Samet

June 20, 1955 June 20, 1955

HCF:

I asked Grace the day after Samet's visit to write Samet about what was known on Georgia participation in the White House Conferences. I take it from Samet's letter that she did not write.

Can you contribe to get the story together and write Samet?

GSM
eab/

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

a. J.C.

June 20, 1955

HCF:

I asked Grace the day after Samet's visit to write Samet about what was known on Georgia participation in the White House Conferences. I take it from Samet's letter that she did not write.

Can you contrive to get the story together and write Samet?

GSM
eab/

June 29, 1955.

Mr. Seymour Samet
The American Jewish Commit tee
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

George appreciated your letter of June17 bringing us up to date on the repudiation of Ellis Rubin. As you probably know, there is some confusion about the name New South, Paul Crouch having claimed that a paper by that name was published by the Communists during the thirties. We have never seen a copy of it, and never heard of it, until the last few years. But the confusion is exploited by the smear specialists.

I accept full blame for our failure to answer your inquiry about Georgia plans for the White House Conference. As you probably know from the literature, Georgia is planning two segregated state conferences, tentative date August 20, the white one to be at the University of Georgia and the Negro one to be at Fort Valley State College. The whole affair is headed by George P. Whitman Jr., chairman of the state board of Education and a Talmadge man to his toes. In view of this "leadership", we are way out of communications with those who are doing the planning. I discussed this with Morris, and he feels as I do that any involvement of AJC people would have to take place through very conservative channels.

It is tru, as George Mitchell said, that Grace Hamilton of our staff had been following White House Conference developments fairly closely (she has been away for the last month.) But she has been concerned mainly with its racial aspects and opportunities that might be realized at the nationwide conference in Washington.

Sorry we can't be of some help, but we will be in touch with Morris and will work with him on it in anyway that we can.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

JUN 20 1955

Juen 17, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

When last we met I told of the attempt being made by one Ellis Rubin to introduce into the State Legislature an investigation of subversive activities. You will remember that the investigation was to include an examination of the subscription lists of the Daily Worker, Freiheit and The New South.

Altho this bill was being promoted by the American Legion and other conservative groups it was defeated when it was buried in committee. It was interesting to note that some of the opposition came from the delegates of small counties in the northern section of the state.

We are currently interested in plans which may be in the making for a State Conference on Education in Georgia. I refer to the one which would normally be projected as a step precedent to participation in the forthcoming White House Conference on Education. You suggested that one of the people on your staff might be able to provide information on the current status of such plans and the possibility of some of the AJC members becoming involved. If there is any material available or any suggestions which you may have regarding how we can help stimulate some action I would appreciate it if you could send this to my office with a copy to Morris Abram.

Many thanks and best regards.

cc: Morris Abram

Sincerely,

Seymour

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

M E M O R A N D U M

June 29, 1955

JUL 28 1955

To: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices

From: Theodore Leskes and Sidney Liskofsky

Subject: Schachtman v. Dulles, et al., in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia

Digest:

U.S. Court of Appeals holds that denial of a passport by the Secretary of State is subject to court review and rejects State Department's contention that issuance of passport is exclusively a political or foreign affairs matter and hence within exclusive discretion of Secretary.

* * * * * *

On June 23, 1955, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit handed down a far-reaching decision on the passport question.

The opinion resulted from an appeal from a decision of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Schachtman, who is chairman of the Independent Socialist League, had sued in the District Court to enjoin the Secretary of State from denying his application for a passport to visit Europe. The District Court dismissed his complaint on the ground that it failed to state a cause of action and that the Secretary of State possesses exclusive discretion to grant or deny passports. Schachtman appealed to the Court of Appeals on the theory that the District Court erred when it held that the Secretary's discretion to issue or not to issue a passport was not subject to judicial review.

The Court of Appeals rejected the government's contention that the Secretary of State's discretion in the matter of passports is absolute. The traditional position of the State Department that there is no right to a passport but only a privilege, that its authority in the matter of passports is unreviewable by the courts, had been founded both on statute and on the argument that the issuance of a passport is a purely foreign affairs or political matter. The Court rejected this position and held that passport issuance is not exclusively a political function. Though it conceded that in some cases the exercise of the passport function might affect the conduct of foreign affairs and hence be a proper subject of executive discretion, the Court said that the refusal to issue a passport to an individual also impinged on basic constitutional rights. Thus, the Court reiterated that travel abroad is as much a right as is travel among the states, and that since under present law a person cannot legally leave or re-enter the United States without a passport,

> [t]he denial of a passport accordingly causes a deprivation of liberty that a citizen otherwise would have. The right to travel, to go from place to place as the means of transportation permit, is a natural right subject to the rights of others and to reasonable regulation under law. A restraint imposed by the Government of the United States upon this liberty, therefore, must conform with the provision of the Fifth Amendment that "No person shall be ... deprived of ... liberty ... without due process of law."

In effect, the Court held that the State Department could withhold a passport only on grounds that are "reasonable", and asserted the authority of the courts to determine this point. It found that in the particular case, the ground of refusal was unreasonable. "Discretionary power does not carry with it the right to its arbitrary exercise .... What is arbitrary, however, in the sense of constituting a denial of due process, depends upon circumstances .... Restraint upon travel abroad might be reasonable during an emergency though in normal times it would be arbitrary."

Since the State Department had moved to dismiss Schachtman's complaint in the District Court, the Court of Appeals, in accordance with long-established legal principles, accepted as true the statement in the complaint that the passport had been denied solely because of inclusion of the Independent Socialist League — of which Schachtman was chairman — on the Attorney General's list, and that this listing was without notice or hearing, despite repeated attempts to persuade the Attorney General to grant a hearing so that the designation could be proved unjust.

Although the Court did not challenge the right of the Attorney General to list organizations nor even reliance thereon by the Secretary of State in a proper case, the Court considered it improper for the Secretary to found his denial of a passport exclusively on such listing, in the face of the appellant's challenge to the correctness of the listing and the failure of the Attorney General to grant him an opportunity to demonstrate its incorrectness. (The Court pointed out that even in cases involving suitability for federal employment, which is the formal objective of the Attorney General's list, an employee who is a member of a listed organization may not be removed from public service without a determination of unsuitability by the employing agency; the sole fact of membership in a listed organization is not enough.) In short, the Court of Appeals held that mere affiliation with a group on the Attorney General's list is not a "reasonable" ground for denial of passport. This peripheral holding was perhaps the most important part of its decision.

In a concurring opinion, Judge Edgerton cited the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of Williams v. Fears, 179 U.S. 270, 274, asserting that "the right of locomotion, the right to remove from one place to another according to inclination, is an attitude (sic.) of personal liberty, ... is a right secured by the Fourteenth Amendment and by other provisions of the Constitution." He urged that "freedom to leave a country or a hemisphere is as much a part of liberty as freedom to leave a state." Even more strongly than the Court's opinion, Edgerton stressed that the Attorney General's list was prepared for the limited purpose of "screening government employees, not passport applicants." "Even in connection with screening government employees," he asserted, "membership in a listed organization was intended to be only an inconclusive item of evidence."

Though the court's opinion, written by Judge Fahy, did not go so far as to hold that the Court could determine whether or not a passport should be granted, but only whether the reason given for denial was sufficient, Judge Edgerton would have had the Court order the State Department in this case to issue a passport to Schachtman.

As of this date, the government has not publicly stated whether it will appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

tl-sl/bwl

June 29, 1956

Mr. Lawrence Bloomgarden
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Bloomgarden:

I have the enclosed letter. When the maggie comes, I will send it on to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab photo of
Encl. -/ltr from William E. Forester
Kappa Alpha, dtd 6/28/56

filed in Kappa Alpha folder

The Attack on Our Libraries

by

JAMES RORTY

A REPRINT FROM
COMMENTARY
JUNE, 1955
34 W. 33RD ST., NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

THE ATTACK ON OUR LIBRARIES

Defending "Freedom to Read" at the Grass-Roots

JAMES RORTY

TRADITIONALLY, American libraries have been quiet little sanctuaries, untroubled islands of repose far removed from the swirling tides of political strife. Their custodians have tended to be gentle and scholarly non-combatants, vowed to poverty by the meager rewards of their profession, and to impartiality as the stewards of the cultural heritage.

All this was changed by the cold war, the Congressional investigations of Communist subversion, and the resulting concern of citizens—often exaggerated and fanned by local demagogues and publicity seekers—lest libraries be used as channels for the distribution of Communist propaganda, especially to school children. Fear collided with fear: the public's fear of underhand, Communist-inspired books, and the librarians' fear of hysterical, intolerant "book-burners."

In scores of American communities these fears made headlines in the local newspapers and heated the atmosphere of packed town meetings. In the nation, apprehensions began to be voiced that a wholesale attack on the libraries was being mounted which might result in a purge of all controversial books from their shelves and go far toward destroying America's "freedom to read." The case histories that follow span the period 1950-54; they show the essential pattern of these controversies, which, in 1953, were heightened and multiplied by the McCarthy hearings on the United States International Information Administration, with its televised parade of Communist authors whose books had been found in the State Department's overseas libraries. It was at this point that national solicitude found its strongest expression in President Eisenhower's declaration at Dartmouth College on June 14, 1953: "Don't join the book-burners," he warned. "Don't think you're going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go to your library and read every book, as long as any document does not offend your own ideas of decency. That should be your only censorship."

A MONTH after the Communists invaded South Korea, Ruth Brown lost her job as librarian of the Bartlesville, Oklahoma, public library. The two events were not wholly unconnected. With American young men fighting in Korea, American mothers and fathers all across the nation had become increasingly concerned about Communist subversion on the home front.

Miss Brown was never a Communist, nor was she ever charged with being one. The complaint, voiced by a citizens' committee, and investigated by the City Commission, was that she had given library shelf space to the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, and *Soviet Russia Today*. It was also alleged that she had participated in group discussions of race relations—always a highly charged subject in a border state. Later, when the City Com-

---

IT IS not so many months since Mr. Eisenhower felt compelled to advise Americans, "Don't join the book-burners!" In many communities libraries and librarians were under attack by pressure groups for alleged subversion, and the President's warning reflected the wide concern that America's cherished "freedom to read" was being threatened by a spreading vigilantism. JAMES RORTY here sketches the ordeal of the libraries: the nature and direction of the attacks, and the way that many communities—though, alas, far from all—were able to fight off the incursions. Mr. Rorty has contributed many articles to COMMENTARY; the most recent was "The Dossier of Wolf Ladejinsky" in our April issue. At present he is working on a book on censorship in the United States.

mission recommended Miss Brown's discharge by the Library Board, it added *Consumer's Research** and the *Negro Digest* to the list of publications it considered objectionable.

Miss Brown fought back. A city ordinance provided that the librarian could be dismissed only for misconduct or neglect of duty, neither of which was charged. Moreover, Miss Brown had the confidence of the Bartlesville Library Board, which ruled that, while *Soviet Russia Today* might well be discontinued as unnecessary, the *New Republic* and *Nation* might be retained.

Her victory was short-lived. Although the Library Board was an autonomous body, appointed by the City Commission under state statute, there existed a home rule charter under whose authority the City Commission repealed the ordinance which had seemingly made Miss Brown's job secure. The Commission then passed a new ordinance, gave itself control of the library, dismissed Miss Brown, and appointed a new librarian.

With the support of a member of the old Library Board, Miss Brown appealed her case to the Oklahoma Supreme Court, contending that the action of the Commission was contrary to state statutes, to "state interest in library matters," and to the "general welfare." Two years later the court ruled against Miss Brown, holding that "the operation and administration of a city library is a matter of strictly municipal concern."

THE Boston Public Library is the oldest tax-supported library in America and one of the finest. Its Research Division is the ally and educational collaborator of Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a dozen other colleges and universities in and around the hub of New England culture. Professional librarians have the highest respect for the competence of its staff. Yet during the summer and fall of 1952, the year before it celebrated its hundredth anniversary, the library had to fight, as never before in its history, for its integrity and freedom.

For that ordeal, the library is indebted, if indirectly, to Senator Joseph McCarthy, whose book *McCarthyism and the Fight for America* was not available on its shelves when, on September 22, the Boston *Post* started serializing it. In its September 25 issue the *Post* deplored this fact, but also noted that the book had been ordered and would be made available for circulation.

In subsequent issues of the newspaper the library was charged, not with having pro-Soviet material on its open shelves, but merely with having available, on request, files of the *New World Review, Pravda,* and *Izvestia;* also with having included, in a lobby display arranged by the Great Books Foundation, a copy of Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto;* and with having in its reference collection Vishinsky's *Law of the Soviet State* and "thousands of other Communist publications."

All counts in the indictment were true and admitted. As the director of the library, Milton E. Lord, pointed out, "It is essential that information on all aspects of political, international, and other questions be available for information purposes in order that citizens of Boston may be informed about the friends and enemies of their country."

This did not satisfy the Boston *Post,* which declaimed: "WE BELIEVE that pro-Soviet literature should be suppressed in our public libraries. . . . WE BELIEVE that to permit pro-Communists to circulate their poison among our people is sheer stupidity." The *Post* was answered editorially by its conservative Republican contemporary, the Boston *Herald:* "The basic question is whether we still have confidence in the average American's ability to separate bad ideas from good by his own unaided effort. When we lose that confidence, we shall have lost our faith in democracy itself."

Among those who rallied to the library's support was Herbert Philbrick, former undercover agent for the FBI and author of *I Lived Three Lives.* He disconcerted the local Mc-

*Directed by the consistently anti-Communist F. J. Schlink. A rival consumer service organization, Consumer's Union, was for a time on the House Committee on Un-American Activities' list of subversive organizations, but was cleared.

Carthyites by telegraphing: "Shocked to hear that the Boston Public Library has under consideration the suppression of vital information concerning the methods, nature, and extent of the Soviet conspiracy against the United States. Such suppression would be directly in line with the current policy of the Communist party in the United States to conceal the true aims of the party from all except its trusted members. The Boston Public Library should have more, and not less information available to the American people to aid them in their fight against Communism."

Communist literature that the library didn't have, but should have had, in Mr. Philbrick's opinion, included the *Daily Worker,* the Cominform bulletin *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy,* and J. Peters' *Manual on Party Organization,* which the party has tried to suppress.

The library's Board of Trustees split three to two on the issue. Frank W. Buxton, a retired newspaper editor, Lee M. Friedman, a lawyer and noted book collector, and the Rt. Reverend Robert H. Lord, a Catholic priest and former Harvard professor, supported the director. Frank J. Donahue, a judge of the Superior Court, and Patrick F. MacDonald, a steel merchant, said that the library should not purchase or make available Communist materials. Two local American Legion commanders, the president of the City Council, and one councilman joined the attack on the library, while the *Herald,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* and the *Pilot,* a Catholic diocesan paper, continued to defend it. Two-thirds of the library's staff signed a petition asking the trustees to defend the principle of free inquiry.

At an open meeting of the library trustees with four councilmen, Trustee MacDonald contended that Communist literature should not be bought by the library, but the next day the trustees, by a three to two vote, passed a resolution declaring that material presenting all points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times, international, national, and local, should be made available to the public; that the library authorities had no right to prescribe what the public was and was not to read; but that the library "should not be misused for wrongful propaganda purposes to the injury of our country."

It was a narrow victory, probably helped by the fact that, years before, Library Director Milton Lord had helped in the cataloguing of the Vatican Library in Rome. At a subsequent election, the Catholic archbishop of the diocese became a member of the five-man library board; since then opposition to the library's continued provision of Communist materials has subsided.

After a brief, uncomfortable appearance in newspapers all over the country, Galion, Ohio, has probably had its fill of book censorship. The town is an overgrown crossroads village, now industrialized and spread across the tracks of the New York Central fifty miles north of Columbus. A century and a half ago the region was settled by German immigrants whose descendants still dominate the business and social life of the town. Seventy-five years ago a Negro, later proved innocent of the charge of rape, was dragged through the main street of Galion and lynched; since then no Negro has lived in Galion.

The town's principal industry is the United States Steel Grave Vault Company, whose secretary-treasurer is Mr. Charles Cunningham, son of the founder of the company and one of the town's leading citizens. It was Mr. Cunningham's election to the School Board, along with a conservative and economy-minded majority, that precipitated the library censorship fight. In the background was a long-standing conflict over school bond issues; also an ancient feud between Mr. Cunningham and the liberal school superintendent, who cherished modern ideas like the employment of remedial teachers and a school psychologist. Mr. Cunningham's original program on taking office had included a review by the School Board of the qualifications of the teaching staff, and a requirement that all teachers sign a loyalty oath.

In February 1954, the Board heard the

complaint of a Galion father whose daughter had obtained from the school library copies of Richard Wright's *Native Son* and two books by Hervey Allen: *Anthony Adverse* and *Toward Morning*. A month later the Board voted three to two to remove the school library's meager collection of about 2,000 volumes and turn them over to a committee of the ministerial association for "screening" during the summer vacation; previously, Miss Elizabeth Allwardt, librarian of the Galion public library, had declined the request of the School Board that she censor the school library.

Immediately after the March meeting, reporters poured into Galion from Columbus and Toledo. *Life* magazine sent its usual formidable task force. Galion winced under the glare of the national spotlight, and Mr. Cunningham secluded himself from *Life's* photographers. This undoubtedly helped the minority on the board, led by Robert Ricksecker, a local attorney, to stage a successful counter-offensive. Two weeks after the first Board meeting, Mr. Ricksecker published a paid advertisement in the Galion *Inquirer* setting forth his position. Subsequently the *Inquirer* editorialized against book censorship and published the text of Ricksecker's opposition statement before the Board, arguing that the net result of the censorship resolution would be to remove all books except the Pollyanna series; also, that what the library needed was more, not fewer books, and a professional librarian to select them.

Within a week of the March meeting a grass-fire of public protest was racing through the community; Mr. Cunningham's telephone lines were choked with calls and his supporting majority began to beat a retreat. The idea of a loyalty oath was abandoned. The Board met again and voted unanimously to restore the books to the library, with the exception of the three that had occasioned the original complaint.

The struggle was not without its casualties, however. Deprived of his badly needed remedial teachers and otherwise frustrated by the economy-minded School Board, Galion's liberal and popular school superintendent resigned to take a quieter teaching job in another Ohio city.

MT. LEBANON, Pennsylvania, is one of the smartest suburbs in the Pittsburgh area. In the 1952 Republican primary it voted 90 per cent for Taft. The town was somewhat disconcerted, therefore, when in September of 1953 Mrs. Katharine Mitchell, a local resident—and the possessor of a Ph.D. degree—wrote the board of directors of the Mt. Lebanon Public Library that she had found it contained many books by allegedly pro-Communist or fellow-traveling writers, but none by John Flynn or Joseph McCarthy. Moreover, Mrs. Mitchell said, when she attempted to right the balance by presenting the library with seven books by reputable anti-Communist authors (one of them being McCarthy), her gift was declined by the librarian on the ground that only the official Library Board was competent and authorized to accept it.

After a tumultuous public meeting, which got full-page reporting in the Pittsburgh *Press*, the Board appointed a committee of prominent citizens to investigate Mrs. Mitchell's charges. Chairman of the committee was John D. Paulus, public relations director of the Jones and McLaughlin Steel Company, and formerly book editor of the Pittsburgh *Press*. Three months later the committee reported that they had found no planned effort to foist Communist or Socialist propaganda on the citizens of Mt. Lebanon. It did, however, criticize certain of the librarian's selections, including *Two Years with the Chinese Communists*, by William and Clara Bard, noting that, unlike most of the earlier selections about which Mrs. Mitchell had complained, this book had been purchased within the current year. The committee remarked, further, that "there is a very serious doubt as to how far a public library of our size should go in presenting controversial books which attack our form of government and mode of life."

The report took exception to the passage in the "Freedom to Read" statement adopted in May 1953 by the Westchester Conference

of the American Library Association and the American Book Publishers Council, which says: "It is the responsibility of publishers and librarians, as guardians of the people's freedom to read, to contest the encroachments upon that freedom by individuals and groups wishing to impose their own standards upon the community at large."

In conclusion, the report observed that if the controversy led to the creation of an adequate and well-housed library, the whole episode would have been worthwhile—the sort of observation which in a number of similar cases has signified the relief of the embattled librarian by the mobilized common sense of the community.

THUS far no American city has actually burned any books. But San Antonio, Texas, came rather close. A month before the President's "book-burning" speech in 1953, the heat engendered by critics of the San Antonio library system reached the scorching point. The controversy exploded in the press when Mrs. Mildred G. Hance, organizer of the San Antonio Minute Women, presented to the City Council a list of six hundred books, allegedly by Communist sympathizers, with the recommendation that these books "be stamped on the inside cover with a red stamp, large enough to be seen immediately, showing that the author has Communist front affiliations, and the number of the citations."

Included on Mrs. Hance's list were Einstein's *Theory of Relativity,* Thomas Mann's *Joseph in Egypt* and *The Magic Mountain,* Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *Fables for Parents,* and Norbert Wiener's *Cybernetics;* also various anthologies of poetry and folk songs, also books on sculpture, the mentally ill alcoholics, child care, architecture, and mystery novels. Adoption of Mrs. Hance's proposal was urged by Mayor Jack White, whose wife was a Minute Woman. Wylie Johnson, San Antonio's acting City Manager, went Mrs. Hance one better and declared that the books on her list should be burned, rather than labeled.

San Antonio's chief librarian, Julia Grothaus, has held her post for over twenty years. Calmly, she acknowledged that the library did indeed have books on Communism, as well as books by alleged or known Communists. "These books," said Miss Grothaus, "are carefully chosen so that the reader may learn all that should be known about Communism. . . . After all, you cannot remain ignorant about a thing and fight it."

Promptly, San Antonio's liberals rallied to the support of their library system. M. H. Harris, veteran San Antonio editor and for over thirty years chairman of the Library Board declared: "I do not propose to preside over the degradation of San Antonio's library system." Under the leadership of former Congressman Maury Maverick and Mrs. Marie Sien Halpenny, a local writer, various civic groups organized the American Activities Committee, pledged to the defense of "Freedom of religion, thought, press and publication, assembly, individual liberty, dissemination of information, and the promotion of American holidays and the traditional American sense of humor."

Unamused, the Minute Women and their allies pressed on. The city administration replaced the liberal Library Board with a new board more to its liking and slashed the library budget. Six months after the publication of Mrs. Hance's list the San Antonio *News* reported that the library was far behind in its purchase of books. In January, 1954, the *News* declared editorially that "the pro-administration majority faction of the San Antonio Library Board of Trustees appears determined to surrender the system to city hall political domination in clear violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the council-managed charter." The liberals refused to admit defeat, however. A month later the Board adopted, although by a bare majority, the American Library Association's "Bill of Rights" as its official policy of book selection; subsequently, under pressure from Mr. Harris, every member of the Board went on record against either book-burning or book-branding.

Meanwhile, however, adaptations of Mrs.

Hance's little list were being used by Minute Women and other volunteer censors to harass school and library authorities in many communities, including San Francisco. There Mrs. Anne Smart, leader of the local crusade, declared that she favored "voluntary book-burning—the only kind we will ever have in the United States."

THE peak of the library controversy was reached and passed with President Eisenhower's "book-burning" speech in 1953.* That year the ALA's Intellectual Freedom Committee reported over a hundred library controversies of greater or less intensity.

The President, of course, was speaking metaphorically, using the most extreme symbol of the thing he objected to. But his provocation was extreme: when he spoke, no books had been burned in America since Colonial times, but for weeks on end Senator McCarthy had been bludgeoning the heads of the United States International Information Administration and its foreign libraries, and in the resulting panic one librarian actually burned eleven books.

Of course, these libraries have always been recognized as "special purpose" institutions whose collections, since they serve the American information and propaganda effort abroad, answer to different requirements and must be appraised by criteria quite different from those applicable to public libraries and school libraries in this country. The question of "freedom to read" was therefore not so directly involved here; but the spirit with which Senator McCarthy "investigated" the overseas libraries was clearly inquisitorial and repressive. And there was legitimate fear that this extremist approach would help spur vigilantism against libraries at home.

From the beginning it was apparent that the State Department was anxious to placate its Congressional critics and settle the controversy, if possible, off the television screen —if only because Senator McCarthy's inquiry, which was widely publicized abroad, was providing welcome grist for the Communist propaganda mill. The USIIA's information centers were popular and effective precisely because they provided a genuine sample of the freedom to write, to publish, and to read that prevails in the United States, and an agreeable contrast to the dull and censored reading matter available in the sparsely visited Soviet propaganda centers.

The immediate result of the McCarthy inquiry, and even more, of the State Department's frantic efforts to appease its Senatorial inquisitor, was that the overseas libraries lost face and favor with their patrons and American prestige abroad suffered a setback.†

The directive under which the libraries had been operating was based on the recommendations of an advisory committee of distinguished editors and publishers. It provided that "in the selection of materials it would be possible as a general rule to draw upon the great body of resources available, produced by persons whose ideological position is unquestioned." The directive added,

*Subsequently Mr. Eisenhower amplified his views concerning book censorship in a letter, read at the Los Angeles convention of the American Library Association, which stated in part: "Our librarians serve the precious liberties of our nation; freedom of inquiry, freedom of the spoken and the written word, freedom of exchange of ideas. . . . In order to fight totalitarians who exploit the ways of freedom to serve their own ends, there are some zealots who with more wrath than wisdom would adopt a strangely unintelligent course. They would try to defend freedom by denying freedom's friends the opportunity of studying Communism in its entirety—its plausibilities, its falsities, its weaknesses. . . . As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so it is no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence."

†The Japanese reaction to the McCarthy investigation was typical. It is described in the October 1954 issue of the ALA *Bulletin* by an American librarian resident in that country. "Some of the more thoughtful university students," he writes, "have gained the impression that the sources of free information in America and in its outposts abroad are becoming increasingly restricted. Unanswered misconceptions like this can do greater damage to our reputation abroad than the noisy and violent anti-American demonstrations that some of their more excitable fellow students participate in." In Europe, the satirists of the Communist and neutralist press had a field day during the whirlwind tour of inspection of overseas libraries by Senator McCarthy's aides, Messrs. Cohn and Schine.

however, that in exceptional cases books by ideologically questionable persons might be used if their content served the objectives of the information administration.

When these mild and patently reasonable provisions were challenged by Senator McCarthy and other members of his committee, Bradley Connors, then Assistant General Administrator for Policy and Plans of the IIA, announced that the directive had been withdrawn and replaced by a memorandum ordering that "no material by any controversial persons, Communists, fellow-travelers," etc. will be used under any circumstances in any IIA media. (It was during the confusion that followed the issuance of this fantastic order that America's unique contribution to the modern history of book-burning occurred.) The order was almost immediately superseded by a succession of ten somewhat less inept directives or supplementary instructions on the subject of books in the overseas libraries.

Meanwhile Senator McCarthy continued to exhibit to his television audience a parade of well-known Communist authors, a few of whose books had been found in a few overseas libraries. Most of these books had been inherited from army overstock, purchased during the honeymoon of the wartime Grand Alliance. Their number was insignificant. On July 15, 1953, on the eve of his resignation as administrator of the IIA, Dr. Robert L. Johnson reported that the books objected to by Senator McCarthy constituted a minute fraction of one per cent of the 3,000 in the overseas libraries; that since 1948 the State Department had purchased over 16,000 copies of anti-Communist books for use in these libraries; and that apart from library use more than 6,000,000 copies of 44 anti-Communist titles were distributed through commercial channels in addition to some 84,000 copies of government documents on Communism.

In his swan song, Dr. Johnson issued a final directive for the libraries which is still in effect at this writing. With minor modifications, it restores the policy which had been in effect before the McCarthy inquiry.*

Thus the effects of Senator McCarthy's investigation of the overseas libraries were chiefly negative. Abroad, the investigation resulted in a lowering of American prestige and a setback of the American propaganda effort. In this country it undoubtedly had the effect of reviving the apprehensions of the patriotic organizations, with the result that in 1953 the pressure for censorship of American public libraries, and especially school libraries, rose to an all-time high, noted above, of over a hundred reported cases, with as many more, in all probability, that were never brought to the attention of the Intellectual Freedom Committee.

In all these library battles the alignment of forces is usually the same. On one side we see the librarian, whose professional rights, interests, and obligations are represented and defended by the American Library Association, its official journal, and its Intellectual Freedom Committee. On the other, we have the librarian's lay critics, represented usually by the patriotic organizations, especially local posts of the American Legion, which in turn are stimulated, armed, guided, and to some extent restrained by the Legion's National Americanism Commission and its bulletin *The Firing Line*.

In between is the Library Board, which is the community's instrument for implementing, extending, and safeguarding the freedom to read. Usually the Board is an appointive body; its members are chosen by the mayor or the City Council and serve

---

*Key passages of this directive read as follows: "We must begin with the content of a book. We must examine its special usefulness in terms of our overseas needs. An appraisal of this usefulness cannot disregard the reputation or standing of the author. It is conceivable that the special purpose character of our libraries may require, in special cases, the inclusion of books by Communists or Communist sympathizers if such authors may have written something which affirmatively serves the ends of democracy. . . . 'Controversial' books are of course acceptable and indeed essential, if by 'controversy' we mean honest differences of opinion, honestly expressed. It goes without saying that we must not confuse honest controversy with conspiracy. . . ."

without salary. The Board determines the library's budget and raises its funds, in which public support is usually supplemented by private donations; it directs the library's expenditures, appoints the librarian, and delegates to him the responsibility for selecting the library's book collections, either wholly or subject to the supervision of a reading committee. When the librarian is attacked the Board provides, in its public meetings, the arena in which he confronts his critics.

But the Board is seldom neutral in these contests; usually the majority of its members is against censorship. In the Fund for the Republic's recent survey of current American opinion, the chairman of the local Library Board was one of the fourteen community leaders who were interviewed.* On all issues, but especially on issues involving freedom to read, the Library Board chairmen proved to be considerably more tolerant than the average of all the leaders sampled, and far more tolerant than the national cross-section of opinion.

When asked whether they favored removing from the library a book by a socialist advocating government ownership, 86 per cent of the library chairmen were against it, as compared with 79 per cent of all the community leaders and 52 per cent of the national cross-section.

On the question: "Would you favor removing from the library a book by a man who wrote against religion and the churches?" 74 per cent of the Library Board chairmen answered no, as compared with 64 per cent of all leaders and 35 per cent of the sample of the national cross-section.

Eighty-nine per cent of the Library Board chairmen were against removing from the library a book by a person whose loyalty had been questioned before a Congressional committee, but who had sworn he was not a Communist, as compared with 88 per cent of all leaders and 71 per cent of the national cross-section.

Even in the case of a book by an admitted Communist, 67 per cent of the Library Board chairmen were against removing it from the library, whereas at this point the tolerance of the community dropped precipitately to 42 per cent for all community leaders and 27 per cent for the national cross-section.

Of the fourteen community leaders selected for sampling (a total of 1,500 interviews were reported) the Library Board chairmen ranked highest in tolerance, with the possible exception of the local newspaper publishers—who in many communities are likely to be found serving on the Library Board as member or chairman.

It is important to note that the Gallup and Roper interviewers who conducted this survey were asking *hypothetical* questions, seldom currently posed by the local situation. When the chips are down in a library fight, the level of tolerance, interestingly, tends to rise rather than drop, both inside the Library Board and in the community as a whole. Hence when a librarian chooses to resist censorship pressure and make a public fight of it, he usually wins, as we have seen.

On the other hand, his victory is seldom an unqualified one. Book selection, in the view of the typical American community, is not solely or exclusively the librarian's business, nor does the freedom to read imply any professional right, enjoyed by the librarian, to maintain shelves overbalanced with disguised party-line books. The citizens of Mt. Lebanon, Pennsylvania, acquitted their librarian of any such malfeasance, but they also criticized certain book selections, and ended by asking, with a certain acerbity: "Who made the publishers and librarians the

**Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties: A Cross-section of America Speaks Its Mind,* by Samuel A. Stouffer (Doubleday). The other community leaders who were sampled were: the mayor, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the chairman of the Community Chest, the president of one large labor union local in the city, the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic county committees, the commander of the largest American Legion Post in the city, the regent of the DAR, the president of the local women's club, the chairman of the School Board, the president of the local council of the Parent-Teacher's Association, the president of the Bar Association, and the publisher of the locally owned newspaper of largest circulation.

guardians of the people's freedom to read?"

By implication, Mt. Lebanon's answer, like that of most American communities, is that the power to determine what a community may or may not read in its library is not an absolute professional right enjoyed by the librarian, but a responsibility delegated by the community, which must remain the final judge of how well that responsibility is exercised.

The verdict is not always a liberal one, in which case the librarian may appeal beyond the community—successfully, or vainly as in the case of Ruth Brown of Bartlesville, Oklahoma—to the law and the higher courts. But in the overwhelming majority of these library fights the librarian's appeal to the community has been successful; fears have been dissipated, and the conflicts out of which they arose have been clarified, if not wholly resolved.

On the one hand, the librarians have been obliged, both as individuals and as an organized profession, to reexamine their legal and moral obligations to their patrons; to review their policies of book selection and classification; to redefine and defend both their professional rights and their delegated responsibilities. That librarians were usually able to command the support of their boards and the press, and most frequently emerged with the confidence of their communities unimpaired, is largely due to the integrity and conscientiousness they showed in this double task of reexamination and defense.

On the other hand, the librarians' critics have been obliged to reread the Bill of Rights; to examine more closely the books of the authors whom they would proscribe, and thereby to sharpen and sophisticate their categories of what is and is not disguised Communist propaganda. As they acquainted themselves with the librarian and his problems, they discovered that he was not, as they had frequently supposed, a Communist or fellow-traveler; and that while vigorously resisting censorship of his selections or the removal of books from his shelves, he was prepared to buy as many good anti-Communist books as his meager funds permitted. Sometimes a violent controversy has blown over when it came to be realized that the librarian was scarcely to be blamed because his more or less unbalanced collection reflected the ignorance and illusions of writers, publishers, critics, and also librarians—indeed, of much of the country—during an earlier era, or because, now that the political climate had changed, his inadequate budget made it difficult to restore the balance.

In a subsequent article I shall report on how the librarians, responding to the criticisms of the patriotic organizations, have attempted to deal with the problems of unbalanced collections and the identification of books of Communist propaganda, while maintaining the traditions of tolerance essential to their profession.

More than a hundred years ago Tocqueville pointed out the strong pressures at work in America attempting to force an intolerant conformity on the nation. Professor Stouffer's book is one more piece of evidence for this. But it also shows that almost invariably the American system entrusts decisions to leaders far more tolerant than the general populace; it is as if the people, distrusting themselves, make sure to select leaders who will oppose their own worst tendencies.

The ordeal of the library gives grounds for believing that the procedures of American democracy can work on the library front of freedom; not perfectly, but better than any other way we are presently prepared to consider. But the fight to safeguard freedom to read from vigilante censorship is by no means over.

July 5, 1955.

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Our heartiest thanks to the A.J.C. for the 50 copies of Morroe Berger's "Equality by Statute".

We will distribute them to a carefully selected list this week, and I am sure they will do a lot of good, particularly in view of the timing.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

July 5, 1956

FBR:

If you would like to get this circulated to our state people, unroll!

GSM/eab
Encl. AJC publicity re
Civil Liberties and Civil
Rights in the U.S. Today

July 5, 1956

Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan,
Community Affairs Department
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Nathan:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of Civil Liberties and Civil Rights in the U.S. Today. Please send us twelve additional copies for our state organizations, and bill us for them.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

July 7, 1955

HCF:

George Mitchell, July 7th, saw Seymour Samet. Seymour Samet says to tell Harold to ask Morris Abram, in Morris Abram's capacity as head of AJC, to please make available to SRC 50 copies of the Berger book.

HCF had asked AJC sho''nuff in New York to send book, but skilly-daddle says best for SRC if local chapter gets, on skilly-daddle arrangings.

eab/

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

Keep

FR

July 11, 1955

FILE COPY

TO: Jewish Community Relations Councils
and
Group Relations Agencies

The annexed chart lists the annual budgets of the various state and municipal fair employment practice commissions and may be of use to you when urging adequate budgets for regulatory commissions. We will be grateful for any later information about these or other FEPC budgets.

Will Maslow

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

FILE COPY

Annual Budgets of State and Municipal Fair Employment Practice Commissions

State or City	Name of Agency	Total Population	Year Covered	Annual Budget	Per Capita Budgetary Expenditure
Colorado	Anti-Discrimination Division of the Industrial Commission	1,325,089	1955-56	$ 18,931.00	.014
Connecticut	Commission on Civil Rights	2,007,280	1954-55	81,099.96	.040
Indiana	Fair Employment Practices Commission	3,934.224	1955-56	30,000.00	.007
Kansas	Anti-Discrimination Commission	1,905.299	1954-55	10,000.00	.005
Massachusetts	Commission Against Discrimination	4,690.514	1955	73,450.00	.016
Minnesota	Fair Employment Practices Commission	2,982.483	1955-56	30,000.00	.010
New Jersey	Division Against Discrimination, Department of Education	4,835,329	1954-55	100,089.62	.021
New Mexico	Fair Employment Practices Commission	681,187	1954-55	1,640.00	.002
New York	State Commission Against Discrimination	14,830,192	1954-55	425,000.00	.029
Rhode Island	Commission Against Discrimination	791.896	1954-55	36,495.00	.046
Washington	State Board Against Discrimination in Employment	2,378.963	1954-55	22,284.50	.009
Wisconsin	Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission	3,434,575	1954-55	14,200.00	.004
Minneapolis	Fair Employment Practices Commission	521,718	1955	11,537.00	.022
*Philadelphia	Human Relations Commission	2,071,605	1954	118,145.56	.057
*Pittsburgh	Fair Employment Practices Commission	676,806	1954	22,414.00	.033

July 14, 1955

* Includes enforcement of intergroup relations ordinance or charter provision

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

JUL 29 1955

July 13, 1955

To: AJC Area Directors and CRC, Select and Key Lists of the Community Affairs Department

From: S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

"JEWISH LIFE" CONTINUES ITS INTRIGUES

A campaign conducted by "Jewish Life" to inveigle American Jews into opposing American policy in Western Germany is not at all surprising. There has been no issue in which this magazine (which should not be confused with any magazine of similar name) has differed with the Soviet Union, even when it has meant going squarely against American and Jewish interests.

It is surprising that even a few thousand Jews can be found so indoctrinated in leftist thinking that they continue to subscribe to this periodical, but it continues to publish a 32 page issue every month.

Copies of a reprint from a January issue have been circulated widely. The repercussions in Philadelphia led the director of the Philadelphia Jewish Community Relations Council to request that a memorandum be furnished to our correspondents that will provide ready reference whenever this subject arises in their communities. Herewith is such a memorandum prepared by the American Jewish Committee's Library of Information.

SAF:RL
Encl.

153-5-55
261

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Library of Jewish Information

JEWISH LIFE

Jewish Life first appeared November 1946 as a monthly published by the Morning Freiheit Association, publishers of the Yiddish Communist daily of that name. The editorial board then consisted of Alexander Bittelman, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.; Moses Miller, one-time president of the now defunct Communist Jewish People's Committee; Paul Novick, editor of the Morning Freiheit; Sam Pevzner, an officer of the then existing Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the IWO; Morris U. Schappes, an admitted Communist; and Samuel Barron who was designated as the magazine's managing editor.

With the August 1951 issue, the publisher of Jewish Life became Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., and the former address, in the Morning Freiheit building, was changed to the address of the American Jewish Labor Council, a Communist front now defunct. The editorial staff has undergone several changes. For the last four years, the editorial board has consisted of Sam Pevzner, Morris U. Schappes, and Alice Citron, a former New York City public school teacher, discharged because of her refusal to reply to questions as to her membership in the Communist Party. Managing editor has been Louis Harap, who has written for the Communist press and lectured at the Communist-operated Jefferson School in New York.

On June 29, 1953, Harap testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He invoked the Fifth Amendment on many questions, including his editorship of Jewish Life and authorship of several articles signed by him. A few extracts from Mr. Harap's testimony show his views about American "fascism" and the Soviet Union's treatment of Jews:

> ...I may say that my refusal to answer is based upon the fact, also, that as a Jew I believe that it is my obligation as a Jew and as an American, but speaking for the moment of my being a Jew, it is my obligation not to cooperate with this committee because, in my view, the activities of this committee are tending to bring this country into the same condition under which 6 million Jews were murdered and, for that reason, it seems to me I must refuse to answer and refuse to cooperate with this committee. . . .
>
> I know that in the Soviet Union, Jews -- there is no discrimination against Jews in employment or in any activity, vocational activity. There is genuinely a free avenue to Jews in every activity of Soviet life, and there... is no chopping of heads. The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union the Jews have a higher degree of freedom and equality than they have, I think, in any other part of the world . . .

> I think there are many things about the Soviet Union which register an advance in human relations and in social relations; yes.

In its first issue of November 1946, the magazine announced the policy it would pursue:

> Jewish Life regards the struggle of the Jewish people for survival as one which is intimately tied to the struggles of the working class and the common people throughout the world. It will, therefore, fight for the reconstitution and rehabilitation of the shattered Jewish communities in Europe, and particularly in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, where anti-Semitism has been outlawed and where the basis has been laid for a new and secure development . . . .
>
> Jewish Life dedicates itself to strengthening the friendship of the Jewish people with the Soviet Union, land of socialism, which has destroyed anti-Semitism and which has given to Jews as to all other nationalities true equality and security. It will aid the development of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan, where in an atmosphere of socialism, a section of the Jewish people are marching steadily toward nationhood, giving still another example to the world of the efficacy of the social solution of the national question and of all other questions.

An explicit statement about the relation of Jewish Life to the Communist Party appeared in a report delivered on May 3, 1950, by John Williamson, national labor secretary of the Communist Party and member of its National Committee (Williamson was one of the first-string Communist Party leaders convicted and sentenced to five years under the Smith Act). Speaking on behalf of the party's National Committee to a "conference of leading comrades engaged in activity among the Jewish people," Williamson, himself a non-Jew, laid down the party line on "Jewish work," following the Russian switch to an anti-Israel position. This report was published in the July 1950 issue of Political Affairs, the party's theoretical monthly. Two references to Jewish Life appear in this report:

> The National Committee takes note of the many activities that have been developed under the leadership of our Party in the field of work among the Jewish people, of the continued popular support to the Morning Freiheit and its generally correct line, of the issuance of the magazine Jewish Life in English, of the devotion to the Party of the comrades concerned...
>
> It is our judgment that greater efforts should be made to work among the English-speaking Jews, particularly workers. The bourgeoisie concentrates special attention on these

> sections for the purpose of influencing the entire Jewish people with chauvinist nationalism and jingoism and winning their support for imperialist policies. Without neglecting the Yiddish-speaking population, the beginnings of work among the English-speaking Jews made with the publication of Jewish Life should be extended, and organized activities initiated among them.

One of the chief objectives of Jewish Life has therefore been the defense of the Soviet Union. After Stalin's death in March 1953, the lead article of Jewish Life of April 1953 was a tribute by Louis Harap, "Stalin and the Jewish People," Harap wrote "The leader of the Soviet peoples guided the state toward full equality for all nations and minorities. The Jews shared in this liberation." The article concluded:

> As the years pass, the stature of Stalin as one of the great men of this century will emerge ever more clearly, and his leadership in the liberation of peoples, including the Jewish people, from centuries of oppression will take on greater clarity.

When the whole world, Jewish and non-Jewish, was shocked by the overt manifestations of Communist anti-Semitism in the trial of Rudolf Slansky and other Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia, Jewish Life defended the trial. Harap wrote a lengthy article, "The Truth about the Prague Trial," which was published in the January 1953 issue and subsequently issued as a separate pamphlet. One quotation will suffice to show the tenor of the entire article:

> We have shown that the convicted members of the Slansky group, when confronted with evidence, documents and witnesses, confessed to involvement under the auspices of United States intelligence in a conspiracy to damage and ultimately to overturn the Czechoslovak people's democracy . . . .
>
> The members and supporters of Zionist organizations, particularly, need to shake themselves free of the hysterical and baseless charges that the trial was anti-Semitic and instead begin to consider what Zionist organizations and Israel citizens were doing in the midst of such a conspiracy under Washington's auspices against a state that has declared war on anti-Semitism and all forms of racism and on war itself.

Jewish Life also called a meeting in New York on December 22, 1953, at which three of its editor's (Harap, Pevzner, Schappes) undertook to "explain" the Slansky trial. New York Post columnist Murray Kempton reported on this meeting in an article called "Black is White, See?" (photostat attached).

Jewish Life has consistently supported all Communists, whether they run for political office, are ousted from teaching positions, are convicted under the Smith Act, or ousted from trade unions and other voluntary organizations. Such defense of Communists is presented as an integral part of the fight against anti-Semitism.

Jewish Life has been an ardent exponent of the Communist "peace" movement. It has published articles, news stories and texts of appeals and resolutions on the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the American Peace Crusade, the American Peace Congress, the Warsaw Peace Congress. Jewish Life opposed UN intervention in Korea. An editorial in the August 1950 issue declared:

> Far from being a measure against aggression, the UN rubber stamping of the unilateral United States military intervention in Korea (and silence about United States aggression against Formosa) is a gross violation of the right of the Korean people to achieve a united and independent nation in the face of local fascist oppression and American imperialist support of this tyranny.

The magazine also opposed any effort to save Indo-China from complete Communist domination. The August 1954 issue published an editorial entitled "Guatemala and Democracy," defending the pro-Communist government of Arbenz and violently attacking alleged American intervention in Guatemala.

In 1946, when the Communist Party was supporting its own candidates, Jewish Life supported Communist Party candidates. From 1948 to 1952, Jewish Life supported the Progressive Party candidates (allegedly for Jewish self-interest). After the 1952 presidential elections, when the Communist Party decided to throw its efforts into infiltrating the Democratic Party and supporting that party, except perhaps for a few local candidates on the Progressive Party ticket, Jewish Life promoted that line. In the issue of October 1954 Louis Harap published an article, "Jewish Stake in the Elections," which contained the following passage, which the magazine published in italics for emphasis:

> This is the heart of the electoral situation -- the necessity for the people in the trade unions and all their organizations -- and this includes the Jewish organizations -- to press the Democratic Party to adopt a progressive position on the central issues outlined above and to name progressive candidates.

Jewish Life defended Ethel and Julius Rosenberg as "innocent martyrs." Following their execution, the magazine published a lead editorial in its July 1953 issue entitled "Human Dignity Will Not Die!" The editorial declared:

> The Rosenbergs were killed as an offering to the cold war. The forces that killed the Rosenbergs are the same as those which are pushing the world to atomic war. . . . The struggle must be stronger than ever -- this is the legacy left to us by the Rosenbergs. This undying Jewish couple have taught us how to fight with iron courage and dignity.

Among the various Communist fronts that have had the wholehearted support and cooperation of Jewish Life and have been the subject of laudatory articles are : the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the International Workers Order, the Civil Rights Congress, the National Negro Labor Council, the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the Jewish Music Alliance, the Yidisher Kultur Farband, the Emma Lazarus Federation, the International Fur and Leather Workers and other Communist-controlled unions,

the JPFO Yiddish schools, and the various Communist fronts created for the defense of Communists.

Fund-raising for Jewish Life seems to be an integral part of the activities of the various Communist front operating in the "Jewish" area. Greetings from these groups are published annually in the anniversary issue of the magazine (November).

lsd
6/17/55

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

FR
Should we get either or (b) & send to our State people? Do as you decide
Elm.
July 30, 55

JUL 22 1955

(a) PEDDLERS OF HATE

Enclosed herewith is a pamphlet incorporating the series of articles on organized bigotry in the United States by Jack Steele, originally published in the World Telegram & Sun and other Scripps Howard newspapers.

Additional copies of this pamphlet are available in limited numbers upon request.

* * * * *

(b) CAN MORALITY BE LEGISLATED?

John P. Roche and Milton Gordon, authors of the very popular article Segregation - Two-Edged Sword, which we have been distributing since 1954, have written a new article entitled Can Morality Be Legislated? which we have reprinted from the New York Times Magazine.

It is the belief of Professors Roche and Gordon that "the majesty of the law, when supported by the collective conscience of a people and the healing power of the social situation, in the long run will not only enforce morality but create it."

Additional copies of this reprint are available at 5¢ per copy or $3.50 per hundred.

* * * * * *

LET'S TALK ABOUT IMMIGRATION

The enclosed article, reprinted from the Reporter, presents Edward Corsi's analysis of the immigration situation as it exists today with emphasis on the short-comings of the McCarran-Walter Act, which have held back actual implementation of our stated immigration policy.

Mr. Corsi makes clear what, in his opinion, must be done to revise the current law so that it will no longer be inconsistent with our economic needs and with our position of leadership in the world.

Additional copies of this reprint are available at 5¢ per copy or $3.50 per hundred.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
July 15, 1955
Encls.
SKE

153-5-55
261

July 27, 1955.

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fouth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Here is a belated report on our disposition of the copies of "Equality by Statute" which AJC so generously supplied.

Copies were sent to the Directors and Associate Directors of our affiliated state organizations (the Associates, where they exist, are designed to make possible an integrated staff).

Copies were sent to the Attorneys General of most of the Southern states.

Copies were sent to the following persons, because of their interest in the subject matter and, I believe, their receptivity to the view which Berger expounds: Ralph Hammond, Assistant to the Governor of Alabama; Alabama State Representative George Hawkins, Folson's floor leader in the House and a member of our Alabama group; Armistead Boothe, member of the Virginia House, who has introduced several state civil rights measures; Robert McC. Figg, Attorney for the defendants in the Clarendon County case (a very learned guy who at least accepts social science as a meaningful study).

Copies were sent to the following persons active in SRC or its affiliated state groups: Rev. L.G. Twomey, Director of Loyola's Institute of Industrial Relations in New Orleans; Fred Darragh, Little Rock manufacturer; Lee Coleman, University of Kentucky sociologist, consultant to desegregating communities; Davisson Dunlap, Jacksonville Attorney, close friend and advisor of the Governor and Attorney General of Florida; Richard Foster, Attorney

and Juvenile Court Judge, Greenville, S.C.; John Larkins, State Board of Charities and Welfare , N.C.; John McCann, businessman and leader in the Catholic Committee of the South, New Orleans; Jerone Crossman, president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, active in the local employment/merit program; Hollis Rhinehart, Miami Attorney, member of the Florida Board of Control for Higher Education; Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O., a founder of the Rock Hill committee on Human Relations and leader in the Catholic Committee of the South; J. Edwin Smith, Houston Attorney; Marion N. Wright, Attorney, president of SRC; Thomas W. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal Guide; Charles T. Steele, executive of the Louisville Urban League; Herbert Davidson, editor and publisher of the Daytona Beach News and Journal.

Again thanks for the books. We will let you know of any direct reaction.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Dictated by Harold C. Fleming/signed in his absence.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

July 8, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am delighted that 50 copies of Morroe Berger's "Equality By Statute" reached you safely, and that they are so useful to you; I had thought they would be.

I would be very curious to know — when you get around to it — what use you made of them, that is to say, the categories of people to whom you made the distribution.

My best regards to you and to George.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

July 27, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I am sorry that I missed you while in Atlanta earlier this month since I had, among other things, wished to discuss with you the attached. JoAnn Bloomer was in Miami at the time of the National Baptist Convention and attended many of the meetings which we were working on to resolve the problems set up by this activity. Currently she is working in Special Services in France, working under a Negro Club Director and having a rather unique opportunity to observe the army integration program in operation.

I had many opportunities to work on community relations problems with JoAnn and consider her to be an excellent worker. In many respects she has all of the attributes that Terry King has, plus considerable experience as well as formal training.

I understand that you are placing major emphasis on the possibility of employing a Florida resident and I can see the values in this. However, I would suggest that if time and the lack of qualified applicants permits, that you give consideration to Miss Bloomer's interest. If you wish you may write directly to her at 12 Rue Saint Fort, Bordeaux, France.

I imagine George has already told you of the Bureau of Internal Revenue's rejection of our application for tax exemption. I have just returned to my office and have learned that no appeal is being made although I have not ascertained the reasons, other than the fact that contacts which Mike Ross have made have indicated that an appeal would be useless. The next step will probably be to consider means of adequate financing outside of the foundation grants which we had been anticipating.

Please keep in touch with me and let me know when next you plan to visit Miami so that you may be a guest of the Samets. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

P.S. I know that this would in no way effect your attitude towards the application by Miss Bloomer but seeing as how you are a bachelor I thought that you would be interested in knowing that in addition to her being intelligent and competent, she is also an attractive redhead!!

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

FR

JUL 27 1955

CAN SOCIAL FRATERNITIES BE DEMOCRATIC?

Enclosed herewith is a reprint from The Journal of Higher Education of an article by Alfred McClung Lee entitled, CAN SOCIAL FRATERNITIES BE DEMOCRATIC?

Mr. Lee is the president of the National Council on Fraternities in Education, which is currently getting its program underway. Its objective is to furnish undergraduates and others interested in eliminating discriminatory practices in the field of education with a source of advice and information. Mr. Lee and the National Council which he heads, believe that social fraternities and sororities can not only become democratic but can provide genuine and important experiences in democratic living.

Additional copies of this pamphlet are available at $3.95 per hundred.

* * * * * * *

THE ATTACK ON OUR LIBRARIES*

Enclosed also is a reprint from Commentary in which James Rorty defends freedom to read at the grass roots.

In this article Mr. Rorty describes the nature and direction of the attacks on the libraries that have been taking place in recent years, and the methods used by many communities to fight off these incursions. It is significant to all who are concerned with censorship and with the fight to make American democracy work on the library front. Although some libraries have been successful in maintaining their independence Mr. Rorty feels that the fight to safeguard freedom to read from vigilante censors is by no means over.

The price of this reprint is $6.75 per hundred.

(Mrs.) Dorothy H. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DHN/pc
July 19, 1955
Encls.
CSKE

* A second article by Mr. Rorty on this same subject, appearing in the July issue of Commentary, will be available shortly.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

August 1, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter regarding plans for the White House Conference on Education. I have discussed some of this with Morris Abram. If you will continue to keep in contact with him I am sure that the chapter may be able to be of service.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: M. Abram

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

August 26, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your report, dated July 27, on the distribution of Berger's "Equality by Statute." It seems to have been a very wise distribution, and of course I am curious to know whether you received any reactions.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

M E M O R A N D U M

TO SOUTHEAST AREA MEMBERS DATE August 30, 1955

FROM Seymour Samet, Area Director

SUBJECT August Literature Mailing

A GUIDE TO THE RELIGIONS OF AMERICA

The series of distinguished articles explaining the beliefs of the various religious groups in the United States, appearing originally in Look magazine, has been brought together in a book published by Simon and Schuster under the title A GUIDE TO THE RELIGIONS OF AMERICA. In addition to the Look articles the book contains facts, figures, tables, charts and comprehensive reference materials on the various churches and religious groups in this country.

We have distributed several books about the Jewish religion. This new book, however, which tells the story of all religions, should be of great value in the interreligious field. We would like to see it become a standard reference book available in all public libraries, in school and college libraries, in religious school libraries, in community centers and in other educational institutions. Your suggestions regarding such a distribution in your community would be most helpful.

A GUIDE TO THE RELIGIONS OF AMERICA is available in both paper and cloth-bound editions. The paper-covered book, which lists at $1.00 per copy, may be secured from our offices at 75¢ per copy; the cloth-bound book, which lists at $3.50, at $2.25 per copy.

SS:sm

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

NEW MATERIALS

Pamphlets, leaflets and other materials mentioned herein are available upon request. For your convenience, new titles are listed below. To order, simply check the item you want, fill in your name and address, and mail to American Jewish Committee, 213 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Florida. No charge for single copies of pamphlets. Books are priced as noted below.

1. What of Their Future? - The Half-Million Jews of North Africa (AJC pamphlet giving details about recent mission of AJC leaders to Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria.)

2. Has Soviet Anti-Semitism Halted? (Reprint of a Commentary article by Peter Meyer citing Communist sources which indicate continuing persecution of Jews behind the Iron Curtain).

3. To Bigotry No Protection (Address delivered by New York's police commissioner, Francis W. H. Adams, to probationary patrolmen. Commissioner Adams describes the need for policemen to understand intergroup relations problems as an essential part of their work).

4. Religion in Public Education - A Statement of Views (The American Jewish Committee position on many of the complex issues related to religion in the public schools).

5. School Calendar for 1955-56 (A popular item among teachers and others who want a complete listing of religious as well as patriotic holidays with brief descriptions of each).

6. A Guide To The Religions of America (See attached letter) Paper-covered book 75¢ (list price $1.00); cloth-bound book $2.25 (list price $3.50).

Name _____

Address _____

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
MEMORANDUM

To Southeast Area Members

Date Sept. 29, 1955

From Seymour Samet, Southeast Area Director

Subject September Literature Mailing

UN WEEK — October 16-24

The United Nations will be ten years old this year.

This anniversary is a time for recalling that the United Nations was created in response to man's aspirations for a world of peace, justice, and brotherhood. The American Jewish Committee is proud to have participated in this past decade of UN striving for a better world.

We are pleased to note that Americans everywhere have given the UN an overwhelming vote of confidence. A Gallup Poll indicating these views was released last June. A copy of that report is attached.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

115-8-55

NEW MATERIALS

Pamphlets, leaflets and other materials mentioned herein are available upon request. For your convenience, new titles are listed below. To order, simply check the item you want, fill in your name and address, and mail to American Jewish Committee, 213 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Florida. No charge for single copies of pamphlets.

__ 1. You...Your Town...Your World...and Human Rights. A manual on human rights for community leaders, sponsored by the Conference Group of U.S. National Organizations on the United Nations. (AJC is a member of Conference Group.)

__ 2. Peddlers of Hate. (A series of articles on organized bigotry in the United States reprinted from the "New York World-Telegram.")

__ 3. Can Morality Be Legislated? (Yes, say three observers of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling in an article from "The New York Times Magazine.")

__ 4. Security Risk. (The story of Abraham Chasanow fired as a "security risk" after 23 years with the Navy and a year later reinstated with apologies identifying him as "an above-average, loyal American citizen." Reprinted from "Look.")

__ 5. What To Do About Dangerous Textbooks. (When parents and others begin to read their children's textbooks with a censor's eye -- Watch Out! Edward N. Saveth reviews this new trend in a Commentary reprint.)

Name _____

Address _____

PUBLIC OPINION NEWS SERVICE

For Release

SUNDAY, June 19, or MONDAY, June 20, 1955

On It's 10th Anniversary . . .

UN Given Overwhelming Vote Of Confidence by Americans

High Approval Found Everywhere In Nation; Has Had Support of The Public Since its Beginnings

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 18—If someone were to travel the

the isolationist doctrine it held when the Institute was founded

were the days of the Neutrality Act.

For Release

SUNDAY, June 19, or MONDAY, June 20, 1955

On It's 10th Anniversary . . .

UN Given Overwhelming Vote Of Confidence by Americans

High Approval Found Everywhere In Nation; Has Had Support of The Public Since its Beginnings

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 18—If someone were to travel the length and breadth of the nation, talking to voters everywhere he went, he would find the United Nations getting an overwhelming vote of confidence in all parts of the country.

On the eve of the UN's 10th anniversary celebration, as delegates from all over the world gather in San Francisco, the latest Institute survey finds that 77 persons in every 100 across America approve of the UN, whereas only 8 in every 100 disapprove.

Even in the Republican Midwest — long thought of as a stronghold of isolationism — the traveler would discover better than three-quarters of everyone he talked with there saying that they approve of the world government organization.

Among the rank-and-file of the GOP everywhere he would find three out of four saying they have a favorable opinion of the UN.

Today's vote of confidence is slightly higher than that registered a year ago when 76 out of 100 said they approved of the UN.

The question, put to a scientifically drawn cross-section of American adults in all parts of the country and in all walks of life:

"Do you approve or disapprove of the United Nations?"

The vote, nationwide, compared with that of a year ago:

	TODAY	1954
Approve	77%	76%
Disapprove	8	11
No opinion	15	13

By regions of the country, the vote is the following:

EAST: 79 per cent approve; 8 per cent disapprove, and 13 per cent have no opinion.

MIDWEST: 77 per cent approve; 9 per cent disapprove, and 14 per cent have no opinion.

SOUTH: 78 per cent approve; 6 per cent disapprove, and 16 per cent have no opinion.

FAR WEST: 74 per cent approve; 8 per cent disapprove, and 18 per cent have no opinion.

Among the rank-and-file of the political parties, the story is this:

REPUBLICANS: 75 per cent approve; 9 per cent disapprove, and 16 per cent have no opinion.

DEMOCRATS: 82 per cent approve; 5 per cent disapprove, and 13 per cent have no opinion.

INDEPENDENTS: 74 per cent approve; 11 per cent disapprove, and 15 per cent have no opinion.

In all other segments of the population the story is the same. All age groups give an overwhelming vote of approve, as do people in all occupation groups, education levels and in all religious bodies.

* * *

Few organizations in history have ever started out with such overwhelming public support as the UN.

In Institute surveys during the years that have followed, the public has repeatedly been in favor of the UN, although expressing disappointment at times over the achievements and progress of the world organization.

But the public also has felt strongly that the proper course was to strengthen the organization, not abandon it.

For example, in November, 1952, an overwhelming majority —77 per cent—of the nation's voters said it was highly important to try to make the UN a greater success.

Today's survey is eloquent evidence of how far public opinion has swung away from the isolationist doctrine it held when the Institute was founded just 20 years ago.

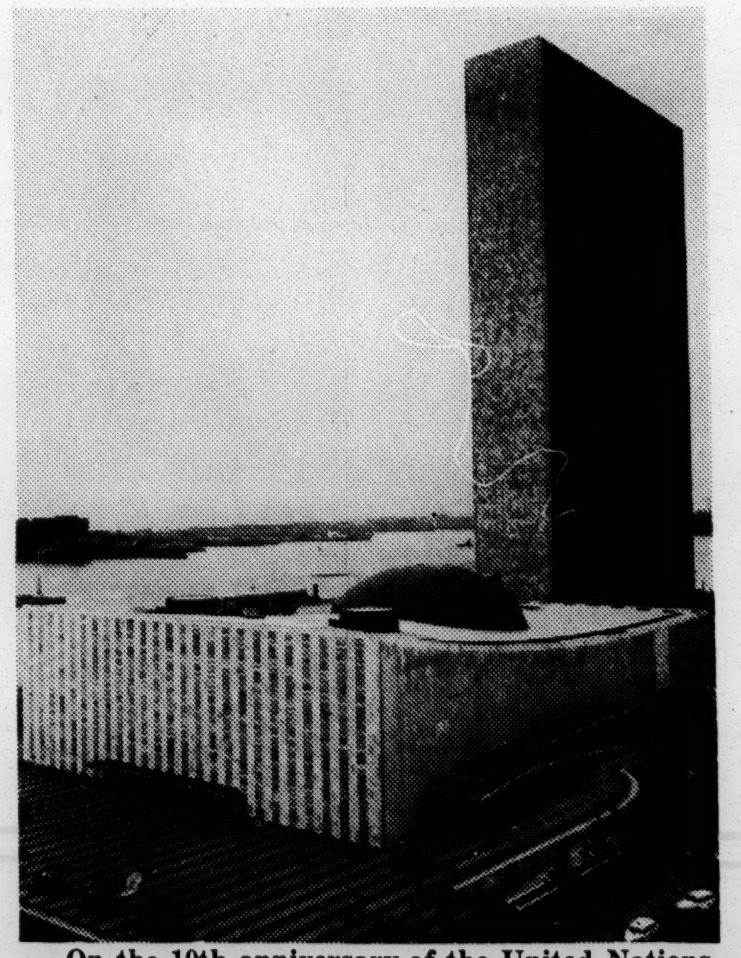
By way of comparison, one of the Institute's first releases, in November, 1935, showed 7 out of 10 Americans saying the U. S. should not get involved in defense of another country that was attacked by an aggressor.

An Institute survey in 1937 found just 33 per cent of the people in favor of joining a league or association of nations. Those were the days of the Neutrality Act.

The turning point came in 1941. That was when an Institute survey found that a majority of our people had turned their thoughts to joining a new league.

In December, 1942, a very sizeable majority of 73 per cent expressed the opinion that Washington should call a meeting of Allied leaders to set up a world organization without waiting for the war to end.

* * * * * * * * *



On the 10th anniversary of the United Nations, whose New York headquarters are shown above, the Gallup Poll finds an overwhelming vote of confidence given the world organization in all parts of the country and in all groups in the population.

October 31, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Last week, in a speech mainly fussing at the NAACP, the Attorney General of Geo gia took some sideswipes at us. Here is a manuscript reviewing our history and giving to our friends our side of the controversy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

11-1-55

JBR

Worth some mention in your Newsletter?

HCF

(The answer is yes.)

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

SEP 23 1955

Recordings of "The People Take the Lead" Radio Series
To Be Available For Local Use

You will probably remember our announcement last March about an interesting series of programs to be presented in April over the National Broadcasting Company radio network entitled "The People Take the Lead". These four half-hour programs, devoted to the subjects of college fraternities, discrimination in housing, public education, and human rights, were very well received by radio audiences throughout the country. The titles of the four programs were: "The Battle of Fraternity Row", "Termites in the House", "They Can't Wait", and "You Hold the Key", respectively.

Many inquiries were received from organizations and individuals suggesting that the programs be made available for local stations and educational use by way of recordings. You will be interested to know that the various talent unions involved in the radio industry have thought so highly of "The People Take the Lead" series that they have given special permission to make records of the programs available for local and school use. The unions involved include, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, American Federation of Musicians, and the National Broadcasting Company Radio Network who originated the broadcasts with the American Jewish Committee.

Before placing an order for "The People Take the Lead" recordings we are attempting to ascertain the number of orders which could be expected. We are prepared to make available an album of four programs on two double-faced long-playing unbreakable records. Each side of the 12-inch LP's will contain one of the half-hour programs. The NBC recording division which will press the recordings assures us that local stations have the facilities to play a 12-inch LP recording.

The recordings will be manufactured with "open ends" which means that the original network opening and closing announcements will be deleted, thus making room for a local station announcement. A suggested opening and closing will accompany each album. The price for the album of four programs will be $6.00 which is the cost price plus charges for handling and mailing. An audition recording of these public service programs is available should your local station desire to hear a sample recording of one of the broadcasts.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience since we are anxious to get "The People Take the Lead" record project under way as soon as possible. Local radio stations at this time are making broadcasting plans for the coming year.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
September 21, 1955
CSK

153-5-55
261

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

November 7, 1955

NOV 8 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for sharing with me your response to the attack by the Attorney General of Georgia on the Southern Regional Council.

No thoughtful person would doubt that SRC will survive such attacks.

Please let us know whether we can be helpful in any way.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

148-2-55

49th Annual Meeting, Jan. 27-29, 1956
Hotel Commodore, New York City

November 15, 1955

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Irene Osborne is to be in Florida November 28 - December 2, and is to visit Miami, we understand. Her move-abouts are being planned by William Williams, from the Daytona Beach office of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

I think you have little chance of getting Irene Osborne sent to Dade County for any month-long periods. When her assignment with us is up, about April 1, the AFSC will be parcelling her out to the many calls for her services all over the country. But you can talk with her when she's in Miami, or open up a proposal to Richard Bennett, AFSC in Philadelphia (20 South Twelfth Street), who bosses her.

My real view is that a brief but carefully planned conference with Irene Osborne would give your group a good part of the benefit that would result from a long stay by her. If you can get a bunch together that will set up a purposive local white and Negro committee to push the matter through, Irene Osborne can tell them how to do it. From then on its just will. St. Pete seems to be doing a good job on their own. The trick is to get the local school board officially to ask for advice to it from a white and Negro citizens committee. Then people will serve, and will talk, and the advice is mighty apt to be taken.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 32-1984

Fla Nov 28-Dec 2
3:11 wms meeting
17 meeting

NOV 14 1955

November 9, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

At a meeting of my Miami Chapter Executive Committee on November 7th a recommendation was made for consideration of a project regarding desegregation in the public schools here in Dade County. I would like to get your thinking and recommendations regarding its feasibility.

As you may have surmised the leadership here on this problem has been weak and completely ineffectual. The Dade County Council hasn't functioned for months and other groups have given no direction on this issue. Since the problems of desegregation demand immediate attention and because there is almost complete agreement that Dade County offers the most likely area for a positive program on integration, my Chapter has asked that I obtain information regarding the possibility that Irene Osborne and Company be made available for a repeat performance of their Washington, D.C. operation.

It is our belief that Dade County offers a unique opportunity for a pilot project on desegregation in the deep South. There is every reason to believe that several local organizations, including my own, would be willing to cooperate in order to resolve as many of the basic problems of getting such a project started as might be necessary.

If Miss Osborne is not available would there be other people that might be considered who would come here under the auspices of the Friends Society? With their kind of leadership plus the DCCCR as a base of operations we may be able to do a really fine job. Your reactions would be most appreciated.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: Fred Routh
Harold Murray
Ed Lukas

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
Tel. 82-4984

November 15, 1955

Dear Member:

Last year we received several requests for the titles of books on human relations themes that might be appropriate Hannukkah gifts for children. The attached list have proven to be among the most popular which the American Jewish Committee has distributed. They are currently available from this office.

Since the first day of Hannukkah is on the 10th of December may I suggest that your orders be sent to us as soon as possible in order to assure prompt delivery.

Sincerely,

Seymour Samet

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
enc: list

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* • NATHAN WEISMAN, *Director*

Books listed below are available from this office. To order, simply check the item you want, fill in your name and address, and mail to American Jewish Committee, 213 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Fla. Books are priced as noted below. If check is enclosed, make payable to American Jewish Committee.

_____ALL ABOUT US, by Eva Knox Evans. This is the anthropologists' story of people, their beginnings and wanderings over the earth, told with humor and simplicity, and explaining the changes in skin color, custom, and language resulting from environment. For children aged eight to twelve. $1.35 (list price $2.00).

_____ALL-OF-A-KIND FAMILY, by Sydney Taylor. Portrays the warm family relationships between the parents and their five daughters in a Jewish family living on New York's lower East Side at the turn of the century. Received the Charles W. Follett award of 1951, presented annually for worthy contributions to children's literature. For children aged eight to twelve. $1.75 (list price $2.75).

_____MORE ALL-OF-A-KIND FAMILY, by Sydney Taylor. Sequel to All-Of-A-Kind Family. The new book has the same charm as did the earlier one and includes in the course of the story's development descriptions of Yom Kippur, Hannukkah, and a typical Jewish wedding. It concludes with the family moving from the East Side to the Bronx, where they look forward to continuing their way of life while at the same time making new friends among neighbors who will include both Jews and Gentiles. For children aged eight to twelve. $1.95 (list price $2.95).

_____ONE GOD: THE WAYS WE WORSHIP HIM. The story of the three great religions of the United States. It will help children to understand and respect religions different from their own. Parents and teachers will find in the text satisfying answers to the many questions that children ask about God, prayer, and the ceremonies and festivals of churches and synagogues. For children of junior and high school ages. $1.95 (list price $2.95).

_____PEOPLE ARE IMPORTANT, by Eva Knox Evans. A simply written, delightfully illustrated introduction to the habits, customs, and ways of life of people around the world, which points out that despite external differences there is a fundamental sameness and a basic community of interest. For children aged eight to twelve. $1.65 (list $2.50).

_____BILL AND HIS NEIGHBORS, by Lois Fisher. Describes the way in which prejudice threatened to divide the students of a junior high school, and how they set about to find a solution to the problem. For children of junior and high school ages. $1.65 (list price $2.25).

Bill me_____ Name_____

I Enclose_____ Address_____

November 21, 1955

To: Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fifth Avenue
New York 16, New York

For your information:

News story from Chicago Defender.
News story and editorial from Afro-American.

HCF/jc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

386, Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

November 22, 1956.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold,

Thank you for sharing with me some samples of the manner in which "the other side" is using the Hearst story. The Chattanooga Times' editorial is, of course, fine - but it is to be doubted that it is read by the same audience as the original smear.

I discussed the whole affair at some length with a few of my own colleagues, as well as with Ben Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League. As matters stand at the moment, I am prepared to make the following suggestions:

1. In our view no doubt exists that the Hearst pieces are libelous. A half a dozen suits for libel by the six most prominent and least vulnerable of those smeared, should undoubtedly be instituted. (The Journal American is, undoubtedly, squeamish about libel suits ever since the Westbrook Pegler verdict, $175,000, a whopping one in these days.) Naturally, the object would be to give the pendency of those suits the widest publicity. It would be a good idea, too, if the plaintiffs in those suits were represented by outstanding White law firms. It goes without saying that the suits should be instituted in the North, if possible, in the Federal courts.

2. Clergymen - especially Catholics - should be induced, without too much further delay, to sermonize on SRC and its work, with special reference to the attempt to smear it and its supporters with "pro-Communist" allegations. Copies of those sermons should be assembled for the widest kind of dissemination.

3. No time should be lost, in our view, in attempting to secure a favorable Look, or Life, or Saturday Evening Post story on SRC, its rather dramatic past history, and its current program. The story should attempt to delineate in the clearest possible terms the specifics of SRC's activities in the field of implementing the desegration decision.

4. TV and radio commentators should be furnished with such material as may be helpful in influencing their own attitudes toward SRC and its work, so that at appropriate times they might fashion their commentaries accordingly. Naturally, newspaper editors andpublishers should be similarly enlightened.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming. November 22, 1955.

The foregoing are the ideas that occur to us now, and the execution of which should be instituted without unnecessary delay. They are, as you see, short-range projects that will have impact in the immediate future. For the long-range, however, we would have to think a little differently. Frankly, I have often felt that the story of SRC and its role in the promotion of integration, has not been told as graphically as it might be. To be sure, there has been no burning necessity for doing so until recently, simply because its work was being carried on quietly, and, until recently, under very severely limited budgets. We think the time has arrived for a more dramatic presentation of SRC's objects and methods; the public has to be drawn more intimately into a realization of SRC's existence, of its purposes, of its techniques and, perhaps most importantly, of the nature of its supporters among the leading citizens of the South. Among other things this would require the mobilization of the decent elements - organized and unorganized - who would spring to SRC's defense in the face of vigilant attacks, not only on the national, but on the local level as well. Serious consideration, therefore, should be given now to the plan that I had outlined to George Mitchell many months ago - indeed, at the time of the Herald Tribune forum in 1954 - namely, the coordination of the operations of large national agencies which have a deep interest in integration but, as yet, no well defined program in that field. I refer to church groups, organized labor, educational and kindred organizations. These groups could be of inestimable help, not alone in promoting the program of SRC, but in lending support to its resistance to attacks.

I trust the foregoing suggestions prove in some small measure to be helpful. Meanwhile, efforts will go forward to bring home to the top brass of the Hearst press the thoroughly destructive thing they have done, in the hope that the attack will end where it began, and will not be carried on in the future. Hopes of securing a "retraction" are, I believe, somewhat forlorn - the Hearst press, except in the rarest instances, simply does not behave that way.

Let me hear from you when you are able to react to these proposals.

My warmest regards to you, to George and, of course, to Leonard Haas.

Sincerely,

(signed) Edwin J. Lukas.

New York General

COPY COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Tel: MURRAY HILL 5-0181

November 23, 1955

Dear Mr. Elliott:

As a member of the Committee on Intergroup Relations of the National Social Welfare Assembly, I have been requested to write you concerning the possibility of including the subject of intergroup relations in connection with sundry of the meetings being planned by Section III.

The Assembly Committee on Intergroup Relations is devoted to the objective of improving intergroup relations practices in and through social welfare agencies. This current year, among other projects, the Committee has held three workshops for leaders in national agencies. These dealt with "leadership attitudes," "methods and practices," and "minority group personnel." Several more such workshops, the content of which is brought to the attention of the local agencies affiliated with the nationals, are being planned for 1956.

I enclose herewith another aspect of the Committee's work - the Intergroup Relations Bulletin which it issues periodically for social welfare agencies. The perusal of this may be suggestive to you of some of our interests.

We note that the Conference's tentative plans for Section III indicate that among other subjects your meetings will cover some of the following:

a) Trends in Community Organization; Need for Area Planning Because of Our Spreading Cities and Sprawling Areas; etc.

b) Agency Teamwork and Community Welfare

c) The Role of National Agencies and Their Relationship to the Local Affiliates

Our Intergroup Relations Committee feels that the subjects listed above lend themselves naturally to the inclusion of intergroup relations consideration and that such inclusion in some of the above instances might add substantially and realistically to the full exploration of the subject.

The problems of prejudice and discrimination in the ethnic, religious and racial areas, as well as the problems of desegregation and integration are certainly subjects of the greatest concern today to all social workers. Our Committee has asked me to inquire if there is any way in which we can, through your Section, bring these themes into the context of your discussions.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Samuel S. Fishzohn
For the Committee on Intergroup Relations
National Social Welfare Assembly

Mr. Daniel R. Elliott, Chairman
Section III - Services to Agencies and
Communities - National Conference of
Social Work
Welfare Federation of Cleveland - 1001 Huron Road (15)

November 29, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of November 22. The recommendations that you make are extremely helpful, and we agree wholeheartedly with your point that now is the time to get the story of the SRC more widely told.

Initial exploration of the legal advisibility of libel action is proceeding. There should be sufficient basis soon for the individual Board Members to decide whether they want to undertake it. I will be trying to promote national magazine and/or TV treatment of SRC in the days to come. If this brings me to New York again, I will be calling you. And in any case I will be in touch with you as further developments unfold.

With appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

RECEIVED DEC 9 1955

SEGREGATION, HOUSING, AND THE HORNE CASE

In this article, reprinted from the October 6th issue of The Reporter, Charles Abrams reviews the Horne case and shows how Horne's attempt to introduce a more enlightened attitude into the public housing program brought about his dismissal and the scuttling of the Racial Relations Service.

Mr. Abrams feels, however, that these developments may have done some good in dispelling complacency about the Supreme Court school decision and in dramatizing the need for a Racial Relations Service that will be staffed with professional experts rather than professional politicians.

Additional copies of this reprint are available at $2.75 per hundred.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
November 28, 1955
Encl.
SKE

153-5-55
261

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

NEW DATE SET FOR "NIGHTMARE IN RED" TELECAST

"Nightmare in Red", the telecast which was originally set for November 13th and subsequently postponed, is now definitely set for December 27th, 9:30-10:30 P.M., E.S.T. over the National Broadcasting Company network. The Armstrong Cork Co. will sponsor the first of this season's NBC-TV "Project 20" series which traces the growth of Communism in Russia, portraying it with material gathered from 76 different sources, some going back to pre-Czarist times.

As our earlier communication informed you, Henry Salomon, well-remembered for "Darkness at Noon" and "Victory at Sea", is the producer of this unusual educational telecast. To persuade the national networks to continue their interest in educational broadcasts it would be helpful if a wide audience were to be created for this program and letters of commendation sent to NBC.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
November 28, 1955
CSKE

153-5-55
261

Reprinted from THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Segregation, Housing, And the Horne Case

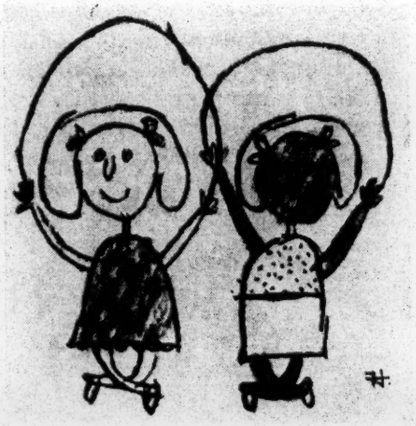
CHARLES ABRAMS

When Frank S. Horne, a government expert on racial relations, was fired last July, Federal Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole blamed it all on "budgetary considerations." But Cole has not concealed the fact that the orders to fire Horne and his assistant, another Negro named Corienne R. Morrow, came from the Republican National Committee. This admission and the strange facts surrounding the dismissal suggest that it may be the culminating step in the Republican Party's effort to scuttle the Racial Relations Service and many of the gains it has made in its long fight against racial discrimination in American neighborhoods.

Horne's ideas have been a target of the real-estate lobby ever since 1938, when he was hired by Nathan Straus to help set up the Racial Relations Service for the Federal public-housing program. The great Negro migration of the 1920's had produced a nation-wide campaign to segregate minorities in American neighborhoods. Dozens of real-estate textbooks and professional magazines were urging the compulsory exclusion of minorities. The descendants of English, Germans, Scots, Irish, and Scandinavians were rated the best neighbors; northern Italians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, and Greeks were somewhat questionable; and Russian Jews, southern Italians, Negroes, and Mexicans were considered undesirable. Hundreds of civic associations were organized to keep "intruders" out. Racial covenants against Negroes and frequently against Jews and aliens honeycombed whole neighborhoods and often whole cities. The powerful National Association of Real Estate Boards bound its membership to the cause through a "code of ethics," and local realty groups importuned the nation to keep its better neighborhoods "100% pure" white. Not only had the courts of fifteen states ruled restrictive covenants to be legal and agreed to enforce them by sheriff's writ, but even the Supreme Court had given the covenant its implicit blessing in 1926.

'Adverse Influences'

When the Roosevelt Administration took office and set up its various housing agencies in an effort to prime an economic recovery, two schools of thought emerged. The Federal Housing Administration and Home Loan Bank System were



staffed largely by experts from the private real-estate field who favored the racial-exclusion theory. They succeeded in having the Federal government adopt the discriminatory policies of the real-estate market and implement them with Federal mortgage insurance, aid, and prestige. Official government manuals from 1935 to about 1949 warned against "adverse influences" such as smoke, odor, fog, and "inharmonious racial or nationality groups." "Appeal," according to the FHA, is measured by "social class." It warned against "lower class occupancy" or "a lower level of society" and went so far as to recommend the use of restrictive covenants and setting up barriers such as high-speed traffic arteries to keep the "lower levels" in their places. This was giving Federal sanction to race discrimination, but it seemed to many the accepted and the "practical" way of dealing with the housing problem, and neither political party made an issue of it.

But the Racial Relations Service under Frank S. Horne strove to introduce a more enlightened attitude into the public-housing program. Horne assembled and trained a staff of experts to help local housing authorities with their racial problems. Before long, thirty-three thousand Negroes were living in projects with white neighbors next door or across the hall.

With the consolidation of the housing agencies after the Second World War, the Racial Relations Service became part of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. At first it could make little headway against powerful forces both inside and outside the government that favored discrimination in housing. But by the end of the war public opinion had changed materially. Governmentally sponsored discrimination seemed incongruous in face of the United Nations Charter, the Nazi trials, the Act of Chapultepec, and other postwar pronouncements on what we had hoped we had won in the war. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education demanded the repeal of segregation laws, and the President's Committee on Civil Rights not only condemned segregation in housing but urged the elimination of all segregation "based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life."

In the hopeful postwar atmosphere there were many gains. An investigation into segregation in the capital was followed by the government's intervening on the side of Negroes in a legal fight against restrictive covenants. The Supreme Court forbade the enforcement of such covenants, and FHA officials grudgingly agreed not to insure mortgages on covenanted property.

The Supreme Court's unanimous condemnation of school segregation in 1954 after President Eisenhower had taken office seemed to invite a bipartisan agreement that racial discrimination was to be rooted out of American life entirely. The climate of the decade authorized it, and American moral leadership in the world impelled it. On October 25,

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1952, in fact, it had appeared that candidate Eisenhower would rise to the challenge when he told an audience in Harlem: "Wherever the Federal Government has responsibility, wherever it collects taxes from you to spend money, whether it be in a contract for recreational facilities or anything else that it does for a citizen of the United States, there will be no discrimination as long as I can help it in private or public life based upon such things as color or creed or religion—never." A similar pronouncement was made by Housing Administrator Cole on October 12, 1953: "I see no sense in maintaining color cartels in the business of housing. . . . Insofar as Federal housing operations are concerned . . . discrimination because of race is contrary to public policy and . . . equal treatment of all citizens must be the settled policy of the government." A year later he confirmed that minority families "must rapidly be brought into the free market."

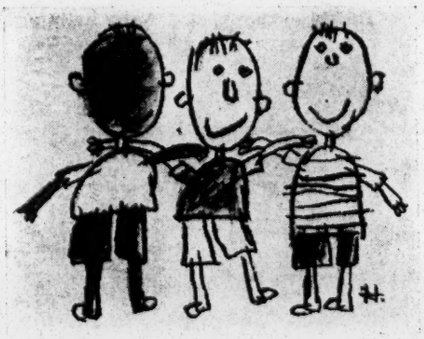
During this period it seemed certain that Horne and his Racial Relations Service would have considerable and increasing influence on the government housing program. But in 1953, at the same time Cole was promising to end housing discrimination, he suddenly replaced Horne with a Negro real-estate operator named Joseph R. Ray, who was not known as a firebrand. When a storm of protest blew up in which Cole was accused of yielding to patronage pressures and undermining the Racial Relations Service, Cole made Horne his special assistant to develop "new approaches" and reiterated his stand against discrimination.

But the men who molded Republican strategy were beginning to see the racial issue in a different light. They had watered down the civil-rights plank of the 1952 platform for what seemed to them solid political reasons. President Truman's strong position on civil rights had made the South open territory for Republicanism. For decades, moreover, there has been a marked tendency for traditionally Republican Negroes to leave the rural South and show up in the urban North as Democratic voters. And although the Negro influx has increased Democratic strength in the overcrowded sections of Northern cities, that increase is being offset by new Republican strength in the all-white suburbs, on the borders of which Negroes are pressing for living space. In some areas—Dearborn, Michigan, for example—mayors have won elections by fighting Negro "intrusion" openly. Devious zoning ordinances and other devices for exclusion reflect the new suburban sentiment. Finally, building and real-estate interests, working through the Housing Agency and the President's advisory committee on housing, have insisted that Horne's ideas would hamper the building boom.

The Supreme Court's decision in 1955 implementing its prior holding against school segregation was all very well, but the politicians decided to play it down, convinced, with 1956 approaching, that the time had come to go slow.

Going Slow

On June 8, 1955, President Eisenhower condemned the use of anti-discrimination riders appended to



National Guard, housing, and other appropriation measures as "clouding" the issue.

As if to support his chief's new line, Cole told a House committee on July 14 that the government shouldn't "move too precipitously" in eliminating racial segregation from the Federal housing programs. Legislative proposals to make FHA non-discriminatory were necessarily "vague and uncertain," he said, because local conditions vary.

¶ In expressly barring segregation in schools, the Supreme Court has, by implication at least, banned it in all other publicly supported operations, but it has become quite clear that the government has no more intention of supporting the Court's decision by administrative action than it wants the legislature to reinforce it by legislative action. A week after Cole enunciated the new policy he fired Horne and Mrs. Morrow.

Horne's demotion in 1953 could be ascribed to nothing more sinister than patronage considerations, but his discharge on July 22 of this year can only be considered part of a plan to scuttle the Racial Relations Service and all that it stood for. The job was undertaken about a year ago and has been carried out with methodical precision:

¶ Ten official positions in the Service that had been assigned to FHA were removed from civil-service classification to make political appointments possible. The post of Racial Relations Officer for the important Northeastern area, vacated a year ago, has remained unfilled.

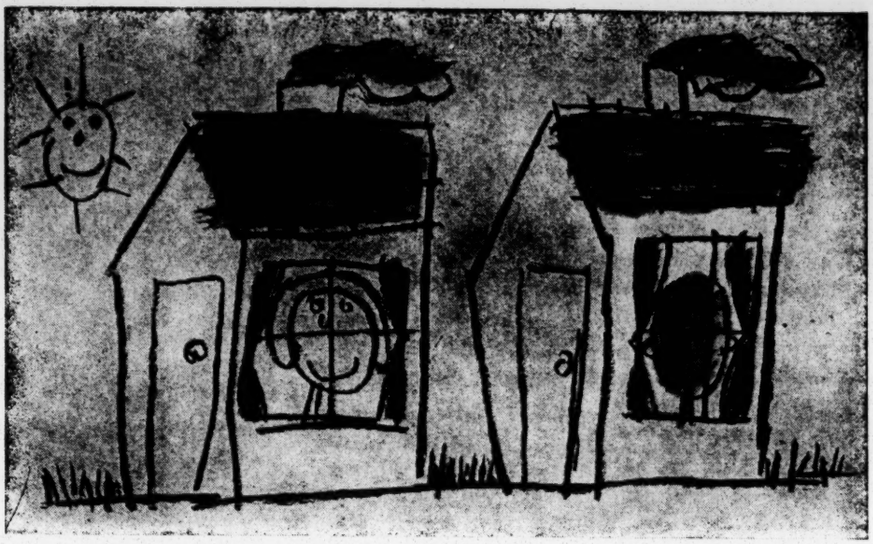
¶ Only three of the six officials assigned to the Administrator's staff remain. One was stripped of his duties, and the other two, Dr. Horne and Mrs. Morrow, were fired.

¶ Four of the five officials assigned to race-relations and relocation duties in the urban renewal program have been told to forget the race-relations part of their jobs. The fifth was taken off the Director's staff and the Board of Review. New appointments to vacant posts have been postponed indefinitely.

¶ Flimsy charges of disloyalty have been leveled at three key staff members. The charges were thrown out after hearings, but the members were suspended from work for months.

¶ A. Maceo Smith, formerly national president of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and a board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was asked to resign his job as FHA Racial Relations Adviser in Fort Worth, Texas, after his picture appeared in a Negro magazine as the winner of a commercial award. Lending his prestige to such purposes was called conduct unbecoming a Federal official. The charge was dropped, but a few weeks ago he was told to resign his directorship of the state N.A.A.C.P. or quit.

In sum, the function of the Racial Relations Service since Horne's separation from it has degenerated into that of official apologist for official acceptance of segregation.



As if to underline the connection between Horne's dismissal, the devastation of the Racial Relations Service, and the new policy on race relations, most of the gains that had been made during the years "Horne and his ideas" had some influence in the formulation of public policy have been erased in the last few months:

¶ On February 7, 1955, the requirement that local housing authorities show that public-housing projects will make "equitable provision for eligible families of all races" and that tenants will be selected according to urgency of their need was shorn of its enforcement provisions. The housing needs of nonwhites, of course, are much more urgent than those of whites.

¶ On March 8, 1955, a requirement that protected minority groups against the diminution of the overall housing supply in a community through demolition operations was deleted from the Public Housing Administration's Manual.

¶ On April 11, 1955, the requirement that "substantially the same quality, service, facilities and conveniences with respect to all standards and criteria . . ." be provided to all races was also removed.

¶ The urban renewal program, originally designed to increase the housing supply as well as to eliminate slums, has been steadily perverted into a device for getting rid of minorities. Capitalizing on the value of the phrase "slum clearance," the Administration has approved hardly any projects on vacant land that would increase the housing supply. Most of the approved projects call for the clearance of Negro settlements and those of Puerto Ricans and other minorities. Though capital subsidies are given to private builders, almost none of the new accommodations are available to the displaced minorities. A proposal by the Racial Relations advisers to limit demolition operations to areas where the evicted families could find adequate shelter within their means was rejected.

¶ The public-housing program, which had provided additional accommodations for the overcrowded racial minorities and other low-income families by building on vacant land as well as on slum sites, has been curtailed and turned into a convenient tool for the private redevelopers. The redevelopers, who were required by law to relocate the displaced families, now count on the public-housing program to accept their evictees. Since only an insignificant fraction of those displaced can be accommodated by the small public-housing program, the practice has in fact produced a wholesale dislocation of nonwhites. The Administration's answer to the "great migration" has been a great eviction.

¶ On August 8, 1955, the requirement that local housing authorities guarantee no discrimination in the execution of contracts for utilities, services, and supplies was eliminated.

¶ The promise that mortgage money from Federal sources would be made available to racial minorities under the much-vaunted Voluntary Mortgage Program has turned out to be a dead letter. At one point Cole called a meeting of the undercapitalized Negro insurance companies and other Negro financial institutions and exhorted them to take care of "their people."

A Choice to be Made

In an attempt to quiet the protest that followed his dismissal of Horne, Cole offered him a specially created job as adviser on international housing, thereby admitting that "budgetary considerations" had nothing to do with it. (The 1956 appropriation for Cole's agency, incidentally, is nearly twice that of 1955.) Horne turned the offer down and has taken his case before the Civil Service Commission. Whatever the result may be, though, Horne is obviously through. And so is the Race Relations Service.

And yet perhaps Horne's dismissal has done at least some good in dispelling complacency about the Supreme Court's school decisions. The segregation that has been banned in schools may in fact now be achieved by blasting minorities out of their homes in the name of slum clearance and segregating them under the protection of public policy. In fact this process has already begun.

Horne's dismissal will also have served a useful purpose if it dramatizes the need for a Racial Relations Service that cannot be scuttled at the will of some politicians or debased into a convenient screen for publicly sanctioned bigotry in housing. To be effective, the Service must be independent. It must be staffed with professional experts, not professional politicians. It must be assured of continuity, be permitted to work unhampered in the field, have official co-operation, and be voted adequate funds.

There should be similar supervision over every Federal department that dispenses Federal moneys. For as the credit and power of the Federal government permeate ever widening areas of the national economy, a choice must be made between subordinating the government's higher public ethic to that of the market place and raising the ethic of the market place to that of the Constitution.

THE REPORTER

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

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December 23, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am curious to know how matters stand with SRC, in the aftermath of the Hearst articles. But I am especially curious to know what steps SRC has undertaken to counteract the consequential effects of those stories.

Are you in a position at this time to fill me in, and also to advise me how we can be further helpful to you?

I take this occasion to extend to you and to George my best wishes for the coming season.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

49th Annual Meeting, Jan. 27-29, 1956
Hotel Commodore, New York City

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